Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

HISTORY OF SICILY

E. A. FREEMAN

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

London

HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

AMEN CORNER, E.C.

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

[All rights

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE

HISTORY OF SICILY

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

BY

EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., Hon. D.C.L., LL.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE

HONORARY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE

VOLUME I

THE NATIVE NATIONS: THE PHŒNICIAN AND GREEK SETTLEMENTS

WITH MAPS

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1891

[*All rights reserved*]

Digitized by Google

Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Oxford

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DG
55
S5
F2
v.1

PREFACE.

THESE two volumes are the beginning of a work which, if I did not think of before I thought of the History of the Norman Conquest, I certainly thought of before the plan of that work had taken any definite shape. I believe my thoughts were first drawn towards Sicily, nearly fifty years back, by a Pindar lecture of the late Isaac Williams. That gave me, and I suppose others, some dim notion of one side of the story of the great Mediterranean island. The other side was suggested to me some years later by Gally Knight's Normans in Sicily. The two sides were put into their fitting relation to one another by a few memorable words of Grote (chap. xliii. vol. v. p. 277);

"We are here introduced to the first known instance of that series of contests between the Phœnicians and Greeks of Sicily, which, like the struggles between the Saracens and the Normans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries after the Christian æra, were destined to determine whether the island should be a part of Africa or a part of Europe—and which were only terminated, after the lapse of three centuries, by the absorption of both into the vast bosom of Rome."

Those words I wish to have looked on as the text of all that I have since thought and written on Sicilian history. They go indeed to the root

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of the matter. They set forth the œcumenical position of the central island of Europe. They set forth its twofold share in that abiding strife of West and East which Herodotus understood so well. After reading them I do not think that I at any time forgot Sicily or the œcumenical aspect of Sicily; but the writing of the History of the Norman Conquest of England brought Sicilian history home to me from a new point of view. I better learned the points both of analogy and of direct connexion between Sicily and Britain, the points of likeness and contrast between the Norman kings in England and the Norman kings in Sicily. I began to think of treating Sicilian history specially from this point of view. But I gradually found, as I have set forth in the Introductory Chapter, that the later parts of the story could not be rightly treated apart from the earlier. I thus find myself, by several steps of a backward process, promoted to be the historian of Sicily from its earliest days down to a time, I trust, not earlier than the death of the great Sicilian Emperor.

These volumes, as some may know, are not my first attempts at dealing with Sicilian history and topography. I have written a good deal on those subjects in various periodical publications, with and without my name, and two of the pieces so written have been reprinted in my third series of Historical Essays. I also wrote the article "Sicily" in the Encyclopædia Britannica in its original shape, though I know not how far I have a right to claim it as

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

mine after the improvements which have been introduced into it by a nameless reviser[1]. And I am under a very long standing engagement to contribute a short History of Sicily to the series called the "Story of the Nations," on the express ground that Sicily never was the home of any nation, but rather the meeting-place of many. I need not say that that small work, when it appears, will be quite independent of this greater one, and will appeal to another class of readers. In these lesser tasks I have had forerunners; but I believe that I am the first who has undertaken to deal with Sicilian

[1] For instance, among other things, I wrote, after my usual fashion, *Korkyra* and *Kamarina*. Had I been told that it was wished that I should write *Corcyra* and *Camarina*, I would gladly have done so. But I was startled when, in the published volume, the names appeared thus, "Korkyra (Corcyra)," "Kamarina (Camarina)." My censor seemingly thought that there were others besides himself who would be puzzled at the difference of spelling. But he improved facts as well as letters. In that article, as in these volumes, I compared Britain and Sicily in many points; I also compared Greek settlement in Sicily and English settlement in America. In this last view I spoke of the relation of the thirteen original English colonies to "their mother-country in Britain." In the published volume the words "mother-country in Britain" were changed into "mother-country of Great Britain." That is, I was made to say that "Great Britain," undoubtedly the mother-country of Georgia, founded after the Union of England and Scotland, was also the mother-country of the twelve colonies of England founded before the Union. Meanwhile some real corrections which I sent home from Sicily were taken no notice of, and the statements which I wished to improve were left as they were first written. All this makes one curious to know whether the writings of chemists and metaphysicians are improved in the like sort by the same hand.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

history as a whole on anything like the scale of the present volumes. Particular parts have been done, and well done; but no one that I know of has attempted to treat the whole story in full as a contribution to Universal History. It is by this standard that I would ask that my work may be judged. Nowhere do we better learn than in Sicily the folly of those arbitrary divisions which have made the study of history vain and meaningless. In Sicily at least there is no room for an "Ancient" school and a "Modern." It is a poor knowledge of Gelôn that shuts out Roger, a poor knowledge of Roger that shuts out Gelôn. He who would tell the mighty tale as a whole must spend his days with both alike. Nowhere do we better learn than on the soil which Gelôn guarded against the Phœnician and which Roger won back from the Saracen that the strife in which each played his part is indeed "eternal." The "eternal Eastern question," words uttered in sneering by one who knew not what he said, may be taken as the truest motto of Sicilian history through the two thousand years of which I have taken on me to tell the tale.

Repeated visits to Sicily have made many of the places of which I have to speak as familiar to me as my own home or my own University. The greater part of these volumes has been either written or revised, often both, on or near the spots of which I have had to speak. As things now stand, the history of Syracuse is best studied and best written in the island of Ortygia; it might

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

be done better still, if it were possible, on the height of Achradina. Elsewhere in Sicily, the tale becomes more living when one can write down the legend of Kôkalos, the history of Ducetius, on the evening of a day spent on the height of Kamikos or on the shore of Kalê Aktê. And a short visit to Africa, with no companion but Diodôros, has enabled me to write my first sketch of the most daring campaign of Agathoklês in White Tunis itself.

In turning from the mediæval history of our own land to deal again, as I did in times past, with the elder days of Greece, two things have struck me before all others. The method of study, the method of composition, is the same for both. In this there is no gap, no difference. But in another point the work needed for the two subjects differs widely. In writing the History of the Norman Conquest I believe I may truly say that I actually brought many things to light. I was constantly lighting on facts, often minute facts but still illustrative of the story, which had never before found their place in any modern narrative, which had never been made the subject of inference by any modern writer. No one, at least since Stow, had written the history of Eadward the Confessor with the "Vita Ædwardi" before him. With such a subject as the present it is almost impossible to do the like in any part. There are very few corners into which the industry of German scholars has not peered. It is hard to find an absolutely new fact, an absolutely new reference.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

I believe that I have here and there lighted on things which had escaped the research of Adolf Holm; but they cannot be very many. To his book "Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum" I owe very deep obligations. In looking through a page of references, I often find it hard to say to which I have been guided by him and on which I have lighted for myself. He has certainly guided me into some out-of-the-way quarters into which I should never have found my way alone. But, if I have profited largely by Holm's researches, I have always used them independently. I have often had to differ from his conclusions; but I trust that I have always differed from them with the respect due to one from whom I have learned much. And in matters of topography I owe a debt hardly less great to the endless publications of Julius Schubring. They are scattered up and down countless German periodicals, some of which are hard to get at. I do not know whether I have collected everything that he has written. I have certainly collected and used a great many. But it would have been a real gain to Sicilian studies if Schubring's scattered pieces had been long ago brought together in one or more volumes.

Holm and Schubring are scholars of a high order. In studying or writing Sicilian history, one has them at one's elbow as naturally as one's Thucydides and one's Diodôros. But there is plenty of help besides. From the most obscure *Abhandlung* or *Programm* or *Dissertation* we are sure to learn

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

something. There is sure to be some fact, some reference, some way of putting something, which one is glad to come across. The pity is that there is no way of marking outside on which page the precious morsel is to be found. And no man can undertake to find out every pamphlet and every article. And, when one has found what is wanted, it is sometimes forbidden to buy the number that one wants, unless one chooses to buy a whole volume that one does not want. Yet the Englishman is sure to be found fault with if he misses the smallest scrap of the whole "Litteratur" of any matter. In this our High-Dutch friends are sometimes a little unreasonable. I at least feel that I have written a good deal, even on matters of learning, which I do not expect anybody to have heard of at Lemgo or even at Göttingen. I think I may reasonably assume that a German scholar knows something of my History of the Norman Conquest. I do not blame him if he has never come across what I have written about King Ine in the Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society.

But if we learn much from beyond sea, we may also learn much in our own island. For the democracy of Syracuse, as well as for the democracy of Athens, we have our own Grote to our master. And, from renewed experience, I can say once more that Thirlwall is not "superseded" even by him. And I have hardly learned more from Holm and Schubring than I have from those most careful and instructive articles on Sicilian and Italian

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

matters which were contributed by Sir Edward Bunbury to the two Dictionaries of Geography and Biography. In my immediate Sicilian range, if the letters E. H. B. stand at the end of an article in those Dictionaries, I know that I am on sure ground; when there are any other letters, the work often proves poor enough. I think I may truly say that, whenever one would wish to alter anything in an article of Sir Edward Bunbury's, it is because something fresh has been found out since it was written. It is strange, yet perhaps it is not strange, that I have never seen a single reference to this admirable scholar in the pages of any German writer.

In all matters of plan and arrangement, as in all matters of outward form, I have tried to make these volumes conform to the method which I followed in writing the Norman Conquest. Every man does his work best by doing it in his own way, and this is the way to which I have got used. And at this point I can hardly help saying something, though I have nothing to say beyond what I said twenty-seven years ago, about the spelling of Greek names in English. It is unavoidable that this question should be looked at in different lights by different eyes. For those with whom Greek history and Greek literature simply mean the history and literature of two or three pet centuries, for those with whom those centuries are something to be shut off from the profane contact of all other ages, something to be marked off in its solitude by the mysterious brand of "classical," I do not doubt that it saves trouble, and

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

it very likely looks prettier, to write all Greek names Latin fashion. But this will not do for those with whom the study of the Greek tongue is simply one part, though surely the noblest part, of the general study of language, for those with whom the history of Greece is simply one part, though surely the most instructive part, of the general history of the world. It will not do for those with whom the Greek tongue and the Greek nation are not things which died at some date not exactly fixed, but things which have never ceased to live, and which are still living and acting in the world of our own day. Those to whom things come in this light must have a spelling, as they must have a pronunciation, which will do for all ages of that tongue and that nation. They cannot conform to the unintelligible rule that Greek names down to a certain unfixed point are to be written as if they were Latin, and after that unfixed point to be written as if they were modern Italian. They cannot bring themselves to call a certain Greek island at one stage *Melos* and at another stage *Milo*, the later at the risk of causing a famous statue of Aphroditê to be looked on as the handiwork of a wrestler of Krotôn whose name will come in my story. They must give exactly the same shape to the *'Οδυσσεύς* who came to *Θρινακίη* and to the *'Οδυσσεύς* whose bastion the "classical" fanatics of Athens, in their strange eagerness to wipe out the history of their land, have so cruelly swept away. Nor is it less important to write Greek names so that they may be palpably

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

seen to be Greek and not Latin. There is no reason for writing them Latin-fashion rather than any other fashion, except the superstition that things Greek and things Latin have some special common nature by virtue of which they ought to be kept apart from all other things. But this superstition is one of those against which all sound study of language, all sound study of history, must for ever strive.

It is perhaps needless to say again that this rule does not apply to really English forms of Greek names, as Philip, Athens, Corinth. I have sometimes been asked why I write *y* and not *u* for Greek *υ*, when it stands apart and is not coupled with another letter. Some, it seems, would have me write K*u*ana and Ib*u*kos. The whole story is rather too long to be spoken of in a Preface; it is perhaps enough to say that the Latins invented, and the older English adopted, the letter *y* for the express purpose of distinguishing the Greek sound of *υ* from the Latin and English sound of *u*. And among English forms I have, perhaps weakly—the Germans are bolder—reckoned a few where the Latin form is so familiar that it may pass for an English form. And, as I write Greek names Greek-fashion, I write Sikel names Latin-fashion, to point out what the real tongue of the Sikels was.

There is a long list of additions and corrections to the first volume. This cannot be helped when new lights on minute points are constantly pouring in at the last moment. Amid such a

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

mass of extracts in different languages, I have done what I could to secure accuracy of writing and printing; but the task is hard. My eyes are not so strong as they once were, and a wrong letter or accent, if it does not altogether change the look of the word, easily escapes notice, even with glasses. In the little Hebrew that I have had to bring in, I have tried hard to put *Resh* and *Daleth* in their right places, but I would not be sure that I have always succeeded. And, as I am afraid that other errors may lurk in the book which I have not found out for myself, I can only say that I count no act more friendly than to tell me of such, and to point out any kind of possible improvement, if only it is done in the spirit of a friend and not in that of an unprovoked enemy.

In these volumes I bring down the story to the beginning of Athenian intervention in Sicily. Of the rest of the book a great deal is already written. I have done the greater part of the Athenian invasion as it seemed to me on the spot with Thucydides and Grote ever at hand, and with many references to Holm and Schubring. But I have still to revise my account by the help of such other lights, old and new, as are to be had. In the like sort I have done the second Carthaginian invasion, the greater part of the reign of Dionysios, parts of the careers of Diôn, Timoleôn, and Agathoklês, a good deal of the first Punic war, and most of the war which ended in the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus. Much of this has been written in Sicily;

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

much that was written elsewhere has been revised there. Between Marcellus and Maniakês I have barely touched one or two points; but the Imperial Restoration of A.D. 1038, the rise of the House of Hauteville, and the conquest of Sicily by Count Roger, have all been written. But they all need a further revision, in which I shall doubtless be helped by a German and a French history of the Norman times, both of which have been published since mine was written. The Kings I have hardly touched.

And now I have many friends to thank for much help freely and kindly given in many ways. First and far above all must come my son-in-law Arthur John Evans, my companion in so large a part of my Sicilian travels, my constant adviser, here and there, both in his own special departments of work and in many others. Next to him I would put Mr. W. W. Goodwin, Professor of Greek in Harvard University. It was indeed a privilege to go over Achradina and Epipolai, and to spell out the tale of Thucydides with him. And I was well pleased to look at the Hexapyla and some other parts of the Dionysian wall along with Mr. Strachan-Davidson of Balliol College. Nor must I forget men of Sicily itself, Professor Antonino Salinas at Palermo, and the Cavaliere Saverio Cavallari at Syracuse, quoted long ago by Grote, and who is still, I am happy to say, hearty and active. And, besides companions in Sicily, English and Sicilian, others have given me much precious help in the way of

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

suggestions and corrections, in the way of pointing out books, references, points of all kinds. Such are Mr. D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel College, Mr. Robinson Ellis, Reader in Latin, the Rev. C. W. Boase, Reader in Foreign History, the Rev. A. H. Sayce, and the Rev. North Pinder. And I have specially to thank the Rev. E. L. Hicks for most kind help in his own special department of inscriptions. And I owe much, chiefly with regard to the Sicilian odes of Pindar, to Mr. J. B. Bury, of Trinity College, Dublin, a scholar still young in years, but who is clearly destined to do great things for the Unity of History.

OXFORD:
November 17th, 1890.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SICILIAN HISTORY.

		PAGE
	Central position of Sicily; its *quasi*-continental character	1—2
	Comparison with Sardinia and Corsica	2
	Sicily not the home of any one nation, but the meeting-place of hostile powers and nations	3
	Its relation to Italy	4
	Comparison with Cyprus and Spain	4
	No Sicilian nation at any time	4
	Wars for Sicily	5
	Its greatness not native, but colonial; its successive masters	6—9
	Its position between Europe and Africa	8
	Its early inhabitants: Sikans and Sikels	8—9
	Migration and colonization	9
	Place of Sicily in the strife of East and West	10—12
	Connexion of Greece, Italy, and Sicily	12—13
	Colonies, Phœnician, Greek, and Roman	14—15
	Effects of Carthaginian supremacy	15—16
	Relation of Italiots and Sikeliots to barbarian neighbours	16—26
	Sikels undeveloped Latins; their 'hellenization; comparison with Italy	19—21
	Wars between Greeks and Carthaginians	21—23
	Tendencies to Sicilian unity; Sicilian rule out of Sicily	23—24
	The invaders and deliverers	24—27
	Decay of Greek independence; relations to Rome	25—26
B.C. 264—241	The war for Sicily between Carthage and Rome	27—28
B.C. 241—A.D. 827 (965)	Sicily under the Roman power; the first province and the first dependent kingdom	29—30

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

		PAGE
A.D. 827—1060	The Saracens in Sicily; opposition between Christianity and Islam	30—32
1038—1045?	Recovery under Maniakês	31—32
	The East-Roman power in Italy	32
1060—1090	Union of Sicily and Southern Italy under the Norman kings of Sicily	33—34
	Strife of Christian and Mussulman in Sicily, Spain, and Cyprus	34—37
	Relations and analogies between England and Sicily	37—45
	Characteristics of mediæval Sicily; Eastern dominions of its kings	41—42
	The two ages of deliverers	43
	Looking-back of Sicilian history	43—45
B.C. 735—241	Three divisions; Independent Sicily	45—46
B.C. 241—A.D. 1060	Provincial Sicily	46
A.D. 1060—1860	The county and kingdom of Sicily	47
A.D. 1250	Death of the Emperor Frederick; Sicily loses its special character	47—48

CHAPTER II.

THE ISLAND AND ITS EARLIEST INHABITANTS.

Quasi-continental character of Sicily; its prehistoric state; in history always an island	49—51
Belief in its severance from Italy	51—52
Its shape; the name *Trinakria*	52—54
The coast and the inland parts	55

§ 1. *Physical Characteristics of Sicily.*

Coasts of Sicily and Greece	55
Mountainous character of Sicily; Ætna and Eryx	56—57
Survey of the coast	57—67
The north coast; the isles of Lipara	58—61
The west side; Lilybaion; Aigousa	61—62
The south-west side	62—64
The east coast; its character; effect of its geography on its history	65—67
Inland Sicily; its history; its later prosperity	67—68
The mountain ranges; the limestone gorges	69—71
Ætna; its isolation, its physical and historical working	71—73
The physical phænomena and the native religion	74—78
The mud volcanos	74—75

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PAGE

The lakes, baths, and fountains; Charybdis . 75—77
Legends; Dêmêtêr; the Kyklôpes . . 77—78
The rivers of Sicily; their nomenclature . . 78—84
The islands round Sicily; Aigousa, Melitê, & 85—87
The isles of Lipara; their legends . . 87—91
Corn and other fruits of Sicily; lack of woods . 91—93
Animals . . . . . 93—95
Town-life in Sicily; the hill-towns . . 95—99

§ 2. *The Earliest Inhabitants of Sicily.*

The nations before Phœnician and Greeks; connexion with Italy and Spain . . . 99—100
Sikans and Sikels; their relation to each other; relation of Sikans to Iberians . . . 100—101
Elymians 101
Forms of tradition and legend; their relation to modern criticism; traditions as to Sikans and Sikels . . . . . 102—105
Witness of the Odyssey; *Thrinakiê* and *Sikaniê* . 105—107

§ 3. *The Sikans.*

Relation of the names *Sikan* and *Sikel* . . 107—108
Origin of the Sikans; their presence in Italy and Sicily . . . . . 109—112
Legend of Kôkalos of Kamikos; site of Kamikos; legend of Minôs and Daidalos . . . 112—116
Legend of Engyum and its goddesses . . 116—118
Other notices of Sikans; Vessa; Hykkara; the name dies out . . . . . 118—120
Sikan towns; Entella, whether Elymian . . 120—123
No Sikan history . . . . . 123—124

§ 4. *The Sikels.*

Italian origin of the Sikels; their tongue; their relations to Latins and Opicans . . . 125—126
Mention of Sikels in the Odyssey; their presence in Epeiros 126
Early Greek knowledge of Sicily . . . 127
Date of the Sikel migration . . . 128
Alleged Sikel invasion of Egypt . . . 129—131
Sikels and Latins; speech of modern Sicily . 131—133
Lack of Sikel monuments 132
Mutual influence of Greeks and Sikels . . 134
Sikel advance against the Sikans . . . 135—136

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PAGE

Sikel sites . . . . . 136—158
Greeks adopt Latin or Sikel words . . 136—137
Sikels inland and on the coast . . . 138
Site and name of Caphalœdium . . . 139—142
Sites on the north coast, Amestratus, Apollonia, Haluntium, Agathyrnum . . . 143—145
Inland sites, Abacænum, Petra, Engyum, Capitium, Herbita, Galaria, Imachara . . 146—147
Sites near Ætna . . . . . 148—149
Sites on the east coast; Herbessus . . 149
Motyca . . . . . 150—151
Abiding of the Sikels in the inland parts . . 151
Midland sites; Menænum, Eryca, Echetla, Ergetium, Morgantia, Assorus . . . 152—154
Agyrium, birth-place of Diodôros . . . 155
Ameselum; Centuripa; its site . . . 156—158
Trinakia, Tyrakia 158
Greek and Sikel gods; the three Hyblas . . 159
Galeatic Hybla; its site and worship . . 160—162
Heraian Hybla . . . . . 162—164
The Palici; their lake, legend, and worship; the nether gods of Sicily . . . . 164—169
Dêmêtêr and Persephonê, their worship and legend 169—184
Henna; its site, name, and history . . 170—180
Older forms of the Dêmêtêr-legend . . 175—176
No early mention of Henna; its fame in the Latin writers; survival of Sikel religion . . 176—179
Lake Pergusa . . . . . 180—181
Legend of Hêraklês at Agyrium . . . 182—183
Hadranus at Hadranum: site and remains; kindly character of Sikel religion . . . 183—189
Akis, Galateia, and Polyphêmos; children of Galateia . . . . . 189—191
Legend of Daphnis 192
Traces of Sikels out of Sicily; the name Σικελία; fusion of Greeks and Sikels . . . 193—194

§ 5. *The Elymians.*

Alleged Trojan origin of the Elymians; various forms of the story . . . . 195—197
The Elymian name . . . . . 197—198
The Elymians strictly colonists . . . 198
Segesta and Eryx; their relations . . . 199—209
Segesta, its position, name, and remains . . 201—204
Eryx; its position and remains; its relations to Phœnicians . . . . . 204—209

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PAGE

Legend of Hêraklês at Eryx; its relation to the Trojan story; the story in Virgil . . 209—215
No certain account of the Elymians . . 215
General view of the primitive nations; their remains; their relation to Phœnicians and Greeks 216—220

CHAPTER III.

THE PHŒNICIAN SETTLEMENTS IN SICILY.

Nature of the authorities 221
Nature of Phœnician settlement . . . 222—223
Origin of the Phœnicians; their oldest seats . 223—224
The name *Phœnix* or *Pœnus*; *Canaan* the national name . . . . . 224—225
Phœnician settlements in Sicily not Carthaginian 225
Relation between Phœnicians and Hebrews; personal names . . . . . 225—226
Phœnician religion 226
Relations between Phœnicians and Greeks; with the old Phœnicia; with Carthage . . 227—228
Carthage the type of the ruling city; comparison with Rome and Venice . . . . 228—230
The House of Barak 230

§ 1. *The Old-Phœnician Colonies in Sicily.*

The old Phœnicia; its historical position . . 230—231
Results of modern research; the alphabet . 231—232
Comparison between Sicily and Cyprus . . 232—234
Early dealings between Greeks and Phœnicians; settlement in the islands; in Boiôtia . . 234—236
The alphabet; comparison of Phœnicians and Saracens . . . . . 236—237
Phœnicia under Persia; Carthage the centre of later Phœnician life 237
B.C. *c.* 1100 Early Phœnician settlements; foundation of Gades; comparison with Kymê . . . . 237—238
Colonies in Africa and Spain; Tharshish . . 239
Settlements on the islands; the smaller islands; Sicily and Sardinia . . . . 240—242
Objects of Phœnician settlement; factories and colonies; comparison with European settlements 242—243
No direct evidence for particular settlements in Sicily; danger of the argument from names . 243—245
The Phœnicians withdraw before the Greeks; their three settlements in the North-West; their relation to Carthage . . . . 245—246

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

		PAGE
B.C. 648—628	Effects of the foundation of Himera and of Selinous	246—247
	The three settlements not newly founded; strengthened by the withdrawal from the other posts	248—249
	Panormos the Semitic head; its three conquests for Europe	249
	Panormos originally Phœnician; its Phœnician and Greek names	249—251
	The coast and its changes; the Golden Shell	251—253
	Herktê or Pellegrino; never the akropolis of Panormos	253—254
	The mountains and the openings to the sea; haven of Mondello; the Giants' cave	254—257
	The streams; Oreto	257—258
	Site of Panormos; changes of land and water	258—261
	The Old and the New City; the great street	261—262
	Lack of ancient remains at Palermo	261
	Territory of Panormos; Cannita	262—263
	Solous; its name and site	262—265
	The town; Roman Soluntum; modern representatives	264—267
	Origin of Panormos and Solous; præ-historic remains; their outlook towards Europe	267—269
	Motya; approach to it from Panormos	269—270
	Its site; changes in the coast; its Phœnician remains; character of the Phœnician town	270—271
	Lilybaion; its position; it continues Motya	271—274
	Fate of the three Phœnician towns; their relation to one another, to Carthage, and to the Elymians	275—276
	Phœnician influence at Eryx; the temple of Aphroditê or Ashtoreth	276—279
	The wall of Eryx; older and later work	279—280
	Relations of Phœnicians, Greeks, and Sikans	281—282

§ 2. *The Establishment of the Carthaginian Power in Sicily.*

B.C. *c.* 540.

	Position of Carthage; comparison with Rome and Athens	283
B.C. 826—814	Foundation of Carthage; story of Dido; relation of the date to Sicilian history	283—284
	Site of Carthage; the Bozrah	284—285
	Carthage the New City; her relation to Tyre	286—287
	Her relation to the neighbouring Africans	286
	Foundation of Carthage: question of a female leader	287
	Kingship in Old Phœnicia; Kings and Judges; the *Shophetim*; absence of tyrants	287—289

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

		PAGE
	The Carthaginian constitution; witness of Aristotle, Cato, and Polybios	289—291
	Carthaginian character; service of citizens and mercenaries; leadership of the *Shophetim*	291—293
	The Carthaginian commons	293
	Decline of Old Phœnicia; growth of Phœnician power in the West; Carthage withstands the Greek advance	294—295
B.C. 654—653	First Carthaginian settlements; Ebusus	295
580	Attempt of Pentathlos in Western Sicily; Greek settlement of Lipara	296
	Carthaginian supremacy over the Phœnician towns in Sicily; comparison with Athens	296—300
510	Expedition of Dôrieus	297
540	Conquests of Malchus in Sicily	297
509	Treaty with Rome	297
B.C. 254—A.D. 830	Panormos under Rome; the Carthaginian and Roman provinces in Sicily	299—300
	Value of Sicily to Carthage	300
	Effects of the fall of Old Phœnicia; Phœnicia now in the West	301
	Greek influence on the Phœnicians	302
	Carthage in Sicily a destroying power; season of rest	303
B.C. 480—409	Small Phœnician remains in Sicily; Phœnician religion	304—305

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREEK SETTLEMENTS IN SICILY, B.C. 735—580.

	Greeks and barbarians; use of the name *barbarian*; relation of the Greeks to the native races of Sicily	306—308
	Sicily hellenized by Roman help	308—309
	Greek settlements generally; settlements in Asia; beginning of settlement in the West	309—310
	Early Greek knowledge of Sicily; the north-eastern corner first known	310—311
B.C. 1050 ?	Foundation of Kymê; its special position; question as to its date	311—312
	Question of earlier settlements in Sicily; dates of the settlements	312—313

§ 1. *The foundation of Naxos*, B.C. 735.

	Accidental beginning of settlement in Sicily; voyage of Theoklês; tale of his Athenian birth.	314—315

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

		PAGE
B.C. 735	Foundation of Naxos; its name; Chalkis the metropolis	315—316
	Comparison between Sicily and Britain; points of likeness and unlikeness in Greek and English settlements	317—320
	Site of Naxos: its present state; its relation to Taurœs; the site an advance on Kymê	321—325
B.C. 403	Destruction of Naxos	324
	English analogies	325—326
	The altar of Apollôn Archêgetês; other temples; coins	326—328
	Signs of Phœnician influence	327
	§ 2. *The Foundation of Syracuse.* B.C. 734.	
	Syracuse the greatest of Sikeliot, of Greek, of European cities; comparison with Athens and other cities	328—332
	Syracuse the champion of Greece and Europe; the	
A.D. 878	Saracen conquest; Syracuse supplanted by Palermo	332—333
	The enemies of Syracuse; Carthage; Athens	333
	Her relation to Corinth; her history strictly colonial	334—335
B.C. 734	Joint foundation of Korkyra and Syracuse	335—336
	Story of Archias and Aktaiôn	336—337
	Oracle given to Archias; other versions; relations of Archias and Myskellos	337—340
	Relations of Syracuse to Krotôn and Megara	338—339
	Relations between Corinth and her colonies; Syracuse and Korkyra; Syracuse and Kamarina	340—342
	Lack of details; settlers from Tenea; stories of Archias and others	342—345
	The site; comparison with Korkyra; the havens, the hill, the swamps	353
	The island	345
	No akropolis at Syracuse; misuse of the name	352—353
	Name of *Ortygia*; legends of Alpheios and Arethousa; relation to Artemis and Dêlos	353—357
	Name of *Syracuse*; theory of a double city; Polichna	357—362
	Kyana; the Olympieion; the Helorine road	360—361
	Sikel occupation; tombs	362—363
	Question of Phœnician occupation; relations between Syracuse and Carthage	363—364
	Legends of Kyana; alleged Phœnician element	364—367

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PAGE

§ 3. *The other Chalkidian Settlements on the East Coast.* B.C. 728—726.

B.C. 728 Extension of Chalkidian settlement in Sicily; foundation of Leontinoi and Katanê . . 367—368
Inland site of Leontinoi; reasons for the choice; the double akropolis . . . . 368—371
The Leontine lake and fields . . . 371
The name *Leontinoi*; the coins . . . 371—372
Foundation of Katanê; its site; changes in the coast; position of the Greek city . . 372—376
A.D. 1669 Effects of the eruptions of Ætna; the great earthquake . . . . . 374—376
Earlier occupants; Sikels; question of Phœnicians; connexion with Italy . . . . 376—377
Name of *Katanê, Catina, Catania* . . 377
Historical position of Katanê; Charôndas; Stêsichoros; legend of the Pious Brethren . . 377—379
Other Chalkidian settlements; Kallipolis, Euboia, Zanklê . . . . . 379—381

§ 4. *The Foundation of Megara.* B.C. 728.

The old Megara; its colonies . . . 381
Various attempts at settlement under Lamis . 382—388
First settlement at Trôtilon . . . 382
Settlement at Leontinoi; dealings with the Sikels; Megarians driven out by Chalkidians . . 383—384
Settlement on Thapsos; peninsulas of Thapsos and Xiphonia. . . . . 385—389
Final settlement at Megara; site and remains . 387—388
Megara and Hybla; King Hyblôn; probable Sikel intermixture . . . . 388—390

§ 5. *The Foundation of Zanklê.* B.C. *c.* 715.

Site and name of Zanklê; modern Messina . 390—392
First foundation by pirates from Kymê . . 392—393
B.C. *c.* 715 Second foundation from Kymê and Chalkis; its probable date . . . . . 393—394
Territory of Zanklê; Pelôris; Mylai . . 394—395

§ 6. *The Settlements on the Southern and Northern Coasts.* B.C. 688—580.

Completion of settlement on the east coast; cessation of Greek settlement in Sicily; foundation of the Italiot cities . . . . 395—397
Greek settlement begins again; the northern and southern coasts . . . . . 397—398
B.C. 688 Foundation of Lindioi or Gela; joint Rhodian and Cretan settlement . . . . 398—400

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

		PAGE
	Origin of the name *Gela*	400—401
	The river Gelas; changes in its course	401—402
	The territory of Gela; the hill; modern Terranova; tombs	401—404
	Position of Lindioi; Gela begins as an outpost	404—405
	The temple and statue of Apollôn; other temples; character of the city	405—407
	Historic position of Gela; most western conquest from Sikels; question of Phœnicians	406—408
	The Geloan territory; the fields; the lake; Maktôrion; Omphakê	408—410
B.C. 648	Small amount of settlement on the north coast; foundation of Himera; suggested by that of Gela	410—411
	Himera a colony of Zanklê; the Syracusan Mylêtids; their possible connexion with Mylai; laws and dialect of Himera	411—412
	Site of Himera; its relation to the Phœnician settlements; extent of the city	412—416
	The river Himeras	413—414
	The temple	415—416
	Territory of Himera; the baths; the legend of Hêraklês	415—417
B.C. 628	Foundation of Selinous from Megara	418
	Extent of its territory; its relation to Segesta	419—420
	The site; the haven; the akropolis	420—428
	Name of *Selinous*; plants; coins	420—422
B.C. 628—408	Dealings with Africa; short life of the first Selinous	423
	The temples; the early sculptures; the Kerkôpes	424—426
	Temples on the outlying hills	426—429
B.C. 580	Foundation of Akragas from Gela; last of the old settlements; its relation to Syracuse and to Gela	429—431
	Position of Akragas; not a seafaring power; the rivers; the haven; the akropolis; character of the hills	432—435
B.C. 480	Enlargement of the city; comparison with Syracuse and with English cities	434—438
	Temples on the akropolis	438
	Relation to Sikans and Phœnicians; extent of Akragantine territory	438—440
	Coins of Akragas	439—440
	§ 7. *The Expedition of Pentathlos.* B.C. 580—577.	
B.C. 580—577	Expedition of Pentathlos; its connexion with that of Dôrieus	441—442

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PAGE

Knidian and Rhodian enterprise; attempt of Pentathlos at Lilybaion . . . . 442—443
War between Selinous and Segesta; Pentathlos helps Selinous and is defeated . . . 443—444
The survivors settle at Lipara; its later history; the last settlement from Old Greece; Knidos its metropolis . . . . . 444—446
Extent of Greek territory in Sicily; relation of the nations to one another . . . 446—447

APPENDIX.

NOTE I. The Authorities for Early Sicilian History . . 449
II. The Breach between Sicily and Italy . . 458
III. The name *Trinakria* 462
IV. Sikans and Sikels 472
V. Kôkalos and Kamikos 495
VI. The Alleged Sikel Invasion of Egypt . . 505
VII. The Sikel System of Weights . . . 508
VIII. The Town of Trinakia 511
IX. The Three Towns called Hybla . . . 512
X. The Palici and their Lake 517
XI. Henna and its Goddesses 530
XII. The Origin of the Elymians . . . 542
XIII. Phœnician Local Names in Sicily . . . 559
XIV. The First Greek Settlements in Sicily . . 564
XV. The Foundation of Naxos 570
XVI. The Foundation of Syracuse . . . 572
XVII. Epipolai 578
XVIII. The Pious Brethren of Katanê . . . 581
XIX. Xiphonia 583
XX. The Foundation of Zanklê 584
XXI. The Expedition of Pentathlos . . . 588

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 2, l. 9. So it used to be believed. See the articles *Sicilia* and *Sardinia* in the Dictionary of Geography. Later measurements make Sicily the larger. See Holm, i. 327. Nissen, Italische Landeskunde, i. 353. The difference is of no historical importance.

p. 26, l. 9, for "successors" read "successes"

p. 56, note 2, for "i. 6. 2" read "i. 6. 3"

p. 59, l. 13, for "Calavà" read "Calarà"

p. 68, last line, for "along the south coast as far" read "along the east coast as far as"

p. 69, l. 1, for "Akesimês" read "Akesinês"

p. 69, l. 4, for "which" read "these"

p. 69, note 2. There seems a lurking reference to the derivation of *Nebrodes* in Gratius, Cynegetica, 525;

> "Possent Ætnæas utinam se ferre per arces,
> Qui Indus Siculis. quid tum, si turpia colla
> Aut tenuis dorso curvatur spina? per illos
> Cantatus Graiis Agragas, victæque fragosum
> Nebroden liquere feræ."

p. 70, note 3. In the Pervigilium Veneris (51) there is a reference to Hybla in which it is coupled with Henna;

> "Hybla, totos funde flores, quotquot annus attulit;
> Hybla florum sume vestem, quantus Ennæ campus est."

p. 76, l. 5 from bottom. There is a passage in Gratius, 430, which has been thought (Wernsdorf, Excursus vi) to refer to this phenomenon;

> "Est in Trinacria specus ingens rupe cavique
> Introsum reditus; circum atræ mœnia silvæ
> Alta premunt, ruptique ambustis faucibus amnes,
> Vulcano condicta domus, quam supter eunti
> Stagna sedent venis oleoque madentia vivo."

But there is really nothing like this at Akragas, and others have more reasonably changed the scene to Ætna.

p. 80, l. 1, for "Amênanos" read "Amenanos"

p. 80, l. 7. "Orêtos" is hardly an allowable form. The name is not found in any Greek writer. See p. 255, note 1. Cf. p. 83.

pp. 82–83, note 2, *dele* "The form .... ἄγειν." The derivation is not

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

that of Servius, but of Cluver himself. See more on this river at pp. 540, 541. When Silius, xiv. 230, calls it

"... Facilem superari gurgite parco
Pantagiam,"

he must have meant before it got between the rocks.

p. 84, l. 1. I am told that there is really no documentary authority for assigning the bridge to George; but the tradition, combined with the fact that the river got the name *Ammiraglio*, seems proof enough. Cf. p. 218.

p. 86, note 3. for "Clypea" read "Clypea"

p. 102, note 2, for Κύκλωπες καὶ Λαιστρυγόνες read Κύκλωπας καὶ Λαιστρυγόνας.

p. 106, l. 5. See on the identification with the peninsula of Mylai, p. 587.

p. 112, last two lines, *dele* "east" and "the volcanic Calogero their chief"

p. 119, side-note, for "Sikels" read "Sikans"

p. 140, note, for "140" read "146"

p. 144, l. 16, after "Saint Mark" read "perhaps, and not Apollonia, the site on San Fratello,"

p. 144, last line, *dele* "perhaps, and not Apollonia, the site of San Fratello; in either case it was"

p. 145, l. 4, *dele* "Saint"

p. 152, l. 10, for "Of" read "Among"

p. 176, l. 6 from bottom, and note 2. See p. 535.

p. 187, note 6. The Macedonian purification of the army by passing through the two parts of a slain dog, is not to be found in Arrian, but comes in Q. Curtius, x. 9. 12.

p. 189, last line. This version appears in the poem headed Pentadii Tumulus Acidis;

"Acidis hæc cernis montana cacumina busti,
Æquor et ex imis fluminis ire jugis.
Ista Cyclopei durant monumenta furoris;
Hic amor, hic dolor est, candida nympha, tuus.
Sed bene, si perlit, jacet hac sub mole sepultus,
Nomen et exultans unda perenne vehit.
Sic manet ille quidem neque mortuus esse feretur,
Vitaque per liquidas cærula manat aquas."

p. 190, l. 9. It will be seen in vol. ii. p. 266 that the story, or part of it, is much older, and may be traced back to Bacchylidês, nephew of Simônidês. But it would seem that in the earlier versions Galatês only was mentioned. One may guess that Keltos and Illyrios were added long after, when men had begun to speculate about *Galli* and *Celtæ*, perhaps after Illyricum had become part of the Gaelish province of Cæsar. One would like to know whether any form of the story had a place in the poem of Philoxenos, mentioned in p. 191, note.

p. 210, l. 2, for "had" read "has"

p. 213, note 2. See below, p. 420. The dwarf-palm is surely meant.

p. 227, note 2. I should not have left out the clear case of Ashtoreth-worship on Akrokorinthos itself. See vol. ii. p. 532. Strabo, viii. 6. 20.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

p. 230, l. 17. I have since said something more on this head in an article in the Contemporary Review for September, 1890, headed "Carthage."

p. 263, l. 12 from bottom, for "even" read "over"

p. 270, note. See vol. ii. p. 552.

p. 304, l. 18, for "he" read "we"

p. 307, l. 11, for "Thesprotians and Molottians" read "the Thesprotian and the Molottian."

p. 316, note 1, for "Strabo, v. 44" read "Strabo, v. 4. 4"

p. 316, note 2, for "Strabo, vi. 22" read "Strabo, vi. 2. 2"

p. 326, note. Was he black, like Our Lady of Einsiedeln? There seems to have been a black Archagetas at the elder Megara. Paus. i. 42. 5; *ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύθιος καλούμενος καὶ ὁ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα ἐοίκασι ξοάνοις, ὃν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐπονομάζουσιν Αἰγινητικοῖς ἔργοις ἐστὶν ὅμοιος. ἑβένου δὲ πάντα ὁμοίως πεποίηται.* Benndorf, 36.

p. 327, note 2. So also the Appendix to the first volume of the *Paræmiographi*, i. 72.

p. 329, l. 22. We know that Syracuse, as it stood in the Peloponnesian War, was equal in size to Athens (Thuc. vii. 28). The enlargements of Dionysios must have made it much greater than Athens, unless we take in Peiraieus. By the time that Hadrian enlarged Athens, Syracuse had begun to shrink up again.

p. 335, l. 18, for "settlements" read "settlement"

pp. 340–1. I fear that I have not in this paragraph described the relations between Corinth and her colonies quite accurately. There is nothing to change that directly concerns Sicilian history, as the contrast between Korkyra and Syracuse holds good in any case. But the peculiar position of Corinth towards her colonies is interesting for the history of Greek colonization and of colonization in general. A chief source of knowledge about them is the seventh book of Nicolas of Damascus (C. Müller, iii. 391), who is held to represent Ephoros. I infer that Korkyra, after establishing its independence, was brought under Corinthian dominion under either Kypselos or Periandros, and won back its independence after the fall of their dynasty. That dynasty was the great time of Corinthian colonization, and the colonies, planted by tyrants, were naturally planted as dependencies, largely ruled by under-tyrants of the ruling house. Epidamnos, I infer from the whole story, was a plantation of Periandros in his character of lord both of Corinth and Korkyra. Its formal founder and part of its citizens came from Corinth; after the renewed independence of Korkyra, it had naturally, from its position, more to do with Korkyra than with Corinth.

p. 350, l. 4, for "balk" read "bulk"

p. 353, note 3. A vast number of stories, conjectures, and what not, will be found in the scholiasts on Pindar, Nem. i. 1. Cf. also Polybios, xii. 4*d*.

p. 359, line 5 from bottom. All the singular forms of the name do seem to be late (see p. 357, note 3); yet one would not be surprised if one lighted on an early form to match the Homeric Θήβη, Μυκήνη, and others.

p. 366, note 4, for *ἀγνοοῦντα* read *ἀγνοούντων*

p. 380. The reference to note 3 should come in l. 15 after the word "Gelôn."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

p. 414, note 1. A forthcoming paper by Mr. Arthur Evans, in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1891, pp. 9, 10, has some further matter about the coins of Himera. The name has a remarkable number of initial letters, H in the older spelling, I in the newer, as also K (as mentioned in the note), B (a form of H), and ⊦, a rare form of F. The figure of the Chimaira which appears in connexion with the K spelling is connected with the root חמר (see p. 414, note 2), as applied to the hot springs. The Lykian Chimaira, it appears, was a volcano.

One can only guess at these things. I should expect to find that the name of Himera had in its origin nothing to do with Greek *ἵμερος* or *ἡμέρα*, nothing to do with Semitic חמר, nothing to do with a Lykian Chimaira. The Greeks, it is clear, played on the name; the Phœnicians may have done the same. The chances are that the real name is Sikan, and those who have conquered the Impossible may give us a Basque guess with more likelihood of success than any of the others.

The point of real importance is that *Ἱμέρα* and *ἡμέρα* came near enough in sound for the words to be played upon.

p. 421, l. 5. The plant *σέλινον*, I am told by Mr. Vines and Mr. Clements Markham, is really wild celery.

p. 422, l. 3. On these works of Empedoklês, see vol. ii. p. 353.

p. 430, note; *dele* the last two lines. They are true of most of Pindar's odes, but not of this particular one, which must be older than the enlargement of Akragas. See vol. ii. p. 269. The words *καλλίστα βροτεᾶν πολίων*, applied to Akragas before its enlargement, answer to the title *La Magnifica*, applied to Girgenti, now it has again shrunk up within its oldest bounds.

p. 440, note. There is another mention of Eknomos as Akragantine in Plutarch, Diôn, 26. But it is Geloan in Diod. xix. 104.

p. 456, l. 13 from bottom, for "contemporory" read "contemporary"

p. 457, l. 1. We get the *περίρρυτα πεδία* in Eurip. Phœn. 209, 210, and in Plutarch, Dion, 24, we read of *ἡ προσκλύζουσα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θάλασσα*, where *ἀκρόπολις* means the Island.

p. 460, l. 5 from bottom. There are also two references in Manilius. In iv. 632 he says;

"Trinacria Italia tantum præcisa recessit."

And again in iv. 787;

"Insula Trinacriæ fluitantem ad jura sororem
Subsequitur Creten sub eodem condita signo,
Proximaque Italia et tenui divisa profundo
Ora paris sequitur leges, nec sidere rupta est."

For "ad jura" Mr. Ellis suggests "aditura." We must remember that Sicily, as conceived at any time before D'Anville (see p. 53), had much more the air of drawing near to or pointing to Crete than it has in real life.

p. 463, l. 13, *dele* "clearly"

p. 466, l. 16. In later editions I find here the form *Τρινακίη*. The manuscripts seem to have both forms. O. Schneider (i. 214) has a note; "Equidem putaverim *Τρινακίαν* poetas dixisse ab *δαΐ* deducentes nomen velificantibus et Homerica insula *Θρινακίῃ* et urbe *Τρινακία* quam memoret Diod. xii. 29, atque hanc urbem hic quoque intelligendam esse affirmat Toup." One would be glad to add a new fact to our very small stock about the town of Trinakia, and

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the more so as Trinakia is distinguished from Ætna. But Meineke (160) wants to get rid of Αἴτνη and to read αὖε γὰρ Ἰρή, meaning seemingly the Liparaian Hiera (see p. 88). The whole passage is curious;

. . . . . αὖε γὰρ Αἴτνη,
αὖε δὲ Τρινακίη Σικανῶν ἔδος, αὖε δὲ γείτων
Ἰταλίη, μεγάλην δὲ βοὴν ἐπὶ Κύρνος ἀύτει.

It is comforting to find Italy spoken of as near Sicily, and not the other way. And we will not correct Ἰταλίη in a scholiast who says νῆσος ἀντικρὺ [al. πρὸ] τῆς Σικελίας ἡ Κύρνος ἐστί. Sardô, to be sure, is in the way; but, as it is no longer the greatest of islands, it matters less.

p. 471, l. 6 from bottom. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf (Philologische Untersuchungen, vii. 168) takes the derivation from θρίναξ for granted. "Thrinakia, von θρῖναξ, heisst die gabelförmige Insel." It is not easy to see why. H. Nissen, on the other hand (Italische Landeskunde, 4), says, "Auch der Name der Heliosinsel Θρινακίη scheint misverstanden aus Τρινακρία, 'Dreispitz,' eine Bezeichnung, die Sicilien früh in der Schiffertradition erhalten haben mag." He naturally refers to Strabo, vi. 2. 1. See p. 464.

p. 474, l. 2, *dele* "there quoted"

p. 489. On Sikel words see a note of Eusolt, G. G. i. 284, with the further instances of μοῖτον for *mutuum* and κάρκαρον for *carcer*. Μοῖτον comes from the excellent authority of Varro, L. L. v. 179, where I ought to have noticed it before; "Si datum quod reddatur, mutuum, quod Siculi moeton; itaque scribit Sophron moeton anti moetu." Of these last words there are many readings, of which "moeton antimo" clearly points to the proverb (whatever it means) preserved by Hêsychios, seemingly from Sôphrôn, μοιτοὶ ἄντιμοι; παροιμία Σικελοῖς· ἡ γὰρ χάρις μοι τὸν οἰνόχαριν. I do not find it in the professed Παροιμιογράφοι.

The use of *mutuum* comes under the same head as the use of Sikel weights and measures. See more in the Appendix, p. 508.

p. 491, l. 19, *dele* "Σικελοί and Σικελοί"

p. 492, last line. I have to thank Mr. Sayce for telling me how. Stephen of Byzantium witnesses that there was a Ξουάγελα in Karia, where was the tomb of Kar himself, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ τοὔνομα. καλοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Κᾶρες σοῦαν τὸν τάφον, γέλαν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα. I must confess that I had never looked out Ξουάγελα. But what a leap to our chilly Sikel river.

p. 497, l. 1. Diodôros (xvi. 9) has another casual reference to Minôa, in which he gives another account, attributing its foundation to Minôs himself; Δίων . . . . . κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνης εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μίναων· αὕτη δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Μίνωος ἐκτίσθη τοῦ βασιλέως Κρητῶν, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ζητῶν Δαίδαλον ἐπεξενώθη Κωκάλῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Σικανῶν. The other version is likely to preserve the more genuine tradition. Diodôros then goes on to speak of the place in its later character of Hêrakleia or Ras Melkart, but without mentioning the name. We shall come to it often in yet later times. The coins spoken of in the text are specially important, as marking a Phœnician reaction later than the Greek coins at Panormos mentioned in p. 302.

p. 503, l. 9 from bottom, for "Kriminos" read "Krimisos"

p. 513, l. 7 et seqq. from bottom, read "one near to the site of the Hyblaian Megara, and also known as the Greater Hybla"

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

p. 515, l. 11 from bottom. γελᾶν=λάμπειν might come from Hêsychios; γέλαν· αὐγὴν ἡλίου.

p. 519, l. 9, for "Synaithos" read "Symaithos"

p. 525, l. 2 from bottom. This of course depends on the reading "Martis" or "matris" in the passage from Virgil quoted in p. 517. I do not presume to judge of such matters; but I should be better pleased to read "Martis," as helping me to another chthonian power.

p. 530, l. 6, for "which" read "whom"

p. 535, line 7 from bottom. Schneider also rejects the line; but Henna is mentioned, and seemingly with reference, though less distinctly, to Dêmetêr and Persephonê, in two other places of Kallimachos, but it is the same Hymn (31), where Henna is spoken of as beloved by Dêmêtêr;

. . . . θεὰ δ' ἐπεμαίνετο χώρῳ
ὅσσον Ἐλευσῖνι, Τριοπᾷδ' ὅσον, ὁκκόσον Ἔννᾳ.

Τριοπᾷδ' (written many ways) will carry us on to Têlinês and his mysterious ἱερά. See vol. ii. pp. 102, 122. The other place is in a fragment. 146 (Schneider, ii. 413),

λεγέτω θεὸς, οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίχα τῶδ' ἀείδειν
. . . . . .
νύμφα, σὺ μὲν ἀστερίαν ὑπ' ἄμαξαν ἤδη
. . . . . .
φιλωτέρα ἄρτι γὰρ οἱ Σικελὰ μὲν Ἔννα.

The commentator has much to say about γά and γάρ; but it does not seem to have come into his head to ask, what one would have thought was the root of the matter, what his author exactly meant by Σικελά. In a much earlier writer Σικελὰ Ἔννα would have meant "Henna of the Sikels." In a much later writer it would mean simply "Henna in Sicily." Which did it mean in the mouth of Kallimachos? Τρινακίη, Σικανῶν ἔδος, is rather against his accuracy in such matters, especially if he really did mean the Sikel town. But the main point is that Kallimachos does mention Henna in connexion with Dêmêtêr, though not with the same distinctness as the Latin poets. It was only gradually, during the writing of this volume, that I perceived that there is no mention of Henna in connexion with the goddesses in any early Greek writer. Had I grasped this fact from the beginning, I might have set it forth earlier and more clearly. There can be no doubt that Kallimachos is the first extant writer who mentions it. In so late a writer, a contemporary of the second Hierôn, lord of Henna as well as of Syracuse, their mention is not wonderful; he comes rather into the same class as the Latin writers. The holiness of Henna must have been fully established in Greek as well as in Sikel belief long before his day. It may even have been established in Pindar's day, though he did not find it convenient to say anything about it.

p. 535, l. 15. So the scholiast on Pindar, Nem. i. 20, says; ἤγουν Φερσεφόνη περὶ τοὺς τῆς Αἴτνης διατρίβουσα λειμῶνας ἡρπάσθη παρὰ τοῦ Πλούτωνος. It does just come into one's head whether the first Greek attempt to find a place in Sicily for the story may not have planted it by Ætna. And we might take the passage from Karkinos quoted in p. 533 as looking the same way. But if this be so, it is somewhat strange that Pindar, who has much to say about

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the goddesses, much to say about Ætna, does not seem ever to bring the two together.

p. 540, l. 10, for "Crinise" read "Crimise"

p. 578, l. 4. This seems to agree very well with the last announcement about Pheidôn; Busolt, i. 140.

p. 588, l. 1, for "Artemisia" read "Artemision"

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I

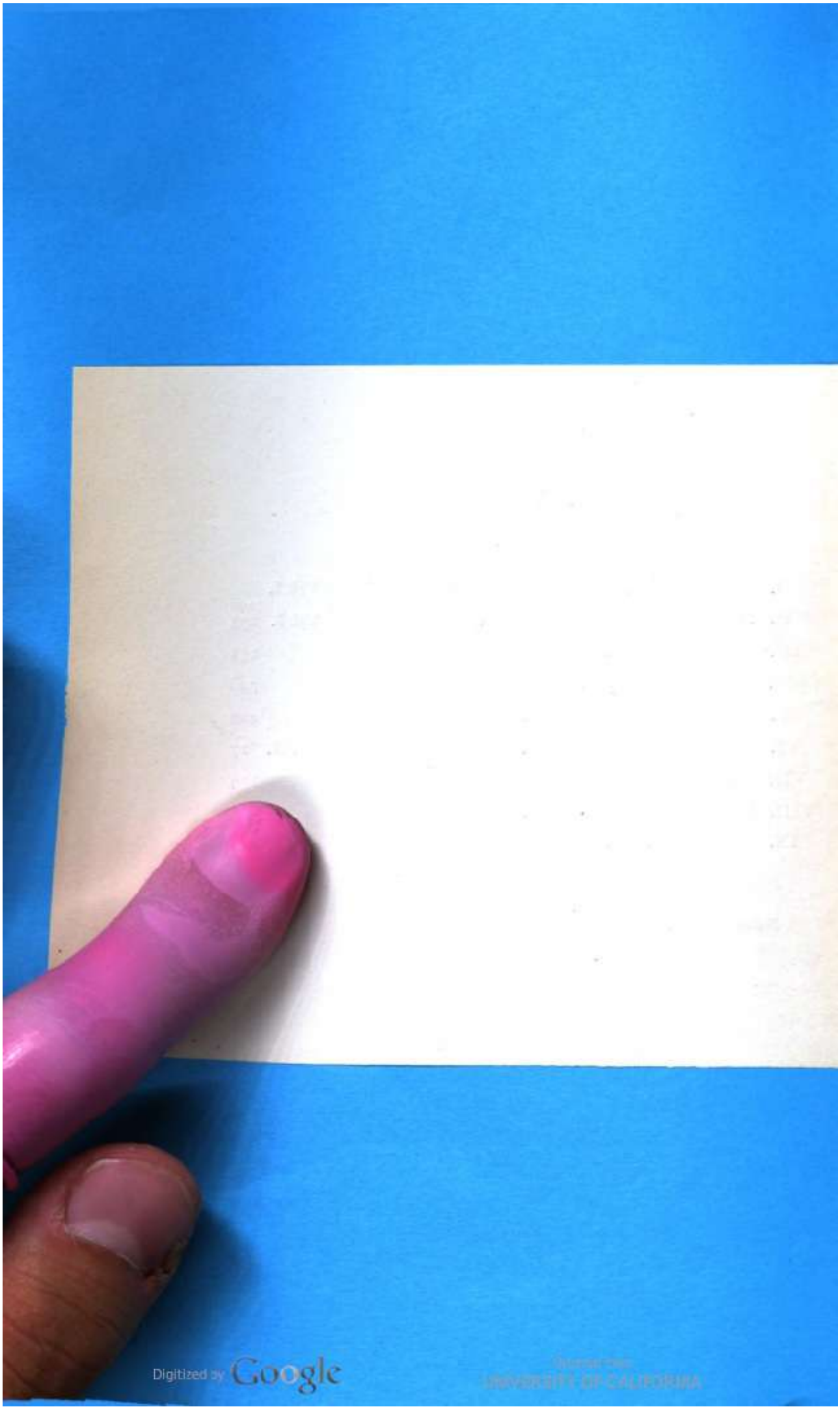
LIST OF MAPS.

I.	Sicily, shewing the Early Settlements .	Frontispiece to Vol. I.	
			PAGE
II.	Panormos and Solous	Vol. I.	253
III.	Motya and Eryx	,,	271
IV.	Syracuse, Megara, &c.	,,	348
V.	Sketch Map of Selinous	,,	420
VI.	The Syracusan Advance	Vol. II.	17
VII.	Syracuse in the Fifth Century B.C. . . .	,,	139
VIII.	Battle of Himera	,,	187
IX.	Akragas	,,	224

islands which lie scattered along so many parts of the Mediterranean coast, preeminently along those of Greece itself. It belongs to another class from Chios and Lesbos and Samos, from Euboia and Korkyra and Crete, even from

[1] It has an odd sound when Skylax (13) speaks of Sicily as if it were not part of Europe; *κατὰ δὲ Ῥήγιόν ἐστι Σικελία νῆσος ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπέχουσα στάδια ιβ' εἰς Πελωριάδα ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA


Digitized by Google

CHAPTER I.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SICILIAN HISTORY.

IN the view of universal history, the island of Sicily, the greatest of Mediterranean islands, had a special calling laid upon it by its geographical position. Placed in the midst of the great inland sea, it is indeed in some sort an appendage to the central peninsula of Southern Europe; but it is something more. It is something more in its geography; it is something more in its history. It is a breakwater between the eastern and western divisions of the Mediterranean; it parts the waters that wash the coasts of Spain and Gaul from the waters that wash the coasts of Greece and Asia. It has not wholly lost the character which geologists tell us that it bore in unrecorded days, when it formed a bridge uniting the European and the African continent, and parting the two great divisions of the Mediterranean into two unconnected lakes. It parts, and at the same time it brings together, Europe and Africa, Eastern and Western Europe[1]. It is an island; but it is an island which has somewhat of the character of a continent. Its size alone distinguishes it from the smaller islands which lie scattered along so many parts of the Mediterranean coast, preeminently along those of Greece itself. It belongs to another class from Chios and Lesbos and Samos, from Euboia and Korkyra and Crete, even from

Central position of Sicily.

Its *quasi*-continental character.

[1] It has an odd sound when Skylax (13) speaks of Sicily as if it were not part of Europe; *κατὰ δὲ Ῥήγιόν ἐστι Σικελία νῆσος ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπέχουσα στάδια ιβ' εἰς Πελωριάδα ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. Cyprus whose fortunes it so largely reproduced on a greater scale. A superficial glance at the map might tempt us to say that Sicily formed part of a group of three great islands in the Western Mediterranean. A modern habit leads us to look on Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, as alike insular appendages to Italy. But such is not the view of history; such is not the view even of accurate geography. We are indeed somewhat surprised when we find that of the three islands just spoken of Sicily is physically not the greatest, that it is surpassed by Sardinia in superficial area. The two islands have indeed something in common in their geographical character. Sicily, with its solid mass, is among islands what Asia Minor is among peninsulas. Its shape, so nearly triangular, the nature of its coast, so much less cut up by gulfs and inlets, so much less fringed by smaller islands, than the coast of Greece or even the coast of Italy, all help to strengthen the *quasi*-continental character which it derives from its size. Sicily is an island; its people are or should be islanders; but language sometimes yields to facts, and we find the inhabitants of Sicily spoken of and speaking of themselves as men of the mainland [1]. In no other Mediterranean island could there be spots so thoroughly cut off from the sea; the inland parts of Sicily are perhaps more thoroughly inland than the inland parts of Peloponnêsos. Sardinia too is a solid island; but it is less solid than Sicily; its shape does not give it a character so nearly continental. But this is only a small part of the difference between the two. In truth the three islands do not form a group; Sardinia and Corsica stand in close relation to one another; Sicily stands apart from both. Sardinia and Corsica are essentially islands of the Western Mediterranean; Sicily belongs neither to the Western

Comparison with Sardinia and Corsica.

[1] See the speech of Hermokratês in Thucydides (vii. 21), where he says that the Athenians rose to their naval power, having before been ἠπειρῶται μᾶλλον τῶν Συρακοσίων.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Mediterranean nor to the Eastern; it parts and unites the two. CHAP. I.

It is this central position which has given Sicily its special historical character; it is this which has called it to be, before all other lands, the meeting-place of the nations. It is to this, more than to anything else, that Sicily owes its illustrious place in the history of the world; it is this which has made its fortunes so widely different from those of Corsica and Sardinia [1]. It is an island; but an island which, according to the ideas of early times, was far too great to be the home of a single power or even of a single people. No one city like those of Greece, no one village-league like those of Italy, could make the whole island its possession. And, if its size forbade it to be the home of a single power, its position no less forbade it to be the home of a single nation. Before great dominions arose, Sicily was, by its own nature, a world of its own; it was a region large enough for the life, the interests, the disputes, of many powers, such as powers were then, to find room enough for their full action within its bounds.

Sicily not the home of any one power or people.

But the special characteristic of Sicily is that it has been something more than a land cut up among many powers. It has been a land cut up among powers and nations, specially diverse, specially hostile. Its geographical position enabled it, it almost constrained it, to be, beyond all other European lands, the battle-field of rival races and rival creeds. It lay open to settlement from every quarter. The connecting link between Europe and Africa invited settlement both from Europe and from Africa; the barrier between the Eastern and the Western Mediterranean invited settlement from the maritime and colonizing powers of both those regions. Above all, the nearness of the island to the central peninsula of Europe invited settlement, influence, conquest, relations and dealings of every kind, at

Sicily the meeting-place of hostile powers and nations.

[1] See the remarks of Arnold, History of Rome, i. 429.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. the hands of the successive masters of that peninsula.

Its relation to Italy. Being what it was and where it was, Sicily was destined, as by an irresistible fate, to supply a dwelling-place and a fighting-place for the chief powers of the Mediterranean world, above all for those who, in any age, were strong in the neighbouring land of Italy. Sicily, too great to be the possession of a single king or city or even league, was not merely to be, like the Cretan island and the Peloponnesian peninsula, the possession of many owners of kindred stock. It was to be parted out and striven for among disputants bound as it were to enmity and rivalry on every ground. This lot is indeed not peculiar to Sicily; it is shared with it by two other of the Mediterranean lands, by a lesser island to the East and by a greater peninsula to the West. Cyprus and Spain have both, no less than Sicily, been the meeting-places and the battle-fields of nations. There has therefore never at any time been a Cypriot or Sicilian nationality at once united and distinct. Spain, in the geographical sense, still contains two kingdoms; one might say that it still contains more than two nations. In the case of Sicily above all, the meeting-place of the nations, the battle-field of the nations, could never become the home and cradle of any one nation. All the races of Europe and of some lands beyond Europe have played their part in the history of Sicily. For the very reason that Sicily has found dwelling-places for so many nations, a Sicilian nation there has never been.

Comparison with Cyprus and Spain.

No Sicilian nation at any time.

But the fact that Sicily has become the dwelling-place of contending nations at once distinguishes it from other lands which have been, in one age or another, simple places of battle. No one could speak of Sicily, no one could speak of Spain or Cyprus, as Lombardy and Belgium have in some ages been truly spoken of, as the cock-pit of Europe. Most of the wars which have been waged on the soil of Sicily or on the waters that wash her shores have been wars in

Wars for Sicily.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

which Sicily herself was more deeply concerned than any other land. One of the greatest struggles in the history of the world, the first war between the Roman and the Phœnician, was emphatically the War for Sicily[1]. And the other wars that Sicily has seen before and after have been in like sort wars for Sicily or for some part of Sicily. They have been wars between nations or powers already established in the island, or else wars between nations or powers that were seeking establishment, dominion, or influence, on its soil. Some fought to win lands from others; some to keep the lands which themselves or their forefathers had won. Some came to conquer, some to deliver; some came on an errand in which deliverance and conquest can hardly be dissevered. But in every strife Sicily itself was the object. If there has never been a Sicilian nation, it is because Sicily has drawn to itself the men of so many nations that none of them has been able to take and keep the whole land as its own abiding possession.

The greatness of Sicily not native,

The greatness of Sicily therefore has never been strictly a native greatness. It has not been, like the greatness of old Greece or of old Italy, the greatness of an immemorial people, the greatness of a people who, at the beginning of recorded history, appear already in possession of the land which is their historic seat. We cannot conceive Greeks and Latins apart from Greece and Latium, or Greece and Latium apart from Greeks and Latins. Of inhabitants of Greece and Latium earlier than Greeks and Latins we can say nothing for certain; and, though we are used to Greeks and Latins in lands far away from Greece and Latium, yet we know them only as colonists from Greece and Latium who in some sort carry Greece and Latium with them. The historical greatness of Sicily was assuredly not the greatness of any people who stood to the land in the relation in which Hellênes stood to Hellas and Latins

[1] Polybios, i. 13; ὁ περὶ Σικελίας πόλεμος.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. to Latium. The land took its name from one part of its inhabitants; but those who gave it their name were not its oldest recorded inhabitants, and assuredly the historic greatness of the land was not their work. The history of Sicily up to the Roman conquest is like the history of America; it is the history of a land which became great by colonization from other lands, by colonization in the strictest sense as opposed to national migration. Its greatness is due to settlers from other lands who kept up in their new homes some kind of relation to the lands from which they set forth.

but colonial.

Successive settlers in Sicily.

The greatness of Sicily was therefore essentially a colonial greatness, the greatness of communities which did not form whole nations but only parts of nations, nations of which other, and commonly larger, parts remained in their elder homes. Sicily was never the land of a single nation, holding that one land as its own and confined to the land which was its own. She was never in historic times the chief seat of any nation, nor is there any reason to believe that her position in prehistoric times was at all different. She was at no time a land from which men set forth at all largely to settle in other lands; she was at all times a land in which men came largely to settle from other lands. So it was with her Phœnician, her Greek, her Roman, her Arab, her Norman, and her Lombard settlers. All these nations made settlements on Sicilian soil; but Sicily never became the head seat of the power of any of them. Of none of these nations did the whole body or the greater part take up its abode in Sicily. Their Sicilian settlements were only offshoots of a stock whose main body remained elsewhere. There was a day when Sicily contained the greatest city and the mightiest power in the Hellenic world; but Sicily never became Hellas; she never became the leading part of Hellas. Under the

Sicily never the chief seat of any nation.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Phœnician and the Arab the position of Sicily was one of more or less dependence. From the time when Carthage rose to power, the Phœnician cities in Sicily were dependencies of a greater Phœnician city elsewhere. The Saracen lords of Sicily, besides their allegiance to the common head of Islam, always acknowledged some kind of supremacy in African princes of their own creed. Under the Roman dominion Sicily was, like other lands, a subject province; and when Rome had grown into Romania, the dream of making Sicily the chief seat of Roman power never came into the head of any man, save once perhaps into the frenzied brain of an oppressor who had made the New and the Old Rome alike hateful to him[1]. It was under her Norman princes that Sicily, as Sicily, as an united whole, held her highest place. But she was not the only seat of Norman power; a dweller in the island of the Ocean can hardly allow that she was the chief. And the Norman lord of Sicily was lord also of lands on the adjoining mainland which in the end showed themselves to be greater than the island. The history of Sicily then, with all its greatness and its special interest, must still be set down as in some sort a secondary history. It is a history which exists mainly in its relation to the history of other lands. So to be is implied in the position of the island as the meeting-place of the nations. The nations did not go forth in their full force to meet there. It was as when North America might be called the meeting-place and the battle-field of France, Spain, and England. The new France, the new Spain, the new England, remained secondary to the elder European homes of the three nations. And if in later times we may say that North America has become the greatest home of the English folk, it is the greatest home only in the sense

CHAP. I.

Semitic Sicily.

Roman Sicily.

Norman Sicily.

Comparison with later colonial histories.

[1] We shall come in due course to the sojourn of the Emperor Constans the Second at Syracuse.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. in which for a while Sicily contained the greatest power of Hellas.

Importance of Sicily in European history.

But if the history of Sicily is in this sense secondary, if it is chiefly made up of the strifes of nations whose chief seats were elsewhere, yet Sicily ever held a place which tended to make its possession of the utmost weight among the powers which strove for it. It was more than a prize to add to the strength and fame of the power which might win it. The fate of Sicily touched the very life of the contending powers; it touched the very life of all European history. In the widest view of the world's history, Greece and Italy must count as one whole. The dominion of Rome was the form which Europe had to take in the face of Asia and Africa. The great question, that in which Greece was the earlier champion and Rome the later, was whether Sicily should be European or African—if African be the right word to apply to an Asiatic power planted on African soil. And in that question it turned on the possession of Sicily whether Europe or Africa should hold the first place in the Mediterranean world. The Greek kept the greater part of Sicily for Europe till the Roman was able to secure the whole. We can hardly conceive what would have come if Gelôn, Dionysios, Timoléôn, Agathoklês, and Pyrrhos—tyrants, kings, and deliverers must for once be classed together—had all fought in vain, if, when Rome and Carthage met face to face, all Sicily had been Phœnician. We can better conceive what would have come if the result of the War for Sicily had been to leave Panormos a Carthaginian possession and Syracuse a Carthaginian dependency. To say no more, with such a starting-point in his hands, the greatest Hannibal could hardly have needed to make his toilsome march across the Alps.

Its place between Europe and Africa.

The early inhabitants.

Sicily was thus a land of many nations, but never in recorded times the chief seat of any one nation. And even

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

in prehistoric days the two chief races of the island, Sikans and Sikels, no less than Phœnicians and Greeks, seem to have been settlers from other lands, who left kinsfolk behind them in their elder seats. This was undoubtedly so with those who gave its abiding name to the island. The larger part of the Sikel people may have moved into the land which through their coming became *Sikelia*; but the whole nation did not change its seats; ages after there still were Sikels in other lands. But we instinctively draw a distinction between the migrations, whole or partial, of primæval and unrecorded days and the colonial enterprises of the great colonizing nations of history. The movements, whether of the whole or of a part, whether of a greater or a lesser part, of an undeveloped nation which has as yet no history, no defined place in the world, is something essentially different from settlements systematically sent forth to other lands by established cities or kingdoms. The former class of migrations have happened in all times and places; but they belong mainly to the early ages of a people. The latter class are what we call colonies in the special sense, the Phœnician and Greek colonies of one age of the world, the Spanish and English colonies of another. It was the settlement of colonies of this kind on its coasts which gave Sicily its special place in history. The great central island of the Mediterranean could not fail to draw to itself the eyes of the colonizing nations of the Mediterranean, in days when colonization in the strict sense was still one of the leading features of the world's history. Sicily stood equally inviting to both the great colonizing nations of that age, to the men of Canaan and to the men of Hellas. It is their rivalry, the rivalry of the two races, elder and younger, Semitic and Aryan, which sought before all things the dominion of the sea, that forms the main feature of Sicilian history for several ages. It is around the strife between Greek and Phœnician

CHAP. I.

Sikans and Sikels.

Migration and colonization.

Specially colonial character of Sicilian history.

Strife of Greek and Phœnician.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. that the interest of Sicilian history, as a contribution to universal history, mainly gathers, as long as Sicily had any claim to be looked on as a separate world of its own.

It is the joint presence of Greek and Phœnician which gives the elder Sicilian history its highest interest and its deepest instruction. But it is the presence of the Greek, not that of the Phœnician, which gives Sicilian history its special and abiding charm. It was the coming of the Greek which made Sicily all that we understand by Sicily. Of a Sicily divided between Phœnicians and Sikels, of a Sicily in which Phœnicians held the mastery over Sikels, we cannot divine what the fate might have been. But we know that it could never have been the Sicily which holds so brilliant a place in the world's history. The Roman might still have overcome the Phœnician, the Norman might still have overcome the Saracen, but the element which in either case was the true life of the island would have been lacking. The true Sicily is the Hellenic Sicily and none other. It is the settlements from Greece, the great cities which their founders planted, the mighty monuments which they have left behind them, the contributions of Sicily to the art, the literature, and the philosophy of the common Hellenic stock—it is the thrilling interest of the internal stories of her Greek cities—it is the constant connexion between them and the history of the elder Hellas, the tale of attack by the Athenian and of deliverance by the Corinthian—it is all this that gives Sicily its earliest right to rank among the most historic regions of the earth.

The true Sicily Greek.

But specially does the Greek side of the land stand forth in the two great times of struggle between races and creeds on Sicilian soil. The question had to be fought out, not in one age of the world only, but in two distinct groups of ages—the later repeating the earlier in the most marked of all historic cycles—whether the central island of the central sea should belong to the West or to the East, to the

Share of Sicily in the strife of East and West.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

men of Aryan or of Semitic stock. And, as ever happens when men of Semitic stock come on the field, the strife of races was from the beginning made sharper by the strife of creeds. Sicily, as an outpost of Europe, had to be guarded or to be won, first from the Phœnician and then from the Saracen. On no land has the life of the nations that dwelled in it been more thoroughly for ages a part of that eternal strife whose abiding nature was better understood by Herodotus than it has been by some in our own day. On no soil has the strife of West and East, the strife which in its first days took the shape of the strife between Greek and barbarian, been carried on more stoutly. It showed itself in all its fulness as a strife of creeds when it took the shape of the great strife between Christendom and Islam. But it was a strife of creeds long before. It showed itself as such in earlier shapes ages before Christendom and Islam came into being. On the soil of Sicily the faith of Christ has been overshadowed before the faith of Mahomet, and the faith of Mahomet has again died out before the faith of Christ. But in earlier days, before Aryan Europe had adopted that Semitic faith which the Semitic man himself despised, the creed of Aryan Europe was already worth fighting for, and well was it fought for on Sicilian soil. In days when no purer light had yet been given, it was already a crusade to strike a blow for Apollôn by the shore of Naxos, for Athênê on the island of Ortygia, against the foul and bloody rites of Moloch and Ashtoreth. This calling, as the abiding battle-field of East and West, is the highest aspect of Sicilian history. And, among all the races of Sicily, it was before all the Greek of Sicily to whom it fell to be the champion of Europe, to be in the second struggle more than the champion of Europe, to be the champion of Christendom. Rulers of Italy, in both ages, stepped in to make the quarrel their own and to reap the fruits of it for themselves; but it was the Greek, whether

CHAP. I.

Strife of creeds from the beginning.

Strife of Christendom and Islam.

Western championship of the Greek in Sicily.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. by blood or by adoption, who had long done and suffered before the foreign conqueror or deliverer showed himself. Whoever it is who comes to the rescue, it is a Greek folk, at all events a folk speaking the Greek tongue, that has to be guarded or delivered in one age from the Carthaginian and in another from the Saracen.

Connexion of Greece, Italy, and Sicily.

In truth we may even go further, and say that, close as the connexion between Sicily and Italy is for many ages it is in some sort dependent on the connexion between Sicily and Greece. At some stages of the history the ties which unite Sicily and Greece, the ties which unite Sicily and Italy, and the ties which unite Italy and Greece, seem twined together into a single cord. Sicily and Italy, so far as they became Greek lands, became such in the same age and as the fruit of one great colonizing impulse. Greek Italy and Greek Sicily formed in some points a world together, a world less than the general world of Hellas, a world greater than the inner world of Sicily. And powers arose at several periods which were at home alike in Sicily, in Italy, and in the lands beyond the Hadriatic. Rulers of Sicily set up in distant ages a dominion which, starting from Sicily, stretched into both the other lands. Tyrants of Syracuse fought, colonized, and bore rule, as on both sides of the Messanian strait, so on both sides of the Ionian sea. Dukes and kings of Palermo, borne by one impulse from Apulia into Sicily and by another back again from Sicily into Apulia, did not feel their work done at either stage till they had shown themselves east of Hadria and had established a dominion, doomed to a longer or shorter life, on Greek or Illyrian soil. Here we see the Greeks of the West and the masters of the Greeks of the West stretching forth their hands by a natural impulse to the lands of the Greeks of the East. So too the Greeks of the East and those who took the place of the Greeks of the East not seldom stretched forth

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

their hands to deal with the affairs of the Greeks of the West. Some came to conquer, some to deliver; some to win a home for themselves and some to be beaten back or wholly swept away. Most of all does the connexion between the older Hellenic land and the newer Hellenic land in Greece and Italy stand forth in the days when Italiot and Sikeliot cities so often cried to old Greece for help, at one stage against domestic tyrants, at another stage against barbarian invaders. One series of conquerors or deliverers is called westward at the bidding of Syracuse; a later series is called at the bidding of Tarentum. And ages after, and with ages between them, fresh deliverers came from the still Greek-speaking city which had become an Eastern Rome. It was to the Eastern Rome, the Greek-speaking Rome, that the Greeks of Italy and Sicily ever clave till they were cut off from her dominion by the arms of strangers.

CHAP. I.

Greek deliverers of Italiots and Sikeliots.

The history of Sicily then is in all its stages a history of settlement, a history of men who found themselves new homes in a strange land; in its early stages it is before all things a history of colonization in the strictest sense. And surely in the whole history of colonization no pages are more instructive than those which record the fates of the Greek and Phœnician colonies in Sicily. The strife between Hellas and Canaan was indeed a colonial strife, but it was not a colonial strife in the same sense as when two colonizing powers strive with each other for a colonial dominion. It was not as when in the eighteenth century England and France strove for dominion in North America, and when England so largely annexed the colonies of France. Such a strife as this the strife of Greek and Phœnician could never be in any stage. It never took the form of a strife between rival powers disputing over distant dependencies. It was not this even in the later stages of the struggle, when Greek Sicily and her helpers had to

Teaching of Greek and Phœnician colonization.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. strive against Phœnician enemies out of Sicily. And in the beginning, the strife, if strife we can call it in those days, was not a strife between rival nations at a distance, but between the colonies of rival nations planted side by side on the same shore. For the colonies of Greece and Phœnicia could fight each one for its own hand from the beginning. Those were the great days of colonization. No other nations, till days comparatively modern, colonized in the same fashion or to the same extent as these that first showed the way. And assuredly none in after times have ever colonized with the same wisdom. The colonies of Rome may be put out of sight, as having nothing but the name in common with the colonies of the two great sea-faring nations. In truth much confusion has been caused by applying the name of the Roman *colony* to something so unlike it as the settlements of the Phœnician and the Greek[1]. Nothing could be wiser for its own objects than the policy which held Italy and other lands under Roman dominion by dint of Roman and Latin garrisons taking the form of separate commonwealths. But this policy had nothing in common with the objects with which men sailed from the shores of Hellas and the shores of Canaan to settle in distant lands. They sailed forth in a spirit which the men who in ages after sailed on the like errand from the shores of Spain and even of England failed to follow. They went forth to enlarge the bounds of Hellas and of Canaan, to plant Hellas and Canaan on distant shores. But they did not go to plant them in the shape of extending the dominion of the land or city which they left behind them. The Greek and Phœnician colonies grew up from the beginning as independent members of the Greek and the Phœnician body, new cities of the Greek and the Phœni-

Contrast with Roman colonies.

Independence of the Phœnician and Greek colonies.

[1] Modern languages have now no words in use to translate the Greek *ἀποικία*, except the derivatives of the Latin *colonia*. But *colonia* comes much nearer to *κληρουχία* than to *ἀποικία*. The good old word *plantation* —a plantation of men, that is—seems quite forgotten.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

cian name, younger sisters of the older commonwealths of their own people. Each owed to its special mother city the reverence of a child, but neither the submission of a subject nor even the lighter allegiance of a vassal. Tyre was the parent but not the mistress of Carthage; Corinth was the parent but not the mistress of Syracuse. And thus, among all the changes and revolutions of the Greek and Phœnician colonies, none of them had need of the special services of a Washington or a Bolivar. And thus too, while the emancipated colonies of Spain and England have well nigh cast aside the Spanish and the English name, every colony that set forth from Greece or Phœnicia ever clave to the name of the great folk of which it remained no less a member than the cities of the elder land. The difference is perhaps inherent in the distinction between colonies which went forth from single cities and colonies which went forth from great kingdoms. The superstition of abiding allegiance to a distant sovereign on the part of his subjects settled in a new land could have no place in the mind of a citizen either of Corinth or of Tyre. CHAP. I.

The elder Phœnician settlements.

But in the days when the strife between Greek and Phœnician in Sicily really put on the character of rivalry and more than rivalry, when each strove for the utter destruction of the other, it was no longer a strife between Phœnician and Greek settlements in the island itself. It was only when the Phœnician settlements in Sicily had lost their original independence, when they had become, first dependents and then subjects, that the Greeks of Sicily learned what dangerous neighbours the men of Canaan could be. Both Greek and Phœnician colonies had, in course of time, to submit to masters of their own stock. But those masters were not parents but brethren. Gades and Utica, Panormos and Motya, once free cities of the Phœnician name, lived to find another Phœnician power

Supremacy of Carthage.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. too strong for them, and became parts of a great Phœnician dominion. But the power under whose dominion they fell was one which had grown up alongside of themselves; they yielded, not to the venerable authority of Tyre or Sidon, but to the youthful presumption of Carthage. Hitherto the Greek element in Sicily, though far from being everywhere dominant, had been decidedly the strongest element. The Phœnicians had withdrawn into a corner of the island; the elder nations at whose cost both Phœnicians and Greeks had settled were unable to stand against the new comers, and had largely become their subjects. Carthage then, when the whole Phœnician power of Sicily and the West was gathered into her hands, was the first barbarian power by which the Greeks of Sicily were really threatened. This is a state of things which, with our modern notions of mother-country and colony, is likely to be misunderstood. Carthage, a Phœnician city in Africa, bearing rule over Phœnician cities in Sicily, has the air of a mother-country of the modern type, bearing rule over dependent colonies. It is important ever to bear in mind that Panormos, Solous, and Motya, were not colonies of Carthage, but independent Phœnician cities, colonies of the old Phœnicia, which another colony of the old Phœnicia had brought under subjection. The nearest parallel in modern times would be if we could conceive Australia and New Zealand becoming dependencies of the United States of America.

Its effect on the Greek cities.

Among the Greeks either of Sicily or of Italy there was nothing exactly answering to this dominion over kindred cities in another land. Whatever subjection there was among them was subjection to nearer neighbours. Sybaris, Tarentum, Syracuse, put on more or less of the character of ruling cities, cities ruling over Greek as well as barbarian subjects. But the dominion of the metropolis was no more known among the Greeks than it was among

Comparison with Italy.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

their enemies. A dominion on the part of Chalkis or Corinth or Achaia was unknown alike in the peninsula which came to call itself the Greater Hellas, and in the yet greater island which Semitic rivalry kept back from an equal right to that honourable name. CHAP. I.

This direct rivalry with neighbours in the same land, neighbours of an utterly hostile race and creed, was the special calling of the Greeks of Sicily. The mere neighbourhood of barbarians was common to them with all Greeks beyond the bounds of old Hellas, and the neighbourhood of barbarians commonly implied strife with barbarians. And distinctly marked as was the special calling of the Sicilian Greeks, a calling in which the Greeks of Italy had but a small share, yet the position of the Greeks of Sicily and that of the Greeks of Italy—the Sikeliots and the Italiots, to use their own names in their own tongue—still had something in common. There are points in which the Greeks of the central island and the central peninsula agree together, and which supply a marked distinction between them and the Greeks of the old Greek land, of the further East, and of the further West. Neither Athens nor Milêtos nor Massalia had to deal with barbarian neighbours of the same kind either as those who threatened Tarentum or as those who threatened Syracuse. The cities of old Greece had indeed, strictly speaking, no barbarian neighbours at all; their strife with barbarian enemies implied that either the Greek or the barbarian had invaded the land of the other. And the Greek colonies in other lands commonly found their barbarian neighbours either so much weaker or so much stronger than themselves as to shut out that position of rivalry which in different ways marks the life both of the Sikeliots and the Italiots. Over native tribes of inferior civilization and slight material power the Greek colony could easily establish its supremacy. We cannot speak of the Sikel, hardly of the

Relation of Italiots and Sikeliots to barbarian neighbours.

Comparison with Greeks elsewhere;

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. Messapian[1], as the abiding rival of the Sicilian or Italian Greek. Nor on the other hand can we speak of rivalry, where, as in Asia, the Greek stood face to face with powerful barbarian kingdoms. The Greeks of Asia waged no abiding strife against enemies who so easily became their masters. After their early struggles, first with the Lydian and then with the Persian, they remain nearly passive, save when the Athenian, the Spartan, and the Macedonian, steps in, each in turn, as a deliverer. From such subjects the Great King demanded submission and tribute, and little more. Under Persian supremacy the Greek cities were neither destroyed nor barbarized; they remained Greek cities, fallen from their old independence, but keeping their Greek life untouched. The fall of the Persian power gave actual freedom to some, and transferred the others to the rule of masters of their own speech. If all in their turn came under the rule of one great Italian city, we may in their case boldly leap over the ages, and say that their subjection to its rule was but the first step to the transfer of its name and power to the European, and even to the Asiatic side of the Bosporos. Asia was one day to be the true Romania; by a strange turn of fortune, the true Emperor of the Romans was to reign in Greek Nikaia, and free Philadelphia was to hold out against the Ottoman, as free Seleukeia had held out against the Parthian.

with the Greeks of Asia.

The Italiots and the Italians.

The Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily led a more stirring and a more wearing life. Something that may be truly called rivalry with the barbarians may be seen, as in the case of the Sikeliots, so in that of the Italiots also. They had both to strive with barbarian enemies who were more nearly on their own level than the Gaulish neighbour of Massalia and the Libyan neighbour of Kyrênê, or again

[1] Notwithstanding one great Messapian victory over Greek neighbours, of which we still have to speak.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

than the great kingdoms that overshadowed the Greeks of Asia. In Italy, no less than in Sicily, the Greek had to strive with barbarian commonwealths whose physical strength, greater than that of the Greeks, was guided by a political and military skill approaching to that of the Greeks themselves. The Phœnician rivals of the Sikeliots, Asiatics settled on African ground, seemed, by their settlement in the Western seas, to have been in some sort brought within the range of European polity. The constitution of Carthage was by Aristotle found worthy of careful study; by Polybios it was found worthy of an elaborate comparison with the constitutions of Sparta and of Rome. That those three names come so close together bears directly on the position in the world of the Italiot Greeks, and of the Sikeliot Greeks also. The barbarian rivals of the Sikeliots were utter aliens, not only to the fellowship of Hellas but to the fellowship of Europe. Still they were aliens who could enter into equal rivalry with Europeans and with Hellênes. But the barbarian rivals of the Italiots were Europeans of the same stock with themselves. They were the valiant nations of central Italy, the kinsmen and forerunners of the Roman; at a later stage the foe was the Roman himself. The great strife of the Italiot in short was waged with the native nations of Italy. The great strife of the Sikeliot was waged, not with the native nations of Sicily, but with rival colonists from other lands.

Political position of Carthage.

Contrast of Phœnicians and Italians.

This difference in the position of the Greeks of Sicily and of Italy with regard to the native inhabitants is deeply instructive. Up to a certain stage, the relation is the same in both lands. In this rapid sketch I may assume a doctrine which at a later stage I hope to examine more fully. This is the doctrine that the Greeks found the greater part of Sicily in the hands of Aryan inhabitants, near kinsfolk of

The Sikel an undeveloped Latin.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. the Italian nations in general, and not only near kinsfolk of the Italian nations in general, but of the same immediate stock as the men who fenced in the soaring height of Tusculum and the lowlier hills of the primæval Rome. The Sikel in short I hold to be an undeveloped Latin. He had lagged far behind his kinsfolk in Italy, because his land had drawn to itself foreign settlers from the beginning. The national growth of the elder nations of Sicily was checked by the coming of the Phœnician and the Greek. When the Sikel's day of progress came, it took the shape of assimilation to the Greek, of gradual adoption into the Greek body. The distinction between Sikel and Sikeliot, between the folk of the land and the Greeks who had settled in their land, the distinction so strongly drawn in the days of Thucydides, died out slowly but surely, and was wholly forgotten in the days of Cicero. So the people of the extreme south of Italy, Sikels and others, had so much in common with the Greeks that they could be changed into assimilated Greeks at a far earlier time. The name of Greater Hellas set forth, not only the number and power of the Greek colonies, but the extent to which the native nations had accepted the Greek tongue and general Greek culture at their hands. But the nations of central Italy could not be thus dealt with. Among them no Phœnician and no Greek could ever gain a lodgement; they were able to develope for themselves after their own fashion, without being brought under the influence of foreign settlers in their own land. They were capable of receiving a large measure of Greek culture as something foreign; they were never disposed to sink their national life in that of Greece. They had reached far too high a stage of native progress to become adopted children of the Hellenic family. On the other hand, the Greeks of Italy did not come across any great Italian dominion like that of Lydia

Assimilation of Sikels by Greeks.

Early hellenization in Southern Italy.

Different position of central Italy.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I.

or Persia, any power which might indeed conquer, but which let the conquered live on as useful tribute-paying subjects. And they had not as yet to deal with the more advanced nations of Italy. The Roman and the Samnite were not likely to be hellenized, but they were open to a certain form of Hellenic influence; the Roman in after days carried Hellenic influence with him wherever he carried his own power. But when the ruder branches of the Sabellian race, nations whom the Greek could neither subdue nor assimilate, pressed down into the two peninsulas which the Greek had so largely made his own, they appeared only as destroying enemies. As they did not ask for Greek masters or Greek teachers, so neither did they ask for Greek subjects. Just as with the Carthaginians in Sicily, their object was not merely to conquer, but to root out. But the objects sought by nations at this stage are seldom steadily aimed at. A wasting attack may be followed by an interval of peace. One city is overthrown; another is merely weakened; another, it may be, actually gains by the losses of its fellows. The Greeks of Italy led this kind of life for a long time. Some cities were destroyed or enslaved; others kept independence and prosperity. The intermediate state of tributaries or provincials, the lot of the Asiatic Greeks under the Persian, their own future lot under the Roman, did not as yet present itself.

The Greeks and the Sabellians.

Still the Italian foes of the Greeks of Italy were after all kinsmen. They were European; they were Aryan; they were, however little they deemed of it, members of a common household, sharers in a common heritage. The Greek of Sicily had, as we have seen, to wage a deadlier fight with utter aliens. It is important at once to mark this distinction in the general history, and to bear in mind how utterly unthought of it was in the minds of men at the time. The Lucanian was as ruthless a destroyer as

Different classes of barbarians.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I.

the Carthaginian, and he was far from having reached the same level of culture and polity as the Carthaginian. The cry for help that went up from the Greeks of Italy to the cities and princes of old Greece was as bitter as the cry that went up from Sicily. And yet the difference between the kindred and the alien barbarian made itself felt even at the time. There is most likely little truth of fact, but there is the deepest truth of moral sentiment, in the tale which told that the Syracusan conqueror made it one of the terms of peace with defeated Carthage that no more victims should pass through the fire to Moloch. The prince who could impose such a condition, the teller of history or legend who could conceive such a condition as imposed, had in him already the spirit of a crusader, one might almost say the spirit of an apostle. To us at least, surveying the whole field of history, the difference cannot fail ever to be present. From Gelôn onward one calling is laid on the Greeks of Sicily, on the men of Syracuse as the foremost of the Greeks of Sicily, on her very enemies when they seek to supplant her in her power, and, with her power, in her duties. When Alkibiadês led the fleet of Athens to maintain the cause of Segesta against Selinous, he might seem to be the champion of the barbarian against the Greek. But the men of Segesta, if barbarians, perhaps alien barbarians, were not threatening barbarians. They were open to Hellenic culture; and, in the wide-spreading schemes of Athenians, Syracuse and Segesta alike were but steps on the road to Carthage. The Semitic enemy was ever at the gates of the Greeks of Sicily. It takes off somewhat from the shame of Dionysios, it adds not a little to the glory of Timoleôn, to have been, though in widely different measures, champions of Hellas against Canaan. We forgive Agathoklês half his crimes when he boldly leads the hosts of Europe into Africa. We shut our eyes to his desertion of his own army, when we remember that

Greece and Carthage.

Wars between Syracuse and Carthage.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

he at least pointed out the way to Regulus and Scipio in days near to his own, and to Sicilian kings of later times, to Norman Roger and Austrian Charles. And among the long series of princely deliverers whom old Greece and the neighbouring lands sent forth to free Greek Italy from the barbarians of Europe, the highest place belongs to that one among them who also stretched forth his hand to deliver the Greeks of Sicily from the barbarians of Africa. No small place in the annals of European victory belongs to the day when Pyrrhos, if only for a moment, won Panormos for Hellas, when, before the Norman or the Roman, the Epeirot made the Golden Shell an European land. The two greatest days of Sikeliot victory on Sicilian soil, the work of the native tyrant and of the Corinthian deliverer, the day of Himera and the day of Krimisos, seem for the moment to be outdone by the king who came from a more distant land, from a land less purely Hellenic, but who, as compared with those against whom he fought, might seem a countryman indeed.

Pyrrhos at Panormos.

This series of deliverers or conquerors who, in the fourth century before Christ and in the first years of the third, come forth from Greece and the lands near Greece to deliver or to conquer in Greek Italy and Sicily form a marked feature in the history of those ages. And, as everything Sicilian must have its cycle, we find their counterparts also in later times. But their career in Sicily is connected with a feature in Sicilian history which again distinguishes it from that of Italy, and which is again a natural result of the geographical structure of the land. Notwithstanding all the divisions of races in the island, notwithstanding all the disputes and wars between cities of the same race, we still see in Sicilian history a certain disposition to look on Sicily as a whole. This feeling takes the form, sometimes of attempts to unite the whole island under one power, sometimes of attempts to make all

Tendencies to Sicilian unity.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I.

the independent powers of the island follow a common policy. This tendency is less strongly marked in Italy in either shape. More than one Syracusan tyrant is spoken of, somewhat laxly to be sure, as master, or even king, of all Sicily; no such language is ever used of any Italiot ruler. Sicily again was more than once made the centre of a dominion out of Sicily, whether in Italy or in more distant lands. This, to be sure, grew at last into a state of things in which a king bearing the Sicilian title held Sicily in bondage from an Italian capital. The earliest foretaste of Italian rule in Sicily was when Anaxilas of Rhêgion reigned over Sicilian Zanklê. But for some generations the course of things runs the other way. Under the first Hierôn a close connexion grows up between Sicily and southern Italy. Under Dionysios and Agathoklês the connexion is strengthened, and is further extended to the western coasts of Greece and Illyricum. These strivings after Italian and East-European dominion from a Sicilian centre, repeated as they were in the days of the Norman kings, are counterparts to the earlier and the later stage of intervention in Italian and Sicilian affairs from the other side of the Ionian sea. We may begin with the Athenian expedition. Athens sent against Sicily a would-be conqueror in the person of Alkibiadês, a striver after conquest against his will in the person of Nikias. The success of that expedition might have led to the dominion of a city of old Greece in Sicily, perhaps in Africa. Presently old Greece, instead of invaders of Syracuse, sent her champions. Diôn, Spartan by adoption, Timoleôn, Corinthian by birth, came on the errand of deliverance. Then, at the call of Tarentum, Sparta and Epeiros sent forth a line of princes, who come half as deliverers, half as conquerors. They sought doubtless to do what they could to deliver the Western Greeks from barbarian attack, but they further aimed at founding a

Sicilian rule out of Sicily.

Italian rule in Sicily.

Invaders and deliverers from old Greece.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Greek dominion in the West, to balance the Greek dominion which the Macedonians had founded in the East. They too have their cycle. They are repeated in a later series of conquerors and deliverers, some of whom come, like them, from the Greek-speaking lands of the East. Belisarius, George Maniakês, Roger of Hauteville, Peter and Frederick of Aragon, perhaps even Charles of Bourbon in his own eyes, answer to the series from Archidamos to Pyrrhos, and stand distinguished from simple conquerors like Henry the Sixth and Charles of Anjou. And, last of all, the unsullied glory of Timoleôn shines forth again in the unsullied glory of Garibaldi. But the presence of foreign deliverers in any land does in truth prove the same sad truth as the presence of conquerors. The cry for help that brought the Spartan and the Epeirot to Italy and Sicily proved that the Greeks of Italy and Sicily could no longer keep their freedom for themselves.

CHAP. I.

Later conquerors and deliverers.

But the history of this time proves more than this. The failure of every such deliverer, whether to deliver or to conquer, showed that neither Greek independence nor Greek dominion was fated to abide in the Italian and Sicilian lands. All schemes, whether formed east or west of the Ionian sea, which dreamed of a great Greek dominion in the Western lands, nay even all schemes which dreamed of a Sicily wholly freed from Semitic masters by the sword of the Syracusan, the Corinthian, or the Epeirot, were alike doomed to disappointment. The decree had gone forth which assigned to a Latin city the successful championship of Europe against Asia and the lordship of the whole Mediterranean world. That decree was not to be turned aside in favour of any man of Hellenic birth, whether king or tyrant or republican leader. A day was indeed to come when the very lands which were now striven for, Tarentum and Syracuse and Panormos, were to form part of the Empire of Greek-speaking

Doom of Greek independence and dominion in the West.

Mission of Rome, Old and New.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. princes, sending forth their bidding from a Greek city. But that dominion was reserved for princes who, Greek as they might be in speech, still held the name and traditions of Rome. If Panormos and Syracuse came to do suit and service to Byzantium, it was because the city by the Bosporos had put on the name and garb of the city by the Tiber. The teaching, no less than the ruling, of all the Western lands was to be the mission of the great Latin city. The successors of Alexander in their Eastern range helped on the destiny of Rome; the like success on the part of Pyrrhos in the West would have stood in its way, perhaps checked it for ever. Greek dominion in Asia paved the way for the dominion of Rome, when the day for Rome's Asiatic conquests had come. But a Greek dominion in Sicily and southern Italy might have grown into a Greek dominion over Latium and Etruria, over Africa and Spain and Gaul. Such a dominion would have stifled the very life of Rome before her place in the world was fully fixed, while she was still only striving for the first rank among native Italian powers. The full success even of Dionysios or Agathoklês, yet more the full success of Archidamos or Alexander or Kleônymos or Pyrrhos, would have changed the whole course of the world's history. Had they done what they sought to do, Rome could not have been what Rome was to be. Further than that it were vain to speculate.

Different relations of Greece and Rome in East and West.

The strife between Greek and Phœnician was left unfinished so far as it was a local and national strife between Greek and Phœnician. The strife between Europe and Africa was to be decided; but it was to be decided by another champion of Europe. It might seem a hard freak of destiny which at last called in a barbarian city to do the work at which so many Greek commonwealths and princes had toiled in vain. When we come to the enterprises of the Spartan and Epeirot princes, we feel at once that the

Relation of the Epeirot deliverers to Rome.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

area of our tale is widened. We step out of the narrower world of Hellas, wherever Hellas may be planted, into the broader world in which Hellas, Rome, and Carthage all play their parts. We step in short from the world of Thucydides into the wider world of Polybios. Of the two Epeirot kings who came to support the cause of Hellas in the West, the career of Alexander was wholly Italian, the career of Pyrrhos was both Italian and Sicilian. But by this time an Italian career meant something other than it had meant in the days of Dionysios. It now could hardly fail to mean some contact with the city which in Alexander's day was fast growing to be the head of Italy, which by the time of Pyrrhos had all but become such. Alexander had his dealings with Rome; but they were friendly; in his day Rome and the Greek cities had still common enemies. When the next king of his house came all was changed. CHAP. I. Alexander.

The dealings between Pyrrhos and Rome stand out among the chief events, not only in the life of Pyrrhos, but in the life of Rome. But if Pyrrhos, in his Italian career, had to fight against Rome, in his less renowned Sicilian career he had to fight against Carthage. In his day a Greek champion, whether the deliverer of elder Greek cities or the founder of a new Greek dominion for himself, had to deal with both the great barbarian commonwealths of the West. They might be rivals and enemies to one another; but they were alike enemies to him. And now the truth stood forth with fearful clearness that one or other of those barbarian commonwealths was destined to be the mistress of the Italian and Sicilian Greeks. In Italy indeed the question hardly arose; there the destiny of Rome was clear. But Sicily was to be, as Pyrrhos said, the wrestling ground for the two mighty rivals[1]. The War for Sicily was now to be waged, a greater war Pyrrhos, his relations to Rome and Carthage. War for Sicily between

[1] Plut. Pyrrhos, 23; οἵαν ἀπολείπομεν, ὦ φίλοι, Καρχηδονίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις παλαίστραν.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. Rome and Carthage. B. C. 264–241.

for Sicily than had been ever waged before, a war to be waged on the soil and on the waters of Sicily, but in which the folk of Sicily, of whatever race, were to play a secondary part indeed. The alternative must have seemed a strange one; it perhaps hardly came into the minds of men in Sicily, even when Pyrrhos, son-in-law of Agathoklês, set forth to cross the Ionian sea. On one side was Semitic Carthage, the old enemy, known and dreaded for ages, mistress of the seas, mistress of boundless wealth to call into her service the stoutest barbarians of every kind. What blows she could deal men had learned long ago at Selinous, at Himera, and at Akragas. On the other hand, but yesterday in the background, but daily advancing nearer and nearer, firm in her seat on the central throne of Italy and of Europe, strong in the arms and weapons of her own citizens and colonists, stood Aryan, Italian, Latin, Rome. It was between commonwealths like these, immeasurably stronger than any Greek colony, long dangerous even to an union of Greek colonies, that the Greeks of Sicily had now, not to choose, but simply to accept the issue of the struggle between the two mighty rivals. This was another fate from anything that had been offered to the Greeks of Asia. Rome and Carthage knew better how to deal with their own strength than the unwieldy kingdoms of the East. A wide gulf parts the policy either of the Roman or of the Punic senate from the pride and passion of an Asiatic despot. But a wider gulf still parts the transplanted city of Canaan from the city born and bred on the soil of Italy. Against the foreign mercenaries of Carthage the Greek cities, amid many defeats and cruel losses, could still bear up. The native legions of Rome were too strong for them and for Carthage too.

Victory of Rome and Europe.

The victory then was at least won for Europe. The War for Sicily was decided by the driving out of the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Phœnician from her coasts, by the submission of the Greek to a dominion which, if foreign, was still European. In Rome the Greeks, in Sicily and elsewhere, found a mistress who deigned to learn of them, and who, in all her conquests, carried with her the speech and some measure of the culture of Hellas. But it was hard that Sicily should be as it were held up to mankind as the typical example of subjection, as the land in which Rome first tried her prentice hand at foreign dominion. The event of the War for Sicily left Rome mistress of her first province, gracious patroness of her first dependent kingdom. Both were on Sicilian soil. It fell to the central land of the Mediterranean to set the standard for each of the two relations through which so many other lands, Greek and barbarian, were to pass.

CHAP. I.

The first province and the first dependent kingdom.

Here then, with the appearance of Rome in Sicilian affairs, leading, as everywhere, before long, to the supremacy of Rome over Sicily, the history of the independent Greek cities of Sicily comes to an end. That history tells, first, of their growth at the expense of weaker barbarian neighbours; then of their struggles to defend their independence and Greek life against more powerful barbarian neighbours. And this definition, allowing for the difference of the barbarian neighbours who have to be striven against, will serve for the Greek cities of Italy no less than for those of Sicily. From henceforth, for nearly eleven hundred years, the destinies of Sicily followed the destinies of the Roman power under the various shapes which the Roman power put on. But before those eleven centuries had been reckoned, the question came more than once, to which of two divisions of a divided Roman power Sicily, like other provinces, should belong. In the partings asunder of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries after Christ, when the Empire was not formally divided, when two or three Augusti still reigned as Imperial colleagues, geography

Sicily under the Roman power. B. C. 241–A. D. 827.

Sicily under the Western Emperors. A. D. 395–440.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I.

Sicily under Vandals. A. D. 440–476.

prevailed, and Sicily fell to the share of the prince who ruled in Italy. For a while indeed, by one of the strangest of the cycles in her history, Sicily was parted from Italy, parted from Rome, but not parted from Western Europe. Teutonic Africa—the form seems strange; but it sets forth a fact which was more than momentary—could do what Punic Africa had never done. Carthage, under her Vandal king, ruled over Syracuse as well as over Panormos. Presently Sicily passed back to the fellowship of Italy, to the dominion of the lord of Italy, when the lord of Italy was in truth a Gothic king, even if he were, according to some shadowy formula, a lieutenant of the one Augustus who reigned in the New Rome. Then, while the Empire was still one, but when the Old Rome had in a manner ceased to be Roman, Syracuse and Naples were won back for the Roman power, the first fruits of a new conqueror or deliverer from the Greek-speaking lands of the East. Belisarius came, with more success, on the same errand as Alexander and Pyrrhos; but he came, not to set up a Greek dominion in the West, but to win back Sicily and Italy, Africa and Spain, for the dominion of their own Emperor in the East. And, as Sicily passed to the rule of the New Rome while the Old Rome was still held by the Goth, so she remained under its rule after the Old Rome had passed away to the allegiance of the Frank. When the Empire was split asunder for ever, when the Emperors of East and West were no longer colleagues but rivals and enemies, when they represented rival nations and rival tongues, Sicily, foremost of Greek islands, abode under the dominion of that Roman power which spake the tongue of Greece, not of that which halted between the tongues of Italy and Germany.

Under East-Goths. A. D. 493–535.

Recovery by Belisarius. A. D. 535.

Sicily part of the Eastern Empire. A. D. 800–827 (965).

The Saracens in Sicily.

And now the greatest of all the cycles of Sicilian history was to begin. The final division of the Empire had hardly

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

been made, it had been but for a few years settled which of the representatives of the Roman power should bear rule in Sicily and Southern Italy, when the same state of things came back which had been before Sicily had seen a Roman soldier. The central island of the Mediterranean was again to become the battlefield of the nations which surround the Mediterranean. The strife between Aryan and Semitic man was fought again on its soil, and this time in a shape made keener by the most sharply drawn of all differences between creed and creed. Marked as was the line between the creed of Athênê and the creed of Moloch, it was faintly drawn compared with the line which parted the creed of Christ from the creed of Mahomet. The very nearness of the two creeds in origin and dogma, both Semitic in birth, both monotheistic in teaching, made them more distinctly rival creeds than any two forms of polytheism could ever be. The gods of Greece and the gods of Carthage might strive with each other as the protecting powers of opposing nations; but the new creed of Rome, the new creed of Africa, alike gave itself out as the one saving truth for all mankind. Sicily was now to be striven for between Mussulmans speaking a tongue akin to the tongue of Hamilkar and Christians who still spoke the very tongue of either Hierôn. Again was Sicily divided between men who had Spain and Africa in their rear, and men who had in their rear the Greek lands that now bore the name of Romania. Again was Syracuse the head of a Greek Sicily and Panormos the head of a Semitic Sicily. For two hundred years the strife went on. Africa and Islam advanced; Europe and Christendom fell back; but they fell back step by step, holding fast to this fortress, winning back that from the enemy. Then, more than a new Pyrrhos, almost a new Timoleôn, Geôrgios Maniakês came from the eastern lands to free for a moment no small part of the great island from barbarian rule. The

CHAP. I.

A.D. 827–1090.

Renewed strife of races and creeds.

Opposition of Christianity and Islam.

The Saracen conquest. A.D. 827–965.

Recovery under Maniakês. A.D. 1038–1045?

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. Saracen indeed did more than the Carthaginian ever could do; for two periods, neither of great length, the second far less than a generation of mankind, he tore away the whole island from Europe, and made, not only lordly Syracuse, but more stout-hearted Tauromenion, into cities of Islam and of Africa. In the last years of the tenth century, in the central years of the eleventh, Sicily knew the Greek tongue only as the speech, and Christianity only as the creed, of helpless subjects of Semitic and Mussulman masters.

Complete Saracen possession. A. D. 965–1038. A.D. 1045?–1060.

But the cycles of Sicilian history had to be run out in their fulness. All this while the old connexion between Sicily and southern Italy still went on. In the ninth and tenth centuries after Christ the phænomena of the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ seemed in those lands to have come back. At the final division of the Empire, if Sicily clave to the Eastern, the Greek-speaking, Rome, so did at least a remnant of southern Italy. And that remnant presently became more than a remnant. If the East-Roman power fell back in Sicily, in Calabria and Apulia it advanced. The ninth century, which saw the constant advance of the Saracen in the island, saw Saracen, Frank, and Lombard, give way before the growing power of the Eastern Cæsar. The Saracen nowhere won such a lasting dominion in Italy as he won in Sicily. For the most part he appeared only as a passing ravager; where he did establish himself more firmly, it was still not beyond the power of Christendom to dislodge him. Almost at the moment when Syracuse was lost to Christendom, Bari was won back. To win Bari back needed indeed the united strength of the Eastern and Western Cæsars; but it was the lord of the East that kept the prize. In the brilliant days of the great Macedonian dynasty, there was again a Greece, if not a Greater Greece, in Italy. Our own Chronicles bear witness how the Emperor Otto went to

Southern Italy East-Roman.

Imperial advance in Italy.

A. D. 871.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

war with the Saracens in *Greekland*[1]. In the last years of the tenth century, when not a foot of ground in Sicily remained to any Christian power, the Eastern Emperor still held on Italian soil a dominion which might by itself have passed for no despicable kingdom. CHAP. I.

Union of Sicily and Southern Italy under the Normans.

And now both the lands of Greek colonization in the West were to be brought once more together under the dominion of a Western power. Looking at Sicily alone, we might say that, in the eleventh century after Christ, as in the third century before Christ, she passed under the dominion of the power which was then supreme in the neighbouring lands of the peninsula. But the nature of the conquering power was widely different in the two cases. In the later day it was no longer an Italian power holding the supremacy over all Italy. Still less was it an Italian city bearing rule over other Italian cities and leagues. The elder day of Italian city-communities was now a thing of a past millennium; the younger day of Italian city-communities had not yet begun. Nor was it the Cæsar of the West who displaced his Eastern rival in lands in which to Western eyes the Eastern Cæsar might well seem an intruder. It was not Rome in any shape, except so far as the Roman Bishop found it convenient to bless the arms which he found too strong for him, except so far as every conquest wrought by men who held the Latin creed and spoke a dialect of the Latin speech might be set down among Rome's moral conquests. The power which now grew up in Southern Italy, which, when grown, passed on to the conquest or the deliverance of Sicily, was the power of a handful of adventurers from a distant land, who, from pilgrims, mercenaries, or free-booters, gradually changed into mighty princes. And the

Action of the Popes.

[1] Chron. Ab. 982; "And þy ilcan geare for Odda Romana casere to Greclande, and þa gemette he þæra Sarcena mycele fyrde cumen up of sæ." We may have to come to this again.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I.

land from which they came, the stock of which they sprang, were such as at once to bring the history of the great island of the Mediterranean into the closest connexion with the history of the great island of the Ocean.

Advance of the Normans in Italy and Sicily.

The land which sent forth the conquerors of Apulia and Sicily sent forth also the conquerors of England. And if in England the prince of the Norman duchy could win himself a royal crown, in Sicily the house of a simple Norman gentleman could rise to higher honours still. The sons of Tancred of Hauteville grew into counts, dukes, kings, and emperors. Their royal crown indeed they held of an ecclesiastical superior; but their very homage made them mightier. The vassals of the Holy See were its Hereditary Legates. Rulers alike of Church and State, they grasped both the swords which in other lands were held in separate, often in hostile, hands. Under her Norman kings Sicily was the wonder and envy of the world. Reigning at the meeting-point of East and West, they had at their call all that was most precious in East and West in the age when East and West had geographically changed places. Constantinople and Cordova had found a third rival city where the lord of Palermo could command the skill alike of Greek and Saracen at pleasure.

The Kingdom of Sicily.

Sicily European and Christian.

With the establishment of the Norman kingdom of Sicily the special character of Sicilian history in its œcumenical aspect comes to an end. The Eternal Question, reopened by the sword of the Saracen, has, as far as Sicily is concerned, met with its solution by the sword of the Norman. Sicily became for ever Aryan, European, Christian. As a power, she was now all these; those among her inhabitants to whom the names do not apply were doomed to die out, slowly but surely. In Sicily the great question was decided earlier than it was in either of the lands with which Sicily is most naturally compared. In those

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

two lands, one greater than Sicily, one less, one to the west, the other to the east, of the central island, in Spain and in Cyprus, the same strife has been waged, and twice waged, which has been waged in Sicily. In Spain and in Cyprus, just as in Sicily, the struggle between West and East was twice waged, and in the second time of its waging, it took the shape of a strife between Christendom and Islam. Of Cyprus indeed the destinies have been so varied, the cycles of its history have been so complicated, that it would be truer to say that there the strife has been waged thrice than twice[1]. But the history of the three lands, looked at in this aspect, as it presents some striking points of likeness, presents also some instructive points of difference. In the first stage that we can see, the strife of East and West in Cyprus must have shown nearly the same features which it showed in Sicily. As in Sicily, it was first a strife of Greek and Phœnician, then a strife of Greek and Persian, within the island. In the inherent interest of the tale the strife in Cyprus may have been fully on a level with the strife in Sicily; but it has not received—the different geographical positions of Sicily and Cyprus could hardly allow it to receive—the same measure of poetic and historic adornment which has fallen to the lot of the strife in Sicily. Yet Herodotus has told us somewhat of one act in the Cypriot drama, and Isokratês has told us somewhat of another. If Evagoras is not a Timoleôn or a Garibaldi, he may rank beside the second Hierôn as a prince in his own land, and beside the first as an actor in the general history of the world. The later strife, the strife of Christian and Mussulman, may be looked at either as a single struggle of nine hundred years, or as a struggle ended for a while with the Imperial reconquest, and beginning again with the warfare of Turk

CHAP. I.

Sicily, Spain, and Cyprus.

History of Cyprus.

Phœnician and Persian.

Venetian and Turk.

[1] See the story of Cyprus in Bishop Stubbs' Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History, p. 179 et seqq.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. and Venetian. But in either case it is a strife waged rather for Cyprus than in Cyprus; the island is tossed to and fro between endless Christian and Mussulman powers, a tale which cannot reach the interest of the long strife waged for Spain and in Spain, for Sicily and in Sicily, the fate of the land decided by a duel of ages
A. D. 1878. on its own soil. And unless we are to bring in a strange and doubtful event of our own days, one of those meagre instalments of right which may make its final victory more distant, the final issue of the Cypriot struggle was, unlike those of Spain and Sicily, in favour of the worse and not the better cause. And further, in Cyprus the Latin element, the rule of Poitevin kings and Venetian dukes, was ever the rule of strangers; the land was a Greek land, first under Latin and then under Mussulman dominion. In Sicily, on the other hand, the Greek died out along with the Saracen, and left the island wholly Latin.

Sicily and Spain.

If we turn more directly to compare Sicily and Spain, we shall see that, in the great peninsula, the strife, in both its periods, is a strife in which the championship of Europe is in the hands of the Latin. The Roman in Spain assimilated alike the earlier races which he conquered, and the Goth and the Suevian who conquered him. In Spain the first form of strife between East and West takes the form of a struggle, and a short struggle, between Carthage and Rome for the mastery of the peninsula. Against this Sicily has to set the far more stirring tale of her most brilliant Hellenic days, the days of her commonwealths and her tyrants, the days of Himera and of Krimisos. In a later stage of the cycle, the strife of Mussulman and Christian, Sicily may set its hundred and forty years of resistance to Saracen invasion before the fall of Spain almost in a single moment. On the other hand, the far longer home crusade by which

Strife for Spain between Rome and Carthage.

Strife of Mussulman and Christian in Spain.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the Spaniard won back his own land for his own people outdoes the vain attempt to deliver Sicily by the sword of the East-Roman and the successful attempt to deliver her by the sword of the Norman. Spain has no time when she was so distinctly in advance of all Western kingdoms as Sicily was under her Norman kings; yet Spain has the days of her Gothic kings to set against days when Sicily remained a mere province of Roman, Vandal, and East-Goth; she has the days when, under her Austrian kings, she was the dread of one world and the discoverer of another, to set against days when Sicily was one of her own subject kingdoms. But the very fact that Sicily was so long a province, so long a dependent kingdom, makes us, in contemplating her history, fix our thoughts more wholly on the two great periods of strife, the strife with the Phœnician and the strife with the Saracen. And in Sicily too the cycles, ended in Spain four hundred years back, go on, on a local scale at least, to our own day. Timoleôn has his peer; but he finds him, not in Pyrrhos, not in Belisarius, not in Roger, but in the deliverer whose deeds we ourselves have seen.

The Normans in England and in Sicily.

But there is another side of Sicilian history, not another cycle, but another analogy and more than an analogy, which brings it specially home to all of English stock. The Norman won for himself an island kingdom in the great inland sea almost at the same moment when he won for himself another island kingdom in the Ocean. The tales of those two conquests, if told in their fulness, can hardly be kept apart. In their likenesses, in their contrasts, the Norman settlement in England and the Norman settlement in Sicily form one of the most instructive of historical parallels. Nor is it only the remoter connexion of likeness and contrast that brings the two together. When the French tongue was the polite and courtly

Close connexion of the English and Sicilian kingdoms.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. speech from Dunfermline to Jerusalem, of all the courts where that tongue was spoken the court of England and the court of Sicily were the two that were the most closely drawn to one another. The two kingdoms that were ruled by Norman kings kept up more intimate relations than any other. There was constant intercourse between the subjects of the two. Men passed to and fro from the service of one island king to the service of the other. A common courtly speech led to a common literature and to common legends. And yet it is the remoter tie of likeness and contrast which, above all in the points of contrast, teaches the deepest historical lesson. The Norman conquerors won Sicily and England alike at the point of the sword. Why was their position and history so wholly different in the two islands? The Norman conqueror of England, forcing his way into the land without a single native supporter, changes with wonderful speed into the national king; his followers change with a speed still more wonderful into a national nobility. A short and sharp moment of foreign dominion led to a new birth of the national being, and enabled England to keep the ties which bind her to her oldest days more unbroken than they have been kept by kindred lands in which no stranger ever ruled. Since King William came into England, none has sat on the throne of England who did not come of the blood of William and claim to be his heir. They may have sprung from him only by distant and complicated female succession, but every one has sat on his throne and ruled his kingdom directly as his representative. But for some ages past we cannot say that any true representative of Roger the Count and Roger the King has sat on their throne and ruled their kingdom. Among the endless royal houses between which Sicily has been tossed to and fro, among the endless kings who have held it as an appendage to some other kingdom, a subtle genealogical

Comparison between the Norman conquests in England and in Sicily.

Speedy fusion of races in England.

Continuance of the kingly stock in England.

Change of dynasties in Sicily.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

inquirer may find out that some faint drops of Roger's blood flowed in the veins of this or that ruler of Sicily. But no later Kings of Sicily have been the heirs and representatives of Roger in the same sense in which the present sovereign of England is the undoubted heir and representative alike of William and of Cerdic. The Norman conqueror of Sicily, welcomed as a deliverer by a large part of the dwellers in the island which he conquered, ruling as an impartial sovereign and benefactor over men differing in blood and creed and speech, founded the most splendid of dynasties and the most short-lived. The crown of William and the crown of Roger have both been often disputed by rival claimants, and disputed on the battle-field. But when the crown of William has been fought for, it has ever been fought for by Englishmen against Englishmen. If we have had kings and would-be kings from other lands, they have been at least of our own sending for. Sicily, both the Sicilies, have been the chosen sport of dynastic quarrels, quarrels with which the people of either Sicily have had but little concern. The land has been conquered by strangers, or, yet more grievous than being conquered by strangers, it has been handed over from one stranger to another as something that needed not the toil of conquest. Sicily has indeed one tale to tell to which England can supply no parallel. The men of Sicily rose against their foreign master and gave their crown to a king of their own choosing. But that was because a foreign master and his foreign following had come among them against their will. The men of England neither forestalled nor followed their exploit, because, as soon as the first days of the Conquest itself were over, they had no need to do so. And the cause of the different meaning of the words Norman Conquest in the two islands lies deep in the state of the two islands at the time when the Norman conqueror came to

CHAP. I.

Conquests of Sicily.

The Normans in England become English.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I.

each. In England the conqueror found a nation, a nation which proved too mighty for him and his conquering following. To rule in England, to abide in England, the Norman had to become an Englishman. He had to join with Englishmen of the elder stock in shaping the second growth of English law, of English freedom, of English national life in every shape. In Sicily the Norman found, not a nation, but two hostile nations, a nation of masters and a nation of bondmen. In his wake came two other nations, to make the already divided land more divided still. The Norman in England could become an Englishman, because a single English nation stood ready to absorb him, a nation of his own creed, and, though not of his own speech, yet one might almost say of his own blood. The Norman in Sicily could not become a Sicilian, because there was no one Sicilian nation to which he could join himself. He found men of two races, of two languages, and of those races the creed of one stamped them in his eyes as infidels, while the creed of the other stamped them as schismatics. To rule wisely and justly over contending races and creeds is the glory of the Norman in Sicily; but it implies as its first condition that the ruler shall not cast in his own lot with any side. The Norman in Sicily therefore could never become the national king of a Sicilian people, as the Norman in England became the national king of the English people. It is true that, after Norman rule had passed away, the island did, through various causes, become a land united, if not in blood, at any rate in speech and creed. But this union came through the driving out or dying out of the races which the Norman found in the island, and the speech which in the end won the day was neither his own speech nor the speech of either of the two races which divided the island at his coming. Among the many cycles of the land, it was another triumph, if not for Rome yet for Italy, when the tongues of the Greek,

The Normans in Sicily rulers over various nations.

Victory of the Italian element in Sicily.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the Saracen, and the Norman, all gave way to the tongue of the Lombard settler. CHAP. I.

Contrast between English and Sicilian history.

The tale of the Norman Conquest of England thus calls, almost as its natural sequel, for the tale of another Norman Conquest wrought in the same age with such different results. It calls for the tale of a kingdom so closely connected with our own as the kingdom of Roger was with the kingdom of Henry the Clerk, as the kingdom of William the Good was with the kingdom of Henry Fitz-Empress. Yet it is another thing to tell the tale of an island which for ages lay outside the world, and to tell the tale of an island which for ages was the very centre of the world, the meeting-place, the battle-ground, of creeds and races. Sicily had lived through perhaps a whole millennium of stirring history before we can begin to write the history of our own land. It had lived through a millennium and a half before we can begin to write the history of our own people in our own land. In the land of historic cycles, each phase of its history is the reproduction of some phase that is past, the shadow and forerunner of some phase that is to come.

Sicily still the meeting-place of the nations.

At no time had Sicily lost its old character of the meeting-place of nations; but it became so again in a special way under its Norman rulers. Now, yet more than under Dionysios and Agathoklês, does Sicily become the centre of a dominion which stretches into Italy, Africa, Illyria, and Greece. Close dealings with those lands was the necessary fruit of the geographical position of the island.

Dealings with lands beyond the Hadriatic.

Whether Sicily should be a power ruling in those lands, or a province ruled by the master of some or of all of them, was decided in various ages by the circumstances of those several ages, and partly at least by the characters of particular men. A land must be badly off indeed which cannot rise to greatness under the guidance of an Agathoklês or a Roger. The connexion between Sicily, Italy, and the Greek and Illyrian lands is kept up equally

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I.

whether the conquerors or deliverers go from the East to the West or from the West to the East. Pyrrhos, lord of Epeiros and Korkyra, rules at Tarentum and Syracuse; he wins Panormos and threatens Africa. Starting from another point, his dominion is almost exactly reproduced in the fluctuating dominion of the Sicilian kings of the twelfth century. All ruled in Sicily and southern Italy; most of them added some dominion, greater or less, in the lands east of Hadria or even in Africa itself. The connexion between Sicily and Greece lived on after the Norman dynasty had passed away, and even after the Sicilian kingdom had been split asunder. Manfred and Charles of Anjou ruled on both sides of the Hadriatic. A day came when, of the Kings of Sicily on the two sides of the Pharos, Achaia owned the lordship of him of the mainland, and Attica owned the lordship of him of the island. A Duke of Athens owing homage to a Spanish king at Panormos did not come within the dreams of Alkibiadês. Nor did the wider insight of Polybios foresee a Gaulish king at Naples holding a supremacy over a large part of Peloponnêsos. We might go further still. When Edmund son of Henry the Third was shown to Englishmen in a Sicilian garb as King of Sicily, it is well to remember that the realm which he claimed took in spots beyond the Hadriatic with which Englishmen had to do in earlier days, and with which they had to do again in days far later. The Sicilian realm which Popes took upon them to dispose of took in Dyrrhachion and Korkyra—we must by that time say Durazzo and Corfù. When Belisarius offered Britain to the Goth in exchange for Sicily, he hardly foresaw a prince from Britain claiming a Sicilian crown. We cannot take a glance at the central land of the elder European world without finding our range of sight presently enlarged. At every moment it takes in some distant land or other in whose destiny the

Greek dominion of the Sicilian kings.

Relations of Sicily and Britain.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

position of that central island has called it to have some share. CHAP. I.

The later history of Sicily looks back.

The history of the Norman Conquest and the Norman kings of Sicily thus follows almost of necessity on the history of the Norman Conquest and the Norman kings of England. But in treating of the Normans in Sicily, we are driven to look back to earlier times in a way in which we are not driven in treating of the Normans in England. In touching any part of the history of the great southern island, we are irresistibly drawn to days before England was. We cannot follow the Norman across the Messanian strait, we cannot follow him as far as that strait, without coming face to face with the people of the two Hierôns and with the near kinsmen of the people of Hamilkar and his lion brood. The coming, the advance, the success, of the adventurers who made their way from Normandy to Sicily and her neighbour lands, at once calls up the coming, the advance, the failure, of those adventurers who made their way from Sparta and Epeiros to the neighbour lands of Sicily, the most famous of them to Sicily herself. Roger the Count and Roger the King did after so many ages what Pyrrhos strove to do, what Archidamos and Alexander were not allowed even to strive to do. We shall not thoroughly take in the full significance of the later time unless we give our mind to at least the leading features of the earlier time. And, while we look earlier, we must also look later. The main charm of Sicilian history ends when the land was trodden under foot by the conqueror from Swabia. But the son of Henry and Constance was the Wonder of the World. In Frederick's day a King of Sicily was lord of Rome and of Jerusalem; yet of all his realms he held Sicily the dearest, and in his grave at Palermo the Roman Empire of the West, as a true and living thing, is buried. And, as we have already seen, the œcumenical position of Sicily, its

The two ages of deliverers.

The Emperor Frederick.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. wide-spreading ties with East and West, lived on when the realm of Roger and Frederick was split asunder, when Anjou gave a king to Naples, and Aragon a king to Palermo. Nay, when the independence of both the Sicilies had passed away, the island could still shelter settlers from the Eastern peninsula, no longer conquerors or deliverers, but refugees seeking shelter from barbarian bondage. If the tongues of Hamilkar and Hierôn are silent on Sicilian soil, the tongue of Scanderbeg is still spoken by men whose rites, if not their speech, have caused them on Sicilian lips to bear the Grecian name. Shadows then of the œcumenical history of the island hover round it down even to the latest times. The Norman rule in Sicily, at least in its effect, lasts beyond the hundred and thirty years or so which part the coming of the first Roger from the bondage and blinding of the last William. We must say much of days that went before, and something of days that came after. The historian of the Norman Kings of Sicily, if he wishes to give that brilliant line its full position in the world's history, can hardly fail to enlarge his subject so as to deal, not only with the Norman Kings of Sicily, but with their Forerunners and their Successors.

Albanian settlers.

The history goes back to the beginning.

We cannot, in sober truth, give their full historic significance to Roger and William the Good without going back to Pyrrhos and Timoleôn. And I venture to add that we cannot give their full historic significance to Pyrrhos and Timoleôn without looking forward to Roger and William the Good. But such a comparison as this spans so vast a field of history, it sets before us the island which was the historic home of all of them in so many shapes, yet shapes all of which gather round one great central thought, that he who is carried back from Roger to Timoleôn can hardly fail to be carried further back from Timoleôn to Theoklês and Archias. From the very beginning of Greek settlement, Sicily begins to

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The Eternal Question.

play her part in that Eternal Question which in Sicily, where the barbarian for the more part advances from the West, has incidentally ceased to be an Eastern Question. Thucydides could not have taken in the full significance of the fact which he records in its simplicity, that, when the Greeks came, the Phœnician withdrew. With that fact the tale begins; that was the first stroke dealt on Sicilian soil in the long battle in which the victories of Maniakês and the victories of Roger were but later stages. There is throughout one leading thought which forms the soul of the whole story, and that is a thought which brings out the greatest of all points of contrast between the history of the Mediterranean and that of the Oceanic island. The isle of Britain has, in ages far apart from one another, sent forth men who did good work for Europe and for Christendom. But they went forth to do it in distant lands, beneath the walls of Jerusalem or around the akropolis of Athens. The isle of Sicily has had to fight for Europe and for Christendom on her own soil, and that struggle has been the very life of her history. As long as that duty lay upon her, she was great; as soon as it passed away, she sank into a secondary place. But the warfare of Greek and Phœnician, the warfare of Norman and Saracen, are only different acts in one long drama, a drama which cannot be understood in its fulness without going back to the days when the settlement of the Greek on her shore first made Sicily in the highest sense a member of the general fellowship of the European world.

Share of England and of Sicily.

Divisions of the subject.

The History of Sicily from the earliest times may thus be said to fall into three great divisions. There is, First, the time when Sicily, the meeting-place of the nations, was settled by men of so many nations, the settlement of some of which we can trace with some approach to

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I.

Independent Sicily. B.C. 735–241.

certainty, while the coming of others goes back even beyond the days of trustworthy tradition. Among the earlier inhabitants come the settlers of the two great colonizing nations, the Phœnician and the Greek. Then comes the history of the Greek cities in Sicily, their internal affairs, their strifes with one another, their dealings with old Greece, their wars with the Phœnicians, and the whole history of many separate commonwealths and tyrannies, till all are alike brought under the dominion of Rome. And that dominion, if it destroyed the independence of the Greek cities in Sicily, helped powerfully to make Sicily, as a whole, a Greek island. It is the time of the first period of strife between East and West, the period in which the championship of Europe belongs to the separate cities of Sicily, to Syracuse above all. We may call this period, from the earliest times to the formation of the Roman province, the time of *Independent Sicily*.

Provincial Sicily. B.C. 241–A.D. 1060.

In the second period Sicily ceases to consist of a number of independent cities and powers, forming largely a world of its own. Sicily, a province of a ruling city of Italy, becomes a part, and a subject part, of a greater whole. Till the coming of the Saracens, Sicily follows the fortunes of the Roman Empire or of some part of it. Then comes the second time of strife between East and West, now become a strife between Islam and Christendom. The island is torn bit by bit from the Empire by the Saracen invaders who, for two short periods, parted by a partial recovery of the island by the Empire, were in actual possession of all Sicily. The strife between Greek and Saracen is ended by the gradual conquest of the island by the Norman Count Roger. The time from the establishment of the Roman dominion to the coming of Roger may be called the time of *Provincial Sicily*.

With the coming of the Normans Sicily ceased to be a mere province of any other power. With the death of

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Robert Wiscard it became the chief seat of Norman power in the south. It becomes a kingdom, for a while an independent and powerful kingdom, bearing rule over other lands. And in all the revolutions that have followed, Sicily, whether held alone or with some other kingdom, whether independent or practically subject, has always, till our own century, remained a separate kingdom, giving a royal title to its king. It is only in our own day that Sicily has ceased to exist as a kingdom or even as a province, and has been altogether merged in the neighbouring kingdom on the mainland. This time, of exactly eight hundred years, we may call, though the Sicilian princes for a short time bore only the title of Count, the time of the *Sicilian Kingdom*.

The County and Kingdom of Sicily. A.D. 1060–1860.

The great and characteristic interest of Sicilian history ends with the death of the Emperor Frederick. Some of the most stirring scenes in the whole story, among which those of our own day are not the least stirring, not the least glorious, come in later times. But the special character of Sicilian history ends with Frederick; he had perhaps himself no small share in bringing it to an end. The tale, true or false, that in the slaughter of the Vespers the test for life or death was the power of giving its Italian sound to some word like *Cicerone*, shows of itself that Sicily had by that time ceased to be the meeting-place of the nations. A hundred years earlier Palermo had been the happy city of the threefold tongue, where Greek, Arabic, and Latin with its children not yet fully distinguished from their parent, were tongues spoken side by side in equal honour. The test which is said to have been used at the Vespers would have condemned to death any Greek, any Saracen, even any Norman, who still clave to the speech of his fathers. After the death of Frederick, the history of Sicily became a part of the ordinary history of mediæval Europe, often part of the ordinary history of

Death of the Emperor Frederick. A.D. 1250.

After him Sicily loses its character.

Change in language.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. I. mediæval Italy [1]. The great strife between Europe and Africa, between Christian and Saracen, is over; the lesser strife between Greek and Latin Christendom is over also. Sicily is part of Latin Christendom; any traces of the nations, the creeds, the tongues, which the Norman found in the island have sunk to the state of mere survivals. From Theoklês to Frederick there is an unbroken story which ends with Frederick. I begin then with Theoklês, rather with those days before Theoklês which are needful for the full understanding of Theoklês and those who followed in his steps. And I trust, if life and strength are spared me, to carry on my story till the Wonder of the World is laid in his tomb at Palermo. As to even the attempt at anything further I promise nothing; the world contains Franks and Englishmen as well as Sicilians of any speech.

[1] Now at last we may, with sadness, accept the saying of Strabo (vi. 2. 7), *ὡσανεὶ γὰρ μέρος τι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐστὶν ἡ νῆσος.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER II.

THE ISLAND AND ITS EARLIEST INHABITANTS[1].

AT the geographical position and character of Sicily, and at the general effect which that position and character had on the history of Sicily and of Europe, we have already glanced. But we have looked more to the geographical position of the island than to its geographical character, and any detailed geographical description has as yet been out of place. We have seen that Sicily was enabled to play the part in history which it did play mainly through its geographical position, but that its geographical character also largely helped in the work. The first condition of the peculiar history of Sicily was its position as the central island of the civilized world; the second condition was that that central island should be of such a size and shape as, in the ideas of those days, to approach to the character of an insular continent. As compared with the older Phœnician and Greek world, it had to be, if not as America, at least as Australia. It was this *quasi*-continental character of Sicily which determined the particular shape which the struggle of the nations should take in Sicily. Its geographical position ruled that it should be the meeting-place of the nations; its geographical character ruled on what terms they should meet in it. Because Sicily was in some sort a mainland, it followed that their strife should be, not only a strife for

Quasi-continental character of Sicily.

[1] On the Authorities see Appendix I.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. Sicily, but a strife in Sicily, waged largely by the inhabitants of Sicily itself.

The earliest inhabitants.

This is equally true both of the earlier and the later stages of the history of the island, both of its præ-historic and its historic days; that is, in other words, both of the days before and the days after the beginnings of Phœnician and Greek settlement. In our present chapter it is with the days before those settlements that we are as yet concerned. That is, we have to look at Sicily as it was when there was no recorded history, at the island itself and its physical features, and at those among its inhabitants whom we find there when recorded history begins. As to the earliest inhabitants of all we shall not presume to guess. Of those inhabitants of Sicily of whom we know anything, the oldest, the Sikans, claimed to be *Autochthones*[1]. The rest had traditions, and highly probable traditions, which spoke of them as coming into Sicily from some other land. Even the oldest may well have had predecessors; but then we should be inclined to say that the land in which they lived itself had a predecessor. In those geological days when the Mediterranean sea formed two—perhaps three—distinct lakes, when men could walk dryshod from what is now Africa into what is now Italy, passing over what is now Sicily on the road, there was in truth no Sicily in our sense. So there was no Greece, no Britain, no Denmark, no Holland. The lands which were in after times to bear those names had not yet put on the geographical shape which was needful for them to play the part which they were to play in history. With those ages, with the lands as they were in those ages, with the men, if men in the fullest sense they were, who then dwelled in those lands, we have here nothing to do. They belong to other sciences than ours. We have to deal with Sicily the island, and with no older geographical form of

Earlier geographical state of the island.

No Sicily as yet.

[1] Thuc. vi. 2.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the land. We have to deal with the oldest inhabitants of Sicily the island of whom history, legend, tradition, or existing monuments, can tell us anything. We have to deal with the land and its inhabitants in the earliest days when a ship was needed to cross from the future site of Carthage to the future site of Panormos, and when at least a raft was needed to cross from the future site of Rhêgion to the future site of Messana. Those who could take either journey on foot we leave to other inquirers.

Sicily begins as the island.

We have assumed that Sicily has been an island at least from the time when the Mediterranean lands put on anything like their present geographical shape. Since there has been anything that could be called Africa, Sicily, and Italy, a wider sea has parted Sicily from Africa and a narrower sea has parted it from Italy. Of these two propositions the first has perhaps never been disputed; with regard to the second we are met at starting by a very early and wide-spread belief the other way. It was held by most of the earliest writers that Italy and Sicily, parted by so narrow a strait, had once formed a continuous mainland, much as Peloponnêsos forms a continuous mainland with Northern Greece[1], and that the isthmus which once united the two had been broken through by some violent convulsion of nature. It was indeed a region in which anything might easily be thought to have happened. The volcanic isles to the north, the volcanic mountain to the south, the fierce current sweeping daily through the strait, might suggest that this was a part of the world in which the powers both of fire and of water were likely to work their greatest wonders. An earthquake had broken the narrow bridge asunder; a swell of the sea mightier than usual had swept it away[2]. Thus

Sicily an island since existing geography began.

Belief in the severance of Sicily from Italy.

[1] I borrow this analogy from Polybios, i. 42.

[2] See Appendix II.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. the island of Sicily was broken away from the mainland of Italy, and the memory of their parting asunder was kept alive in the name of the city on the strait, Rhêgion or the *Breach* [1]. This belief must of course be carefully distinguished from the geological teaching which has been already spoken of. The question is whether Sicily and Italy were still joined in times when Europe had put on its present general shape, when there was something that could be called Sicily and Italy. In other words, Were Sicily and Italy still joined in times when a wide sea parted Sicily and Africa? The natural process which is held to have taken place would answer to the artificial process by which it has been so often attempted to part asunder Peloponnêsos and Northern Greece, or, on a greater scale, to part asunder North and South America. But modern scientific belief seems to have decided against the reality of any such change in historical, or even in what we may call traditional, times [2]. The ancient belief was a very natural guess, but one which scientific examination does not confirm. Sicily, we may safely say, has been an island during all the ages which in any way concern us.

Shape of the island.

The island being thus assumed, there is something to be said about its shape. The compactness of its shape, the solidity of the island, that is, the *quasi*-continental character which has been already spoken of, must strike every one at

[1] Ῥήγιον is thus connected with *ῥήγνυμι*, and the general root *ϝραγ*, *frag*, *break*, and the like. Save one grotesque etymology which connected the name with the Latin *rex* (Strabo, vi. 1. 6), Rhêgion was always understood as meaning the *breach*, and the breach was always understood of the physical breach between island and mainland. See Appendix II.

[2] Admiral Smyth, to whom we owe so much as a pioneer on Sicilian matters, inclines to the ancient belief on his very first page; but geological opinion seems now to be the other way. See Holm, i. 6; 328. It is always to be remembered what the question is. The likeness of the hills and the shallowness of the strait are accounted for by the undoubted union of the lands in præ-historic times. Our question is whether they were still united at a later stage.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the first glance at the map. But a singular mistake as to what we may call the mathematical shape of Sicily long prevailed. It has not only always been a popular belief, but it received scientific acceptance from the days of Ptolemy to those of D'Anville[1]. All the older maps show Sicily as very nearly an exact acute-angled triangle, with angles pointing west, north-east, and south-east. And the angles are always said to end in promontories[2]. And from this peculiar shape of the island it has been held that it took the descriptive name of *Trinakria* and other names to the same effect. But in truth Sicily is not a triangle; of the three promontories at its corners two are certainly not promontories, and two are not at a corner. The name *Trinakria* was seemingly formed out of an elder form *Thrinakia* by that familiar process which changes a name so as to give it a seeming meaning; when the name was once adopted, the geography was fitted to the name[3]. No one who ever stood at Lilybaion and looked out on the western sea could ever doubt that Sicily has four sides[4]. Lilybaion itself, one of the alleged angles of the triangle, stands in the middle of the fourth or western side; it is the most western point of the island, but it has no right to be called a promontory at its western or north-western corner. But grant the four sides of Sicily, and a north-western corner is at once found. And if that corner is not exactly furnished with a headland running out into the sea, yet one of the noblest heights in Sicily

CHAP. II.

Believed to be an acute-angled triangle.

Name of *Trinakria*.

Four sides of Sicily.

Eryx the north-western corner.

[1] See Bunbury, Dict. Geog., art. Sicilia. Any old map, such as that in Cluver's Sicilia Antiqua or in the Amsterdam edition of Virgil (1746), or most of all, that in Bochart's *Chanaan*, will show the difference.

[2] See Appendix III.

[3] See Appendix III.

[4] Smyth (223) assumes the four sides of the island. 'The west coast of Sicily is different in feature from either of those before described; the northern part of it presents bold capes and highland, but the southern is low and flat, and dangerous to approach at night.' Of this last characteristic we shall see something when we come to the great siege of Lilybaion.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. rises close above it. Eryx comes far nearer to the character of a promontory running into the sea and marking a corner of the island than any of the three which are commonly spoken of as so doing. In the voyage from Panormos to Lilybaion, Eryx is the turning-point from the northern to the western side of Sicily. Men felt this even when their nomenclature confused them. Apollônios clearly understood that Eryx was what Lilybaion falsely claimed to be [1]. Poseidônios spoke of Syracuse and Eryx as the two *akropoleis* of Sicily, while Henna rose over the midland plains [2]. The description, in some things strange, shows a full understanding of the true character of Eryx.

Sicily practically triangular.

But though the usual picture of Trinakria with its three promontories is a delusion, yet the triangular shape of Sicily is a practical, though not a mathematical, truth. The island has a fourth side to the west; but the western side is very short, compared with the northern, the eastern, or the south-western side. The real shape of Sicily is a right-angled triangle, with one of its acute angles, that to the north-west, cut off. Everywhere except to the due west, the shape of the island is intensely triangular; it comes far nearer to a mathematical triangle than Sardinia comes to a mathematical parallelogram. No shape could be better suited to combine a long range of coast, with an

Its true shape.

[1] Surely the thought that Eryx was the real Lilybaion was in the mind of Apollônios of Rhodes when he wrote (iv. 917);

θεὰ Ἔρυκος μεδέουσα
Κύπρις, ἔτ' ἐν δίναις ἀνετρέψατο καί β' ἑσάωσε
πρόφρων ἀντομένη Λιλυβηΐδα ναιέμεν ἄκρην.

Cf. Ovid, Fasti, iv. 478;

"Quaque patet Zephyro semper apertus Eryx;"

though he goes on,

"Jamque Peloriaden, Lilybæsque, jamque Pachynon
Lustrarat, terræ cornua prima suæ."

[2] Strabo, vi. 2. 7; *φησὶ δ' ὁ Ποσειδάνιος οἷον ἀκροπόλεις ἐπὶ θαλάττης δύο τὰς Συρακούσας ἱδρῦσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἔρυκα, μέσην δὲ ἀμφοῖν ὑπερκεῖσθαι τῶν κύκλῳ πεδίων τὴν Ἔνναν.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

inland region that should be thoroughly inland. The coast is indented enough to make many fine havens; it is not indented enough to make deep *fiords*, like those of Pembroke or Cattaro. The nature of the land ordered its destinies. Its position invited settlers of every nation, preeminently settlers of the two great colonizing nations. But its shape hindered either nation from taking the whole to itself; it even hindered a division of the whole island between the two. In such a land it was not the nature of either Greek or Phœnician to spread from sea to sea, as the Greek could in the oldest Italy. The colonists therefore kept themselves mainly to the coasts, while the older inhabitants, themselves doubtless no less settlers, but settlers of an earlier date and a different kind, still kept the inland parts. We are thus brought again to the two tendencies which strive with each other throughout Sicilian history. While the position of the island invited every new-comer, its shape made it a world of its own, with interests and questions of its own, a world of many and often hostile nations, an image in short of the wider worlds of Europe or Asia in a smaller space.

Character of the coast.

Distinction between the coast and the inland parts.

Sicily a world of its own.

§ 1. *Physical Characteristics of Sicily.*

We have ruled the true shape of Sicily to be that of a right-angled triangle with one of its angles cut off. No one will expect such a definition to be mathematically correct; there is assuredly no real right angle at any corner of Sicily. But, as compared with many other lands, above all with Greece and Italy, the definition holds good. The three great sides of Sicily come much nearer to right lines than any piece of coast in all Greece. And, though Pelôris is eminently not a right angle, yet Pachynos is so very little west of Pelôris, Eryx is so very little south of it, that the triangle is practically right-angled. Nowhere does the coast of Sicily turn in and out, nowhere is it

Coasts of Sicily and of Greece.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. broken up by deep inlets of the sea, like the coasts of many other great islands, like at least the northern part of our own. When the Greeks began to settle in Sicily, they found themselves in an island, not only far greater than Crete or Euboia or Korkyra, but of quite another kind.

Mountainous character of Sicily.

Each side of the island has a character of its own, and the character of each coast is largely affected by the character of the inland parts nearest to it. No land can well be more mountainous than Sicily; flat ground of any extent is unknown; the plain of Lentini or Catania, the largest unbroken flat surface in the island, is small beside the plain of Milan or the plain of York. No spot in Sicily is out of sight of a considerable hill; most spots are within sight of lofty mountains; a great part of the island is within sight of that Mount of Mounts to set forth whose greatness two of the tongues of the island have been pressed to contribute[1]. Ætna, *Mongibello*, is brought down by geologists to rank as the youngest mountain of the island; to the eye it is the crown of Sicily, round which the other heights of the island gather. It was all Sicily, not Ætna as a distinct mass, with which Zeus or Athênê overwhelmed the rebellious Enkelados[2]. But between the summit of Ætna and the low bluffs by Syracuse there is every variety of height in the island, and the character of the coast is mainly determined by the height of the nearest hills and the measure of their distance from the shore. Along the whole north side and the northern part of the eastern side, high mountains come everywhere near enough to the water to determine

Ætna.

Contrast of the northern and southern coasts.

[1] The local name *Mongibello* is made up of Latin and Arabic words which translate one another. There are plenty of such examples everywhere. I need not go further than one on a very small scale, Ben Knoll in Somerset.

[2] Apollod. i. 6. 2; Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ Ἐγκελάδῳ φεύγοντι Σικελίαν ἐπέβαλε τὴν νῆσον. So Pindar, Pyth. i. 34, of Typhôs:

Σικελία τ' αὐτοῦ πιέζει στέρνα λαχνάεντα.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the character of the coast scenery. In many places bold headlands rise sheer from the waves or with a mere path between them and the water. On the southern part of the eastern side, on the long southern side and on the small western side, the hills nearest to the coast are mostly much lower, and they keep for the most part much further away from the sea. From Trapani to Catania by way of Mazzara and Syracuse, though there are grand points here and there, the coast scenery, as a rule, is tame compared with that from Catania to Trapani by way of Messina and Palermo. Polybios was wrong as a matter of measurement when he ruled Eryx to be the highest mountain in Sicily after Ætna[1]. But Eryx comes next to Ætna in determining the character of the Sicilian coast. The two mountains are the two ends of that sublime range of heights which fences in the coast from the inland region and which makes the whole of northern Sicily what it is. It is south of Eryx on one side, south of Ætna on the other, that the majesty of the Sicilian coast dies away.

CHAP. II.

Ætna and Eryx.

A geographical survey of that coast will naturally begin at the point where the island comes nearest to the mainland from which it was deemed to have been once rent asunder. The north-eastern point of Sicily is one of the so-called promontories, Pelôris or Capo del Faro, so called from the famous *Pharos* or lighthouse, whose name in after times became attached to the strait itself[2]. Here the great northern range of Sicilian mountains, the continuation, according to the older belief, of the Apennines of Italy, ends in a mass of heights, with the strait close on one side and the northern sea on the other. It therefore fittingly

Survey of the coast.

Pelôris.

[1] i. 55; *μεγέθει δὲ παρὰ πολὺ διαφέρον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ὀρῶν πλὴν τῆς Αἴτνης.* Smyth (242) gives the height of Eryx as 2175 feet.

[2] It bears this sense in the distinction of the two Sicilian kingdoms after their separation as 'citra' and 'infra Pharum.' 'Pharos,' according to Fazello, i. 72, was from *φάος*. The channel is described by Smyth, 109.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. bore the names of Greek Poseidôn and Latin Neptunus [1]. But Pelôris itself, the most north-eastern point of all, is low, sandy, almost insular, with several small lakes on both sides, one of which has the sea near it. Pelôris is in fact a mere spit of land, most likely thrown up by the currents [2]. A strange legend told how, when the sea broke through, the giant Oriôn piled up the point, which, seemingly from the size of its builder, took the name of Pelôris, and there

The strait. built the temple of Poseidôn [3]. Here, where Sicily and Italy come nearest together, is most truly the strait, the strait of Skylla and Charybdis, with its daily currents, running much more east and west than north and south. Presently the Italian coast takes a direction nearly due south, while the Sicilian coast turns south-westward. The strait accordingly widens, till the Italian coast turns sharply to the east, to form the toe of the Italian boot. Here the strait, thus gradually widening, loses itself in the general mass of the eastern sea of Sicily. It is quite otherwise at the northern or eastern end of the strait, where

Cape Phalakrion. its narrow mouth opens into the northern sea. The land turns sharply to the north-west, and the cape of Phalakrion, now known as Rasocolmo, a point more northern than Pelôris, is the first northward projection of the northern side of Sicily.

[1] The name comes only from Solinus, v. 10; "Laudant alios montes duos, Nebroden et Neptunium. E Neptunio specula est in pelagus Tuscum et Hadriaticum." (In the wider sense of the word "Hadriatic," the strait might pass for a branch of it.) But the ancient temple of Poseidôn shows that "Neptunium" merely translates the Greek name.

[2] Bunbury, Dict. Geog., art. Pelorus. The story in Valerius Maximus (ix. 8) and Mela (ii. 116), about the point taking its name from a pilot of Hannibal, might suggest that somebody had put a historical name instead of a mythical one. Of one who makes the name so modern as Hannibal one is tempted to say τὰ πρὶν δὲ πελώρια νῦν δϊστοῖ. Of the lakes at Pelôris Solinus (v. 2) has some marvels to tell.

[3] Diod. iv. 85; Ἡσίοδος δὲ ὁ ποιητής φησι τοὐναντίον ἀναπεπταμένου τοῦ πελάγους, Ὠρίωνα προσχῶσαι τὸ κατὰ τὴν Πελωριάδα κείμενον ἀκρωτήριον, καὶ τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος κατασκευάσαι.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

In the old belief of geographers that side had a marked direction to the south-west, and ended in Lilybaion as its western point. In truth the difference in latitude between the eastern and western ends of the coast is so slight as not to affect the general look of the map. And the windings of the coast, compared at least with those of Greece, are so small as hardly to disturb the general character of the right line. Still there are inlets and peninsulas and turnings of the coast which are of geographical importance. Following the coast line to the west, the narrow *Chersonésos* of Mylai or Milazzo fences in to the east the bay which now bears the name of Patti, the representative in some sort of the Tyndaris of Dionysios[1]. Its western horn, Cape Calavà, stands at no great distance from Cape Orlando, the eastern horn of a far wider but much shallower bay, which takes in a good half of the whole northern coast. The western horn of this bay is the distant Capo Gallo, and its central point is that isolated rock which in Sicilian topography is pre-eminently the Headland, that which gives its name to Cephalœdium, the modern Cefalù. This long bay is marked by not a few historic sites, and west of Cefalù it contains several points of more strictly geographical interest. A spur of the high mountains behind runs down to the sea to form the headland at whose foot arose the hot springs which gave their name to the *Thermai* of Himera and to the modern Termini. Further on, no spur of the mountains, but a vast isolated rock, bears on its inland slope the ruins of Solous, and may be looked on as forming the eastern boundary of the garden of the island[2], the *Campagna*, the Golden Shell, of Palermo. For some way the mountains keep far enough inland to allow one of the richest plains in the world to lie in all its fruitfulness between them and the sea. Here the shore of the bay of Palermo turns rather sharply to the

The north coast nearly straight.

Bay of Patti.

Bay between Orlando and San Vito.

The *Campagna* of Palermo.

[1] Diod. xiv. 78.

[2] Athen. xii. 59; ἡ Πανορμῖτις τῆς Σικελίας πᾶσα κῆπος προσαγορεύεται.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. north, so that Palermo itself looks straight towards the rising sun. The isolated rocks of Heirktê—now Monte Pellegrino—and Capo Gallo fence in the Palermitan land to the north and east; from Capo Gallo we go on with our survey directly along the north coast. A small and shallow bay, marking the ancient Hykkara, near Carini, follows, and beyond that comes the largest and deepest bay of the Sicilian coast, the gulf of Castellamare, the ancient haven of Segesta, fenced to the west by the promontory of San Vito, the most northern point of Sicily. That this bay should be the largest and deepest of the whole coast shows how nearly straight that coast, as a whole, is. We pass San Vito, and turn to the south to reach the point where the mighty mass of Eryx guards the north-western corner of the island.

Bays of Carini and Castellamare.

As soon as we have turned out of the strait into the open sea, we are in that division of the Mediterranean which was known to the Greek geographers as the Tyrrhenian and to the Latins as the Lower Sea [1]. Across its waters the nearly straight north coast of Sicily looks out on the coast of Italy stretching north-west and south-east, to the south-eastern point at which it all but touches Sicily. From the Italian point of view the Tyrrhenian sea might be looked on as a triangular space of water fenced in to the west by the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. But an opening is thus left to the south-west which gives it a different aspect as regards Sicily. The other two great islands hardly come within the Sicilian range; they but seldom appear in its history, and the opening which may be said to give Italy a distant view of Africa is to Sicily something more than an opening. This

The Tyrrhenian sea;

[1] But "Tuscum mare," &c. is also used by the Latins (Plin. iii. 6; Mela, ii. 117), most likely as an adaptation of the Greek phrase. Polybios (i. 42), on the west coast of Sicily, opposes τὸ Λιβυκὸν καὶ τὸ Σαρδῷον πέλαγος.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

northern sea of Sicily is, from the Sicilian point of view, the least historic of all the seas which wash its coasts. The strait and the other open seas both play a far greater part in its annals. Sicily has constant dealings with Italy by way of the strait, and with the more distant lands by way of the eastern and southern seas. But with the lands, Greek and barbarian, which had to be approached by the Tyrrhenian sea Sicily had, till later days, very much less of intercourse. The now familiar path from Palermo to Naples was then comparatively unfrequented. The northern coast and the northern sea did indeed furnish sites for some of the most memorable events in Sicilian history; but the wars of Himera come on the whole under the head of wars within the island. The most notable geographical fact about this northern sea of Sicily is that it contains the isles of Aiolos or of Lipara, the isles of fire. Lying between Sicily and Italy, they form a point of connexion between the volcanic phænomena of the island and those of the mainland.

the least marked in Sicilian history.

The isles of Lipara.

We turn round Eryx to find ourselves on the short western side of Sicily. The angle which is there cut off might be made up, and the triangle made perfect, if the three islands which lie off the north-western coast of Sicily could be made part of Sicily itself. As it is, Lilybaion is the most western point of Sicily, and that is all. It is no headland, but a low point, stretching out from the middle of a low coast. Its name implies that it was believed to stand opposite to Libya[1]; but in the

The west side of Sicily.

Lilybaion the western point.

[1] לוב "versus Libyes," according to Movers, die Phönizier, ii. 333. So Bochart, Chanaan, i. 29 (pp. 558, 562). This is at least easier to believe than that the Κύκλωπες are called "a Phœnicio לוב דיוק, contracto ex לילוב, id est, sinus Lilybœtanus." So Mela (ii. 17); "Lilybæum, quod in Africam spectat." Porphyry (in Eunapios' Life, 8. ed. Amst. 1822) landed in Sicily by the straits, but would notice neither man nor city; *συντείνας ἐπὶ Λιλύβαιον ἑαυτὸν, τὸ δέ ἐστι τῶν τριῶν ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Σικελίας τὸ πρὸς Λιβυὴν ἀνατεῖνον καὶ ὁρῶν.* But it is hard to believe (see Strabo,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. direct western view there is certainly no land between Sicily and Spain. Yet historically, though not geographically, the name Lilybaion contained the deepest truth. If Sicily on this side did not directly look out towards Africa, yet Africa assuredly looked towards Sicily. It was by way of this corner that Africa found its way to Sicilian dominion. The whole coast is low, now largely occupied

Drepanon. by salt-pits. The low and narrow peninsula of Drepanon projects from the north-east corner, and between Drepanon and Lilybaion another low and curved peninsula once sheltered the famous isle of Motya from the outer waves. Those waves have since broken through the slender barrier,

Motya. and have turned the peninsula, with Motya itself, into a group of islands. The nearest hills are of no great height, and they leave a wide plain between them and the sea. The majestic coast and mountain scenery of northern Sicily

The isles of Aigousa. has here altogether vanished from Sicily itself. It is kept up only by the noble outlines of the three islands of Aigousa, to which the lowly islands between them and the shore form a strange contrast. As soon as the island peaks are out of sight, such heights as those of Capo Gallo and San Vito are indeed few and far between, till we have sailed round the whole of the south-western side of Sicily and round part of its eastern side.

The south-western side. The long south-western side of Sicily is that which comes geographically nearest to looking directly towards Africa. But, as the African coast turns almost directly south opposite the point where the Sicilian coast turns south-west, the distance between the two is constantly widening. On this side Africa can hardly be said to look out towards Sicily, while Sicily may certainly now be said to look out towards Africa. This side of the island is

vi. 2. 1; Ælian, V. H. xi. 13) that the most sharp-sighted man (τις τῶν ὀξυδορκούντων) could stand at Lilybaion and count the ships in the haven of Carthage. Strabo gives the distance at 1500 stadia.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

far from having the same continuous charm as the northern side. It is but seldom that heights of any importance come down to the sea. Near Sciacca, the old *Thermai* of Selinous, the bold and lofty rock of San Marco, with the mountains behind it, gives the coast an exceptional character. Further on, and on a smaller scale, the hill of Eknomos, close to Phintiás or Licata, goes some way to call up the insular look of Cefalù and Cape Zaffarana. But, as a rule, the coast is flat or approached only by low hills, and the lack of good harbours at once strikes those who are used to the seas [1]. It has yet fewer inlets of the sea than the northern coasts; yet there are some shallow bays which are well marked in the general view, and which have an historical importance as showing the physical extent of the territories of several cities. The inward bend of the coast from Cape Sorello or Granitola, the south-western point of Sicily, to Cape San Marco already mentioned marks the Selinuntine dominion, while that from Eknomos to Cape Scalambri takes in the land both of Gela and Kamarina. The extent of the territory of Akragas, the greatest city on this side of Sicily, which arose between Gela and Selinous after their foundation, is less clearly marked on the map. East of Scalambri are some small havens of historical or mythical interest. Such is that of Kaukana or Porto Lombardo, which has its place in the wars both of Belisarius and of Roger [2]. Further again to the east are the cape and the haven to which the legendary name of Odysseus has attached itself [3]. This brings us to the

CHAP. II.

The coast generally low.

Haven of Kaukana;

of Odysseus.

[1] Smyth, 184; "The south coast of Sicily is generally low and arid, and does not possess a single harbour for large ships, though there are several tolerable summer anchorages."

[2] Procop. Bell. Vand. i. 14, Galf. Mal. iv. 16; under the name of Resacramba, where a Semitic element may be traced.

[3] The Ὀδυσσεία ἄκρα of Ptolemy (i. 370 Bonn.), and the "Portus Odyssea" —in old editions "Edissa"—of Cicero (Verr. v. 34) go together. They are in the neighbourhood of Pachynos, most likely immediately to the west of it, between the *Punto delle Formiche* and the *Isola delle Correnti*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. Pachynos; use of the name.

south-eastern corner of the island; and here we have to look for the promontory of Pachynos. And it will be hard to find any point which is at once a promontory and a corner. It is a likely conjecture[1] that under the name Pachynos the ancient writers understood the whole south-eastern peninsula, as we may call it, from the modern Castelluccio eastwards. This would take in more than one headland, more than one bay, more than one island off the coast. The most southern point of Sicily is really the unimportant one which is parted by a narrow channel from the very small island known as *Isola delle Correnti*. But the real Pachynos seems to lie on the east coast of Sicily, by the modern Porto Palo. If we are to look for the alleged promontory on the mainland, the promontory of Pachynos may claim, if not to be lofty, at least to be rocky; but it seems likely that the real representative of Pachynos is no point of the mainland, but the loftier island of Cape Passero, a prominent object enough in the view from many points. Here then we get our promontory, but we have to give up our corner. Still Passero is not very far from being the most southern point of Sicily; it is the only point which, having any claim to be called south, has also a claim to be called east. It is hardly the nearest point of Sicily to the coast of old Greece, but of all points that could possibly be looked on as angles, it is the one that comes nearest to looking out towards Crete and Peloponnêsos[2].

Cape Passero.

[1] Holm, Geschichte Siciliens, i. 11.

[2] Pachynos is sometimes placed to the south, sometimes to the east. Polybios (i. 42) calls it τὸ μὲν [ἀκρωτήριον] πρὸς μεσημβρίαν νεῦον, εἰς δὲ τὸ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος ἀντιτεῖνον, Πάχυνος καλεῖται. Skylax (13) puts it after Helôron, that is to the east; μετὰ δὲ ταύτην πόλις Ἕλωρον καὶ Πάχυνος ἀκρωτήριον. But see Bunbury in Dict. Geog. Ovid (Met. xiii. 725) calls it

"Imbriferos obversa Pachynos ad Austros."

Mela, on the other hand, says (ii. 166), "Pachynum vocatur quod ad Græciam spectat;" and more distinctly, Strabo, vi. 2. 1; Πάχυνος ἡ

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Its eastern coast;

We are now again on the eastern coast, which on many grounds, both physical and historical, has the highest interest of all. It is the scene of most of the great events in Sicilian history; it is the side that fronts alike the elder Hellas and the elder Canaan, the side which was undoubtedly the land of the earliest settlements from Hellas, perhaps the land of the earliest settlements from Canaan also. Here in Ætna we find the greatest physical wonder of the island; here in Syracuse we find its most illustrious city. And here too we find that part of the Sicilian coast which alone has the faintest claim to reproduce something of the character of the varied coast of old Hellas. At one part of this eastern side, promontories—of no great height certainly, but still promontories—peninsulas, islands off the coast, are found in greater abundance than in other parts of Sicily. A long bend of the coast, broken by a few smaller points, a few smaller or shallower bays, may be held to stretch from Cape Passero to the southern peninsula of Syracuse, the *Penisola della Maddalena*, whose northern point was the famous Plêmmyrion. Here we are in the thick of the most historic spots of Sicily, spots which have become historic because their physical character was such as to invite the great events of history to happen there. The history of Syracuse could hardly have been wrought out except among the havens and the hills of Syracuse, and it would have been hard on the havens and the hills of Syracuse if they had had no tale to tell such as in truth was wrought out among them. The east coast of Sicily

its more broken character.

Plêmmyrion.

Effect of the geography on Syracusan history.

Bays on the east coast.

ἐκκειμένη πρὸς ἕω καὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ κλυζομένη πελάγει, βλέπουσα πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Κρήτης πόρον.

Cicero (Verr. v. 34) speaks of a "portus Pachyni." All this variety falls in with the notion of Pachynos being primarily Cape Passero, but taking in something more. Macrobius (i. 17. 24) speaks of a temple of "Apollo Libystinus" at Pachynos, who took his surname from smiting a "Libyan" invasion with pestilence. Is this any confusion with the great plague on the Carthaginians in B.C. 396?

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

falls naturally into three parts, the bay of Catania forming the central part of the three, and that through which the character of one end gradually dies away into the character of the other. Advancing from the south, there is a region of peninsulas of various shapes and sizes. First, as we have seen, comes the hammer-like Maddalena, projecting to the south-east. Beyond it is the blunter sea-ward end of the hill of Syracuse, the hill of Epipolai and Achradina, with the island—the artificial peninsula—of Ortygia stretching southward to leave a comparatively narrow channel between itself and Plèmmyrion. Within lies the Great Harbour of Syracuse, its historic waters and its historic coast, and the swampy plain between its waters and the hills which seem to keep themselves landward to make room for it. North of the hill of Syracuse and its cape of the Panagia, a long and, for Sicily, deep bend of the coast, once the bay of Megara, stretches as far as the most northern peninsula of this region. This is that which stretches eastward and southward to the points called Santa Croce and Izzo, and northward to that of Campolato. This bay is again broken up into smaller divisions. The low peninsula of Thapsos, with its narrow and yet lower isthmus, a peninsula which the eye long refuses to believe to be other than an island, divides it into two marked parts, of which the southern reckons as part of the waters of Syracuse, while the northern forms the bay of Megara. At its northern end again the peninsula of Xiphonia stretches due south, making a bay on each side of it far deeper than the main bay of which it forms a part. Though Ortygia is or has been an island, while Xiphonia has ever been a peninsula, each is the exact counterpart of the other in geographical position, wide as is the difference in their historic fame. From Syracuse to Xiphonia a stretch of low ground lies between the sea and the inland mountains; in the northern peninsula lower heights

The peninsulas near Syracuse.

The Great Harbour.

The Bay of Megara and its peninsulas.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

The Bay of Catania.

come nearer to the shore. After Campolato the coast of the Catanian bay turns for a while westward and is marked by two small bays, one of which receives the waters of the wide Pantakyas. Then it turns sharply to the north, to form the seaward side of the widest plain in Sicily, the fields that once bore the name of Leontine and afterwards of Catanian[1]. From Catania itself the coast becomes more broken and gradually turns towards the north-east till we again enter the Messanian strait. The memorable peninsula of Naxos, now Schisó, finds a place on the map hardly proportionate to its place either in history or in the view from the Tauromenian heights. For Schisó is the southern horn of the bay of Taormina, and from this point, beginning with the height of Tauros, the mountains draw near to the shore, giving to the northern part of the east side of Sicily a wealth of coast scenery at least equal to that of the north side. Over the whole east side of Sicily Ætna reigns supreme; in the central part of the coast we feel ourselves in his immediate presence.

The Leontine Fields.

Naxos.

Bay and heights of Taormina.

The inland region.

There are some aspects of ancient Sicilian history which might tempt us to fancy that Sicily existed only on its sea-coasts, and might lead us to neglect the inland region. And the same temptation is likely still more strongly to affect the modern traveller. In Roman, Saracen, and

[1] In Diodôros (iv. 24) Hêraklês admires the Leontine plain (*τὸ μὲν κάλλος τῆς χώρας ἐθαύμασε*), and it is said (v. 2) that wheat grew there wild (*ἐν τῷ Λεοντίνῳ πεδίῳ καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους τόπους τῆς Σικελίας μέχρι τοῦ νῦν φύεσθαι τοὺς ἀγρίους ὀνομαζομένους πυρούς*). Cicero (Verr. iii. 18) speaks of the "campus Leontinus" as "caput rei frumentariæ." The Laistrygones were placed here by those who found them a Sicilian and not an Italian home (Strabo, i. 2. 9; Pliny, iii. 14; Silius, xiv. 127; cf. the *Κύκλωπας καὶ Λαιστρυγόνας ἀξένους τινάς*, Strabo, i. 2. 9); but the passage from the Odyssey (ix. 109) which Diodôros quotes just before belongs to the Kyklôpes and not to the Laistrygones. Fazello (i. 138) praises the fields under their Catanian name, but in Cluver (129) they are restored to Leontinoi.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Its historical position.

Norman times the temptation is smaller. In the earlier days it is certain that all the great Phœnician and Greek cities arose on the coast, and around those cities nearly all the great events of Sicilian history were wrought. Timoleôn's victory by the Krimisos is perhaps the only event of first-rate importance which happened far from the sea. But Sicily is not really known on any side of its history if its inland regions are neglected. Sicily is preeminently a mountain land, and the physical conformation of its mountains is the physical conformation of the land itself. And the very fact that the main part of the history of Sicily, that is its Phœnician and Greek history, was wrought on the coasts gives to the inland region a historic importance of its own. That region still sheltered the native races; it contained their strongest fortresses and their holiest sanctuaries. In Roman times some of the inland towns rose to a prosperity which rivalled, if it did not surpass, that of the cities of the coast. In those days wars had ceased in and around Sicily, and the cornfields of Henna and Centuripa counted for more than the commerce or the havens of Syracuse. In conquests like those of both Saracen and Norman, conquests of the whole island, not mere settlements on its borders, the inland parts are as prominent as the coasts. Castrogiovanni and Troina play a part at least equal to that of Syracuse and Palermo.

The native races remain inland.

Inland Sicily in Roman and in Saracen times.

Along the north side of the island the mountains themselves are in some sort the coast. When they do not actually form it by coming down to the water in the shape of promontories, they at least decide its character. We have already made acquaintance with the Neptunian range in the north-east corner of the island, where the shape of that corner allows them to put on the form of a ridge looking down on two seas. This can be hardly said of any other range of mountains in the island. The Neptunian hills are held to stretch along the south coast as far as the

The Neptunian mountains.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

heights of Tauros[1]; there the valley of the Akesimês parts them from the isolated mass of Ætna, his spurs and roots. On the north coast the Neptunian hills are continued in the Nebrodian and Maronian ranges[2]. Among which, inland from Cefalù and Himera, we find the loftiest mountains in Sicily after Ætna, where the snow lies deep far on into the spring[3]. Behind the Baths of Himera, the modern Termini, rises the height of Calogero, one of several bearers of the monastic name of the Eastern Church[4]. On both sides of Palermo, the mountains, above all the isolated points, become themselves truly the coast; but they curve inland to form the inner wall of the Golden Shell, a wall comparatively low, whose highest point, now known as Monte Cuccio, is outtopped by several heights in Britain[5]. The range goes on till it ends in Eryx, isolated like vaster Ætna[6], but ever the seat of milder powers.

CHAP. II.

The Nebrodian range.

The northern Calogero.

The mountains of Palermo.

From the northern range two ranges strike southwards. That to the westward may be looked on as starting from Cape San Vito on the north coast, and stretching south-

The western hills.

[1] See Bunbury, Dict. Geog. in Pelorus.

[2] Strabo, vi. 2. 9; Ἀνταίρει τῇ Αἴτνῃ τὰ Νευρώδη ὄρη ταπεινότερα μὲν, πλάτει δὲ πολὺ παραλλάττοντα. The form Νευρώδη is important in the history of Greek sounds; but Solinus must have read Νεβρώδη in some Greek book when he wrote (v. 11); "Nebroden damnae et hinnulei gregatim pervagantur; inde Nebrodes." Cf. Silius, xiv. 232. See Cluver, 364.

[3] "Maro" in Pliny, iii. 14. See Holm's note, G. S. i. 334. It is now *Medonia*. See Smyth, p. 2; Fazello, i. 414. Holm reckons the highest point at 6320 feet. The "Gemelli colles" of Pliny are near Cannarata to the westward. They stand out clearly as "gemelli" in some of the views near Girgenti.

[4] The hills called Calogero are doubtless called directly after the saint of that name (Calogero is not an uncommon Christian name in Sicily); but Καλόγερος must at starting have been the ideal monk.

[5] The northern Calogero has a fountain. See Amico in Fazello, i. 372. This peak is reckoned at about 3440 feet.

[6] Holm says well (p. 15), "Nach allen Seiten hin isolirt dazustehen scheint, und so ein verkleinertes Abbild des Aetna darbietet," and (p. 334), "Seine Isolirtheit hat ihn höher erscheinen lassen als er ist." See above, p. 54.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

wards to end in the mass of hills called Kratas [1], behind the Thermai of Selinous. Over them another height of Calogero, an isolated volcanic mountain, keeps watch, as its northern fellow keeps watch over the springs of Himera. This we have already seen as one of the few points on the southern coast where heights of any mark come down to the sea. The western corner of Sicily is thus cut off to form a region of plains and hills. Far to the east of this range the Heraian mountains [2] strike off south-westward from the Nebrodian and the Maronian, to cut off, far less distinctly, the flat and low land to the south-east. They may be held to end in the hills by Syracuse, the long flat-topped heights ending in bold bluffs, so exactly after the manner of the hills of Somerset and Gloucestershire. The name of Hybla and its honey is familiar; but there seems to be no particular point of the hills bearing that name, a name which we shall find full of interest on other grounds. Yet there are hills of Hybla [3], looking down on the Megarian bay and the low ground between them; and modern scholars seem to have agreed to give the name of Thymbris [4] to the height so prominent

The Heraian mountains.

The Syracusan hills:

Hybla;

[1] The name *Κράτας* seems to come from Ptolemy (iii. 4. 10) only. See Cluver, 365.

[2] Diodôros, in telling the legend of Daphnis (iv. 84), writes the panegyric of the *Ἡραῖα ὄρη*, above all of their oaks and other trees, which are assuredly not there now. He adds; *ἔχειν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν αὐτομάτων, ἀμπέλου τε πυλλῆς φυομένης καὶ μήλων ἀμύθητον πλῆθος.*

[3] Martial, xiii. 105;

"Cum dederis Siculos medio de collibus Hyblæ,
Cecropios dicas tu licet esse favos."

This does not seem to imply a hill or range of hills called Hybla, but rather the hills overlooking "media Hybla," that is, neither the northern nor the southern Hybla of which we shall have presently to speak, but the "middle Hybla" by Megara. The Latin poets, in speaking of the Hyblaian honey, uses the word "Hybla" vaguely. See Cluver, 135. Cf. Silius, xiv. 199.

[4] On Thymbris or Criniti, see Holm's note, p. 335. Surely Thymbris is a hill in the passage quoted from Theokritos, i. 117. One cannot find any river Thymbris near Syracuse.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

from the hill of Syracuse, the height which seems to send forth its rocky bluff to every point of the compass. Further to the south-east is a region which throws up no lofty peaks or ranges, but whose physical features are nevertheless of the highest interest. We may call it the region of the limestone gorges. The same causes work the same effects in all parts, in Sicily, in Wessex, in Dalmatia, and in Peloponnêsos. The ravines of south-eastern Sicily call up the memory alike of the combes of Mendip and of the gorge below Mykênê. Still they have a character of their own. Nowhere else is the land so full of them; the whole country is cut up by these deep, long, winding, clefts in the limestone. Several of them often meet at a point, and the point of meeting or the height above it has often been chosen for the building of a town. But, with all their striking and picturesque effect, we may doubt whether any of these South-Sicilian gorges throws up a group of pinnacles of such bold and fantastic shape as those which watch over the West-Saxon passes of Cheddar and Ebber.

The limestone gorges.

Midland Sicily, the region hemmed in as it were by these various mountain ranges, may be held to come down to the sea on the coast line between Kratas and the peninsular promontory of Eknomos. It is a land of hills, of valleys, of occasional flat ground among the hills. The hills are of every variety of height and shape; some of the loftiest were early chosen as the sites of primæval towns, and remain such still. But the Sicilian "monarch of mountains" stands apart from all rivalry, from all neighbourhood. Ætna stands inland, yet he has so largely influenced the history of the coast that we cannot speak of him as purely inland. The nurse of snow and fire[1]

Midland Sicily.

Ætna: its isolation.

[1] Pindar, Pyth. i. 19;

κίων δ'
οὐρανία συνέχει,
νιφόεσσ' Αἴτνα, πάντετες χιόνος ὀξείας τιθήνα.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. stands geographically isolated from the lesser and older mountains of the island. *Mongibello* is not the mightiest of a class with others of its class leading up to it; it is not the loftiest peak of a range with other points of the same mass gathering round it. The Mount of Mounts stands alone, without fellow, almost without vassal. It is a fortress soaring over a subject land, untouched and unapproached by ought save its own bastions and outposts. Rising as it does in its solitary greatness, far above all the heights of Sicily, above all the heights of Southern Europe, its bulk is so vast, its base covers so wide an expanse of ground, the slope of its sides is so gentle, that, from most points, the torc of snow which parts the fruitful lower stage from the fiery summit is needed to remind us how far loftier it is than all the other heights of the island. From Catania above all, the overwhelming nearness of the terrible and bountiful neighbour seems to take away somewhat from its seeming height. Ætna is better seen alike from yet nearer points and from more distant. From the heights, and even, on a few favourable days, from the shore, of Palermo, from the road between Saracen Caltanisetta and the mouth of the southern Himeras, from Syracuse and its coasts, from the bay between the Xiphonian promontory and the Leontine plain, we better see what the shape of the mount of fire really is. But best of all is it seen from some nearer points, points where the outlying spurs of the mountain and the ledge, so to speak, in front of it—with the homes of the ancient Sikel and of the newly-come Albanian[1] nestling beneath its mass—all come more clearly into view than from points nearer to the coast. Above all, from the hill of inland Centuripa[2], across the stream of Symaithos, Ætna is seen

Various views of Ætna.

[1] On this ledge, by Hadranon and fallen Inêssa, is Biancavilla, one of the four Albanian settlements.

[2] Strabo, vi. 2. 4; *κεῖνται δ' ὑπὲρ Κατάνης τὰ Κεντόριπα, συνάπτοντα τοῖς Αἰτναίοις ὄρεσι.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

in all its grandeur. And the thought is strange that, if the learned in such matters tell us true, the hill of Centuripa stood there for untold ages before there was any Ætna to overtop it. CHAP. II.

But by the historian of Sicily Ætna must be taken for granted as something that was there, something that soared over all as it does now, ages before any times with which history has to deal. To him it has been there from the beginning. It has had no small share in the making of his island and in working out its destinies. Its fire-floods are recorded as far back as our annals take us, and it needs no great scientific knowledge to see that they were busily at work in days of which not even the traditions have come down to us. Ætna sent forth his floods to make, in the peninsula of Naxos, the first home of the Greek; he sent them forth to change the shape of the coast of Catania in days when Sicily had no better king than the second Charles of Spain. He has been mighty to destroy, but he has also been mighty to create and to render fruitful. If his fiery streams have swept away cities, and covered fields, they have given the cities a new material for their buildings; they have given the fields a fresh soil rich above all others in the gifts alike of Liber and of Libera[1]. Sicily, and all to whom Sicily is a care, feel, under the shadow of the great mountain of the south, as under the shelter of an awful yet bounteous lord. Ætna is the roof and crown of the island; we are tempted to compare his abiding life and strength with the Arvernian peaks burned out long ago, with his lower and younger Campanian fellow, whose recorded tale begins when Rome already had Augusti, and who finds it needful ever to Physical and historical working of Ætna.

[1] Strabo, vi. 2. 3; ἡ μὲν οὖν σποδὸς, λυπήσασα πρὸς καιρόν, εὐεργετεῖ τὴν χώραν χρόνοις ὕστερον· εὐάμπελον γὰρ παρέχεται καὶ χρηστόκαρπον, τῆς ἄλλης οὐχ ὁμοίως οὔσης εὐοίνου· τὰς δὲ ῥίζας ἃς ἐκφέρει τὰ κατακεφρωθέντα χωρία πιαίνειν δ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὰ πρόβατά φασιν ὥστε πυκνεσθαι.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

announce his calling by such columns of smoke as Ætna can spare till his time of active work draws near. On the homeward journey from Sicily, Vesuvius seems as puny after the bulk of Ætna as the hill of Carolingian Laon seems after the home of the Sikel on Henna and the guard-house of the Norman on Troina.

The physical phænomena and the native religion.

Yet there are sides of our story in which Ætna and Vesuvius and the island mounts of fire between them are members of a closely bound fellowship. The great geographer of old times pointed out that Sicily was part of a region marked out by its physical phænomena, a region which stretched as far as the first seat of Greek settlement on the hill of Kymê. The whole island, he says, is hollow beneath the earth, full of streams and of fire[1]. His words might be taken as a text for a discourse in honour of the native gods of Sicily. The great physical characteristic of the island, and therefore the great characteristic of the native religion of the island, is that it is the special domain of the powers of the nether-world. The fiery caldron of Ætna is but the chief of a vast crowd of kindred wonders in which the isles of Aiolos, the hills and shores of Campania, all have their place as well as the hills, the lakes, and the caves of Sicily. Besides the huge volcano of fire, there are the lesser and meaner volcanos which make no show among the heights of the island, and which belch forth, not fire and lava, but less awful and at the same time less fertilizing streams. Fancy is tempted to look upon them as Ahriman's feeble imitation of the giant work of Ormuzd. Such is the mud volcano of Maccaluba, at a solitary spot some miles to the north of Girgenti. The low hills for a good way round are covered with the mud which the nether-powers have thrown

Sicily the realm of the nether-gods.

The mud volcanos.

[1] Strabo, vi. 2. 9; ἅπασα ἡ νῆσος κοίλη κατὰ γῆς ἐστί, ποταμῶν καὶ πυρὸς μεστὴ, καθάπερ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, μέχρι τῆς Κυμαίας. See v. 4. 5.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

up through many small craters[1]; it is the substitute at Maccaluba for the lava of Catania and Naxos. When the mud is peaceful, the gaseous fluid bubbles up in a crowd of small pools, ready to take fire, if the chance is given it. Another such outpouring from below, but on a much smaller scale, known as *Terra Pilata*, is to be seen by the roadside near Caltanisetta, looking down on a deep valley with the Saracen town on the other side. These I must leave to geologists, as I am not aware of any piece of history or legend connected with them. It is otherwise with a third spot of the same kind below the castle of Paternò, the hill of the akropolis of the Geleatic Hybla[2]. Here, as at Vesuvius in Pliny's day, the nether-powers had slumbered for ages. But they were remembered in tradition, and in very recent times they stirred again, to cover the surrounding ground with the same coating of mud as at Maccaluba. More than one small crater is to be seen, and in one of them the troubled and tepid water boils fiercely indeed, though it throws up no jets like some of its fellows. Here we are in a holy place of the Sikel religion, the home of the goddess Hybla, of whom we shall have presently to speak. This phænomenon close under her temple leads us to class her also among those chthonian powers whom we find worshipped in the neighbourhood of other natural phænomena of the like kind[3].

CHAP. II.

Eruption at Paternò, March, 1878.

From volcanos we easily pass to lakes. Of that of Pergusa and that of the Palici we shall have presently to speak more at large; they come now in their place among the physical features of the land out of which

The Lakes.

[1] The muddy outpourings of Maccaluba are clearly described by Solinus, v. 24; "Ager Agrigentinus eructat limosas scaturrigines, et, ut venae fontium sufficiunt rivis subministrandis, ita in hac Siciliae parte solo numquam deficiente æterna rejectatione terram terra evomit."

[2] We shall come to this later on.

[3] See Appendix IX.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

the old Sikel put together a form of nature-worship in which the powers which presided over strange and awful phænomena were vested with kindly and benevolent moral attributes. The lake of the Palici, the lake of Dêmêtêr and the Korê, are both clearly volcanic; they hold the first place among the spots hallowed by the old religion of the island. The lake of the Palici keeps its traditions almost untouched by Greek influence, while those of Pergusa have lost themselves in the famous tales of Greek mythology. We must add to these the many springs and fountains, each for the most part with its legend, mostly a legend which, as a legend of a spring should have, has its source in regions below the earth, sometimes below the sea. The wonders of Sicily in this way have opened no small field for the inquiries of an ancient collector of marvels [1]. The island contained many springs and other waters of which strange tales were told. There was the spring by Kamarina which acted as a test of the chastity of women [2]. The Greeks naturally called it the fount of Artemis; but we shall come to other cases of a like gift of moral perception attaching to the native deities of the Sikel. There was the water by Akragas on whose surface the oil floated, hard by the hill of Hêphaistos, rather perhaps of the native fire-god, in whose worship the element over which he ruled showed itself as his immediate gift without human help [3]. Then there were the hot baths of Segesta, and those, more renowned, which bore the names of Himera and of Selinous [4], the modern Termini and the modern Sciacca. Those of Himera at

The springs and fountains.

The hot baths.

[1] Solinus gives several chapters to the fountains of Sicily; v. 16 et seqq. And there is a good deal in the professed Παραδοξογράφοι in Westermann's Collection. Some of the stories will come in later on.

[2] Ib. v. 16.

[3] Ib. v. 23, 24.

[4] Strabo, vi. 2. 9; *θερμῶν γοῦν ὑδάτων ἀναβολάς κατὰ πολλοὺς ἔχει τόπους ἡ νῆσος, ὧν τὰ μὲν Σελινούντια καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἰμέραν ἁλμυρά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ Αἰγεσταῖα πότιμα.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

least were believed to have been sent up by the nymphs of the land to refresh the wearied Hêraklês[1]. Here we have got within the range of Greek fancy. So we are yet more distinctly beside the Syracusan fountain of Kyana and beside the more famous Arethousa. And among the wonders wrought below the waters we cannot leave out Charybdis itself, the wonder of the Sicilian strait, the whirlpool from which Odysseus escaped alive, but which ages after made Cola Pesce its victim[2]. By the witness of modern scientific sailors, its dangers have not wholly vanished, but scientific navigation has made them smaller than they were in the days of Odysseus or even in the days of Cola[3].

Charybdis.

All these tales, whether of fire or of water, alike come within the range of the powers below. They are tales such as naturally grew up in the island which was hollow beneath the earth. The choicest wealth of the land, the corn itself, was brought within the same range of thought. One cannot doubt that Dêmêtêr and the Korê, as they were worshipped on the hill of Henna, were,

Dêmêtêr and the Korê.

[1] Diod. iv. 23; *διεξιόντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν παράλιον τῆς νήσου, μυθολογοῦσι τὰς νύμφας ἀνεῖναι θερμὰ λουτρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν γενομένης αὐτῷ κακοπαθείας.* We are here on Sikan, not Sikel, ground, and Sikan traditions are less likely than Sikel to have affected Greek legends.

[2] See the story of Cola Pesce in Fazello, pp. 76, 87. He twice brought up a golden cup at the bidding of King Frederick; the third time he was lost. Schiller seems to have taken from his story the general notion of his poem "Der Taucher," but only the general notion.

[3] See Smyth, 123; "I have seen several men-of-war, and even a seventy-four-gun ship, whirled round on its surface; but, by using due caution, there is generally very little danger or inconvenience to be apprehended." He goes on to magnify Thucydides as "the only writer of remote antiquity I remember to have read who has assigned this danger its true situation, and not exaggerated its effect." The passage is iv. 24; *ἔστιν ἡ Χάρυβδις κληθεῖσα τοῦτο, ᾗ Ὀδυσσεὶς λέγεται διαπλεῦσαι. διὰ στενότητα δὲ καὶ ἐκ μεγάλων πελαγῶν, τοῦ τε Τυρσηνικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ, ἐσπίπτουσα ἡ θάλασσα ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ ῥοώδης οὖσα εἰκότως χαλεπὴ ἐνομίσθη.* It is curious to find in the "Mirabiles Auscultationes" attributed to Aristotle (130) a wonderful account of the strait without the name of either Skylla or Charybdis.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. in their beginnings, Sikel powers of the earth and the under-world, who this time sent up, not fire or water or mud, but the fruits that strengthen man's heart. The legends too which Ætna himself chiefly suggests to our minds are those which are famous in Greek story. As we have seen, his mighty mass holds down some defeated monster, some enemy of the gods, be it Typhôs or Enkelados[1]. The inside of the mountain is the work-shop of Hêphaistos, where the Kyklôpes in a new character, changed from giant shepherds into smiths of the greatest of smithies, were set to forge the thunderbolts of Zeus[2]. But even from Ætna the wealth of Greek imagination could not wholly drive away the gods of the elder day and their local tales. We shall presently see how at the foot of Ætna, the fire-god of the Sikel, a kindly and righteous power, like his brethren and sisters, kept on his worship to be described by men who wrote in Greek when Sicily was a Roman province[3].

Legends of Ætna.

The Kyklôpes.

The local powers.

In Sicily then the powers of the nether-world held the first place. They ruled over the land and the sea and over the fiery furnace of the burning mountain. It was they who gave even the corn and the wine for which the burning mountain made ready a more fruitful soil. And in the phrase of Strabo, the hollow land also sent forth many rivers as well as much fire[4]. Nor was the special feature of a limestone country, the river hiding itself in its *katabothron*, like West-Saxon Axe or Slavonic Trebenitza, unknown in the limestone region of Sicily. The great geographer gives us a picture of such an one, and

The rivers of Sicily.

Katabothra.

[1] See above, p. 56, note 2.

[2] Virgil brings out the new character of the Kyklôpes in several well-known passages; Georg. iv. 170; Æn. viii. 416, where both Ætna and Lipara come in. Ovid (Fasti, iv. 473) seems to refer to the words of Virgil. But in Æn. iii. 675 something of the Homeric notion seems to linger.

[3] Ælian. de Nat. An. xi. 3, 20.

[4] Strabo, vi. 2, 9; ποταμῶν καὶ πυρὸς μεστή.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

gathers parallels for it among mightier rivers than any that Sicily can boast of[1]. But the rivers of Sicily, though many in number, are kept by the shape of the land from being of any remarkable size or length of course. They are, for instance, of far less importance than the rivers of Britain. All the havens of Sicily are strictly havens of the sea; there is no such thing as a town at some distance from the coast approached by a navigable river. In that large part of the island where the hills come near to the shore the course of the streams is necessarily short; they are mostly what are locally called *fiumare*, wide stony beds, at one time empty or with the scantiest supply of water, but growing at other times into wide and rushing torrents. Nowhere does this come out in a more marked way than in that part of the eastern coast where the mountains come very close to the shore. So it is on the coast between Taormina and Messina; so it is in the town of Messina itself. Torrents like these are at once distinguished from the boundary stream of Akêsinês, which is a real river, parting the immediate land of Ætna from the Neptunian hills. But in other parts also we are struck by the extreme smallness of rivers which have a place in history[2], rivers for which Greek fancy devised presiding deities and engraved the forms of those

CHAP. II.

The *Fiumare*.

[1] Strabo, vi. 2. 9; τὸ δὲ περὶ Μάταυρον [al. Μάζαρον] στήλαιον ἐντὸς ἔχει σύριγγα εὐμεγέθη καὶ ποταμὸν δι' αὐτῆς ῥέοντα ἀφανῆ μέχρι πολλοῦ διαστήματος, εἶτ' ἀναπίπτοντα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. He goes on to speak of the Orontês, sinking into a χάσμα called Charybdis, of the Tigris, the Nile, and several rivers of old Greece.

[2] One cannot help wondering at the "Heloria Tempe" of Ovid (Fast. iv. 477), and even a winter flood hardly explains the apostrophe just above (470);

"Te vorticibus non adeunde Gela."

So Virgil, Æn. iii. 702;

"Immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta."

But most of Virgil's epithets in his map of Sicily hit off the places admirably. Pindar's βαθύκρημνοι ἀκταὶ Ἑλώρου (Nem. ix. 95) may pass well enough.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. deities on the coins of Sicilian cities. Amênanos at Catania is hardly a fair case; Catania had to quarter her river god in the only stream that she had. But the rivers of fallen Kamarina and Selinous, of abiding Girgenti, of that restored Terranova which from the site of Gela looks down on the waters of Gelas, seem wonderfully small when we think of their historic renown. Orêtos on the northern sea, Mazaros on the western, long the boundary of Greek and Phœnician, Anapos on the eastern, with its own historic fame and the legendary fame of its tributary Kyana[1], its neighbour Helôros, so exalted in the strains of poets, all tell the same tale, though they are all real rivers and not mere *fiumare*. Anapos and Helôros are in truth only two of a great number of streams which run down, some to the eastern, some to the southern sea, from the central point of the south-eastern hills, now known as Monte Lauro. Some of these have gained a name through their place in the story of the Athenian retreat from Syracuse, and Hipparis belongs to the story of Kamarina. The like chances might have done as good a turn for others of their fellows whose names are almost unknown.

The Syracusan rivers.

Of greater size than these are some rivers of the south-western coast. The western Hypsas, the modern Belice, has what for Sicily is a course of some length, and one of its inland branches is the famous Krimisos, the scene of the one great inland battle in the elder story of Sicily. So has Halykos[2], so often made the boundary of Greek and Phœnician after both banks of Mazaros had passed to the barbarian. So above all has the southern Himeras, who wriggles his way into the sea through the plain below the

Rivers of the south coast.

[1] Ovid, Fasti, iv. 469; "Cyanen et fontem lenis Anapi."

[2] Ἅλυκος or Λύκος, now Platani. Diodôros uses both forms, if the reading Λύκον in xvi. 82 is right. So Plutarch. Tim. 34, and Hêrakleidês, of Pontos, xxix. (Frag. Hist. Græc. i. 221). Holm (i. 342) makes another Halykos further west of Halikyai. Bunbury sees in the Ἅλυκος an elder *Fiume Salso*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

hill of Eknomos. The tendency of the loftier ranges to keep near to the northern shore gives all these streams room for a longer course through midland Sicily. Himeras above all is instructive in this way. The ancient belief was that the two rivers of this name, one running into the northern and the other into the southern waters, rivers which really began their course very near to one another, actually rose from the same spring, whose waters parted two ways, so as in truth to divide Sicily into two islands [1]. The contrast in the length of the two streams, the short course of the northern Himeras, the long course of the southern, is the best comment on the effect of the great Nebrodian chain, so near to the northern coast, as compared with the lower hills which keep at a greater distance from the southern. The fields of Gela, answering on the southern side to the fields of Lentini or Catania on the eastern, do not equal the beauty of the Golden Shell of Palermo; but their treeless expanse, rich in the gifts of Dêmêtêr, supplies the map with a far wider extent of level ground.

The two rivers called Himeras.

It is in the fields of Catania and in the highlands behind them that we see, as we see nowhere else in Sicily, a river-system of some considerable extent. The Symaithos drains a large part of the island; it receives tributaries from several points of the compass, and their united waters enter the eastern sea by a single mouth [2]. The Heraian chain to the west, Ætna and the Nebrodian chain to the

The Symaithos and its tributaries.

[1] Mela, ii. 119; "De amnibus Himera referendus, quia in media admodum ortus in diversa decurrit, scindensque eam utrinque alio ore in Libycum, alio in Tuscum mare devenit." In Solinus (v. 17) we come to the Fiume Salso the wrong way; "Himeræum cælestes mutant plagæ; amarus denique est dum in aquilonem fluit, dulcis ubi ad meridiem flectitur." The same story is in Antigonos, Hist. Mir. 133. They are rebuked by Fazello, i. 240, 376. (Cf. Cluver, 209, 280.)

[2] Schubring has something to say about these tributaries, Sicilische Studien, Die Landschaft des Menas, &c., 365. Kyamosôros (Salso) and Hadranos, flowing from the north, seem to make Symaithos. Then flows in Chrysas (Dittaino); then from the south-west several streams which

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. north, the lower outliers of the Heraian chain to the south, fence in a clearly marked region, the waters of which are thus brought together. No water flows from the mount of fire; it follows that, except such slight streams as Amênanos, which make no show on the map, there is no river-mouth in the eastern sea between Akêsinês and Symaithos. A crowd of tributaries from the Sikel land pour down their waters into this single channel. They come down from the neighbourhood of spots famous, sometimes in earlier, sometimes in later, history, spots hard by the Menainon of the Sikel and the Troina of the Norman, spots hard by the mount of Henna, navel of Sicily[1], renowned under all holders of the land. The rivers themselves, though sometimes named in the story, play no great part in it; Krimisos has no fellow in eastern Sicily. But a little way south of the mouth of Symaithos, we come to the streams of Leontinoi, Têrias and Lissos, which rather belong to the group that comes down from Monte Lauro. Thymbris and the Leontine hills themselves send down some shorter streams, one of which, perhaps the shortest of all, may take its place among the most remarkable natural features of the island. On the north side of the peninsula which forms the northern horn of the long and shallow bay of which the Syracusan hill forms the southern horn, the western side of the bay of Trôtilon, which has its place in the story of the foundation of the Sicilian Megara, receives the waters of the Pantakyas, the Pantagias of Virgil[2], the modern Porcari, a stream which

Pantakyas or Porcari.

make up Erykas (Gabelle or Gurnaluuga). Silius (xiv. 229) speaks of "vagus Chrysas," and presently,

"Rapidique colunt vada flava Symæthi."

[1] Cic. Verr. iv. 48; "Qui locus, quod in media est insula situs, umbilicus Siciliæ nominatur."

[2] Here Virgil's (Æn. iii. 688) short picture is perfect;

"Vivo prætervehor ostia saxo
Pantagiæ."

Ovid has merely the name in his catalogue. Claudian (De Rapt. Pros. ii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

plays a part in the legend of Dêmêtêr and the Korê. A strange stream it is; a brook tumbling over the stones in a meadow suddenly finds itself between the high cliffs of a rocky and winding gorge; in a very short space a wide and smooth river pours itself into the sea between rocks which, pierced as they are with primæval burrowings, have the air of being cut through by the hand of man. A short life, but a varied one, is the destiny of the waters of Pantakyas. CHAP. II.

Nomenclature of the rivers.

The nomenclature of these rivers is well worth notice, and brings out some of the peculiar characters of Sicilian history. In many countries the names of natural objects, rivers especially, have been specially abiding. The rivers of Britain almost always keep their Celtic names; the rivers of North America very largely keep their Indian names. The names of hills too often abide, but less generally than those of rivers. But in Sicily the ancient names of rivers, no less than those of mountains, have commonly vanished. They have vanished more completely than would seem at first sight; for in Sicily, as in Greece, there has been a fashion of trying to bring up the ancient names again. It is convenient to talk about Ætna, but it should be remembered that, in real popular language, that name has for ages passed away from *Mongibello*. It is perhaps convenient to talk of Simeto and Oreto; but the true name of old Symaithos is now Giarretta, and Oreto has only artificially supplanted the name of *Ammiraglio*[1]. In this last we can hardly grudge that the title of George of Antioch, Emir of Emirs[2], should have passed to the stream

Names commonly modern.

56) tells of "saxa rotantem Pantagiam;" Silius (xiv. 230) of "facilem superari gurgite parco." The form Pantagia is interesting from Servius' derivation, *ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἄγειν*. The name in Thuc. vi. 4 is Παντάκυας. In Ptolemy the name becomes Πάνταχος (iii. 49). Pliny (iii. 14) clearly mistook its site. Cluver, 130, has a good description.

[1] I accept the fact from Holm, i. 33. It was doubtless my own fault that I never heard it called *Ammiraglio*.

[2] We shall come to him in time. As yet we need only mark that the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. itself from the bridge with which he once yoked it. Every one at Syracuse knows Anapo; but one is tempted to suspect that the name is rather artificial revival than real tradition, and the tributary which we call Kyana is undoubtedly *Pisma*[1]. Still it is a little annoying to find the northern and the southern Himeras and a crowd of their fellows bearing no better names than such feeble descriptions as *Fiume Grande, Fiume Torto, Fiume Salso.* It is well that a name should be descriptive; but such forms as these show only that the art of name-giving had quite died out when they were given. Other rivers, like some of the mountains, have taken the names of saints. The stream of Saint Bartholomew runs into the northern sea not far from the hill of Saint Calogero. Others are simply called after towns, *Fiume di Caltabellotta* and the like, reversing the practice by which the Greek town so often took the name which Sikel or Sikan had given to the neighbouring rivers. Why the western Hypsas has become Belice, why Pantakyas has become Porcari, and again why Symaithos has become Giarretta, are matters for local inquiry.

The islands round Sicily.

If the island of Sicily is itself only a survival of the broad neck of land which once joined Europe and Africa, it is not the only remnant which is left of that vanished state of things. The great island may be looked on as the centre of a group of satellites, all, like itself, memorials of those times, except where some of the smaller volcanic islands have been thrown up by the nether-powers in later days. In speaking of the islands which surround Sicily, we may leave out very small islands quite close to the coast. Ortygia, Motya, the island cape of Pachynos,

The small islands.

modern use of the word *Admiral* (Emir) in the sense of *ναύαρχος* most likely comes from this *ἀμηρᾶς ἀμηράδων*.

[1] On the other hand, the keeping of the Greek accent in *Ἄναπο* might be some slight presumption that the name is traditional.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the island off the north coast which bears the name of *Isola delle Femmine*[1], cannot, for our purposes, be separated from Sicily itself. But there are islands of a greater size and at a greater distance, which, though they seem meant by nature to be dependencies of Sicily, have still a distinct being of their own. They too are survivals of the days when Europe and Africa were one, and they still keep on somewhat of their old functions. There is one group which very distinctly connects Sicily and Italy; there is another group—if it amounts to a group—which more remotely connects Sicily and Africa; there is a third which the ancient writers held specially to lie between Sicily and Africa, but which is in truth the most purely Sicilian of all, and which cannot be said to lie between Sicily and any land nearer than Spain. This last group of islands has no history of its own; but in one age they looked on some of the greatest events in the history of Sicily and of Europe. The others have a history. Those which lie between Sicily and Italy have a history which is Greek, Sicilian, or whatever we choose to call it, and their place in Greek legend is greater than their place in history. The islands between Sicily and Africa were in the Greek days of Sicily African and not European. It was first the Roman and then the Norman that brought them within the range of Greek and Latin life.

CHAP. II.

Larger groups.

The three floating mountains which lie off the northern part of the west coast of Sicily appear in Latin writers as the Ægates[2]. This name, whether it has anything to do with goats or not, must be the same as the Greek Aigousa,

The Isles of Aigousa.

[1] Many strange stories are told to explain this name. It is most likely a corruption of something in Arabic.

[2] "Ægates," "Ægatæ," with a dozen other spellings, in Mela, ii. 105. "Ægates" in Livy, xxi. 10. Pliny (iii. 14) makes wonderful confusion, placing "Æthusa, quam alii Ægusam scripserunt" between Lopedusa and Bucinna. Holm (i. 351) truly says that "Ægates" with the long *a* cannot be Αἰγάδες, after the analogy of Κυκλάδες. Most likely there are no goats concerned.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. a name which seems to have properly belonged to the southernmost of the group, and to have thence spread over the whole[1]. This one, now known as Favignana, must always have been the chief of the group and the most largely inhabited. This alone perhaps hardly deserves the name which I have given to the whole group; it contains a mountain, but it is hardly itself a mountain. But the name fully belongs to the other two, to the northern Phorbantia or Boukinna[2], now Levanzo, and to the third, the Holy Island, far away to the west, which owes to its distance its later name of Maritima or Marittimo. Of these islands there is no story whatever to tell, except that some of the greatest sea-fights of the War for Sicily, and specially the last which bears their name, were fought on the waters near them. They must always have followed the fortunes of western Sicily; we can say no more.

Kossoura or Pantellaria.

Directly between Sicily and Africa, quite as near to Africa as to Sicily, lies the island of Kossoura, now Pantellaria, an extinct volcano[3]. A Phœnician settlement, it has a place in the Triumphal Fasti of Rome, along with

[1] The singular Αἰγοῦσα or Αἰγοῦσσα comes from Polybios (i. 60); ἔπλευσε πρὸς τὴν Αἰγοῦσσαν νῆσον, τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Λιλυβαίου κειμένην. In the same narrative he mentions τὴν Ἱερὰν καλουμένην νῆσον. But in i. 44 we find καθορμισθεὶς ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις Αἰγούσσαις, μεταξὺ δὲ κειμέναις Λιλυβαίου καὶ Καρχηδόνος. Here again we have the universal mistake.

[2] "Bucinna" in Pliny (u. s.), which Stephen of Byzantium mistakes for a town; Φορβαντία in Ptolemy.

[3] Κόσσυρα, Κόσσουρα. Skylax (110) has Κόσυρος, perhaps the oldest form. Ovid (Fast. iii. 567), under yet another spelling, brands it as barren;

"Fertilis est Melite, sterili vicina Cosyra
Insula, quam Libyci verberat unda freti."

Smyth (281), who (like Fazello, i. 15) describes its volcanic nature, gives it a better character for fruits, but allows that it is not strong in corn. Strabo (vi. 2. 11) places it πρὸ τοῦ Λιλυβαίου καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἀσπίδος, Καρχηδονιακῆς πόλεως, ἣν Κλυπέαν καλοῦσι. This is a less error than that of Polybios about the Ægates. The island lies not very far south of a line between Lilybaion and Clypea.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

its greater sister Carthage[1]; but it has nothing to do with Sicily till later times. Still less Sicilian are Lopedousa and her fellows, further to the south. The modern name Lampedusa is surely an attempt to give the old name a meaning descriptive of the physical phænomena of the place[2]. Even the more famous islands of Melitê and Gaulos, far nearer to Sicily, lying nearly south from its south-eastern corner, have no connexion with Sicily till all came under the power of Rome. The stirring history of Malta in later times has much to do with Sicily, but that history begins only when Norman Roger won back the island for Christendom. These islands lay right in the way of Phœnician settlement, but a little too far south for the Greeks. They are Phœnician during the whole time of the early history of Sicily, and the Phœnician has there left his monuments behind him.

CHAP. II.

Lampedusa.

Melitê and Gaulos.

Phœnician settlements.

But the group of volcanic islands lying off the eastern part of the northern coast of Sicily have their distinct, though not very prominent, share in Sicilian history. These are the isles of fire, the isles of Aiolos or of Hêphaistos[3], which from Lipara, the chief among them,

The Isles of Lipara or Aiolos.

[1] This shows how completely "Pœnus" had got the special sense of "Carthaginian," something like the modern English use of the word "Dutch." B.C. 255; "Ser. Fulvius . . . Pro Cos. de Cossurensibus et Pœneis navalem agit."

[2] Fazello, i. 15; "Lampedusa . . . vetustum nomen a coruscationibus quas crebro emittit adhuc servat."

[3] The connexion with Aiolos is as old as Thucydides, iii. 88; τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους καλουμένας. So Diodôros, v. 7; τὰς ὀνομαζομένας Αἰολίδας: so c. 12. Strabo, i. 2. 9; τὸν Αἴολον δυναστεῦσαί φασι τῶν περὶ τὴν Λιπάραν νήσων. But in Polybios, i. 25, τὰς Λιπαραίας καλουμένας. I am not sure that any Greek writer directly speaks of them as Ἡφαιστίαι; the work of epithet-making rather goes the other way, as when Theokritos (ii. 133) says,

Ἔρως δ' ἄρα καὶ Λιπαραίῳ
πολλάκις Ἀφαίστοιο σέλας φλογεράτερον αἴθει.

But the Latin writers help us to the Greek form. Pliny (iii. 14) is specially bountiful; "VII [insulæ] Æoliæ appellatæ. Eædem Liparæorum, Hephæstiades a Græcis, a nostris Vulcaniæ." So Solinus, vi. 1; "In freto Siculo Hephæstiæ insulæ XXV milibus passuum ab Italia absunt. Itali Vulcanias vocant."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. have taken the name which they still bear in modern geography. Their chief interest is perhaps physical, as binding together the great volcano of Sicily with the volcanic region of Campania. But Lipara was a Greek settlement whose plantation was part of the colonization of Sicily, and the island has some share in the history of Italy also. Richer in fruits than in corn, but chiefly rich in alum [1], its inhabitants owned and tilled the other islands, empty or with but few inhabitants [2]. It continued to flourish in the days of Roman dominion, and it was renowned for its hot springs, the milder signs of the fiery origin which it shared with its neighbours [3]. The historian of Sicily tells us, with strict scientific precision, that all seven islands must once have shown the same volcanic phænomena which in his day were confined to two of the group [4]. One of them was that which lay furthest from Sicily, the Round Island, Strongylê, which keeps its name under the odd corruption of Stromboli [5]. The other was the Holy Island, the Hot Island or Thermêssa, the special island of Hêphaistos, who was believed, as Thucydides does not scorn to record, there to carry on the craft of the worker in brass [6]. As such he sits, hammer in hand, on

Lipara.

The other islands.

Legend of Hêphaistos.

[1] Diod. v. 10; *τὰ διαβεβοημένα μέταλλα τῆς στυπτηρίας, κ.τ.λ.*

[2] Thuc. iii. 88. He mentions only Didymê, Strongylê, and Hiera.

[3] Strabo, u. s.; Diod. v. 10, who enlarges on their medicinal virtues. There are some wonderful stories about a cave and a tomb in the false Aristotle, Mirabiles Auscultationes, 101.

[4] Diod. v. 7; *αὗται δὲ πᾶσαι πυρὸς ἐσχήκασιν ἀναφυσήματα μεγάλα, ἂν κρατῆρες οἱ γεγενημένοι καὶ τὰ στόμια μέχρι τοῦ νῦν εἰσὶ φανερά.* He goes on to speak of Strongylê and Hiera.

[5] Strabo, vi. 2. 11; *ἡ δὲ Στρογγύλη καλεῖται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος.*

[6] Thuc. iii. 88; *νομίζουσι δὲ οἱ ἐκείνῃ ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ ὡς ὁ Ἥφαιστος χαλκεύει, ὅτι τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται πῦρ ἀναδιδοῦσα πολὺ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καπνόν.* Aristotle, Meteorol. ii. 8, describes *τὴν Ἱερὰν νῆσον· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ μία τῶν Αἰόλου καλουμένων νήσων*, and speaks of *τὴν Λιπαραίων πόλιν οὖσαν οὐ πόρρω.* He describes the eruption, and goes largely into the physical causes. Strabo (vi. 2. 10) gives us the term *Θέρμεσσα.* Therasia (Thermasia?) in Pliny, iii. 14.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the coins of Lipara, and his memory still lives in the translated name Vulcano, borne by his own island. The diminutive Vulcanello belongs to a smaller island, or rather peninsula, which rose from the sea in recorded times, in the second century before Christ[1]. This special home of the fire-god was the island which drew to itself most notice in ancient times. Polybios studied its wonders, and reports that of its three craters one had become extinct[2]. And an English inquirer of our own century reports that in his day one of the two seen by Polybios was hastening to the same fate[3]. In our own time Vulcano still works, but less fiercely than Stromboli, of which we hear less in earlier days. The difference is shown in the fact that all the names of the isle of Hêphaistos point to it as the abode of Hêphaistos, while that of Strongylê simply expresses its mathematical shape. Of the other four, Didymê, Phoinikoussa, Euônymos, and Erikoussa or Erikôdês[4], there is little to say. The last-named, the most western of the group, the modern Alicudi, may be seen on specially clear days from the *Marina* of Palermo. Some writers add to the Aiolian group the solitary volcanic island, far to the west, Ustica or Osteôdês, the Isle of Bones, so called, men said, from a frightful tale of a body of rebellious mercenaries whom Carthaginian policy left there to perish[5].

CHAP. II.

B.C. 183.

Ustica.

[1] Orosius, iv. 20; "Tunc Vulcani insula quæ ante non fuerat repente mari edita cum miraculo omnium usque ad nunc manet." This he places in B.C. 183. (Cf. Livy, xxxi. 56.) See Bunbury in "Æoliæ Insulæ." The confusion between Vulcano and Vulcanello is not wonderful; but do the words "in Sicilia" in the text of Orosius just before belong to our "Vulcani insula," or did Orosius really think that the Messenians who slew Philopoimên were those of Sicily?

[2] See the extract from Polybios in Strabo, vi. 2. 10. He is half inclined to believe the legend of Empedoklês, which we shall come to further on.

[3] Smyth, p. 269. He is very full on these islands.

[4] Strabo, vi. 2. 11; Diod. v. 7; Pliny, iii. 14.

[5] Mela, ii. 120, counts "Osteodes" as one of the isles of Aiolos, seemingly instead of Erikousa. The tale of the bones is told by Diodôros, v. 11,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. The legends.

That these islands should take the name of the Greek fire-god and of his Latin counterpart is a natural piece of mythologic nomenclature. It is indeed only a local application of the wider rule by which Vulcanus has given his name to all burning-mountains and other phænomena of that class throughout the world. He was as naturally at home in Thermêssa as on his loftier seat of Ætna. Men remarked the evident connexion between the two fiery regions; they noticed that the greater and the lesser furnace blazed in turn, and they dreamed that channels passing under land and sea made the two immediate neighbours [1]. Once when Ætna was blazing, the isles of Hêphaistos were blazing also, with fire and smoke and stench that slew alike the fish of the sea and the unwary who ventured to feed on them [2]. And the Roman Senate showed a fine perception of what was mythologically fitting when it ordered that sacrifices to the gods both of the sea and of the nether-world should be offered alike on the new-born island and on Lipara itself [3]. But those who have not only looked out on Lipara from the Messanian hills, but have also looked up at Ætna from

without an exact date; but he places it in some of the wars between Carthage and Syracuse. One would have taken Ustica for a modern corruption of Osteôdês, only Pliny (iii. 17) makes Osteodes and Ustica separate islands, and Ptolemy, iii. 4, has Οἰστίκα νῆσος καὶ πόλις and Ὀστεώδης νῆσος. They must be mistaken; but the name Ustica is proved to be ancient.

[1] Diod. v. 7; λέγουσί τινες ἐκ τούτων τῶν νήσων ὑπονόμους εἶναι κατὰ γῆς μέχρι τῆς Αἴτνης, καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα στομίοις συνημμένους· διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐναλλὰξ καίεσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταύταις ταῖς νήσοις κρατῆρας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην. So Solinus, vi. 1; "Per occulta commercia aut mutuantur Ætnæ incendia aut subministrant." Cf. the verses in Silius (xiv. 55) on the local preferences of Mulciber in these matters.

[2] Strabo, vi. 2. 11; Orosius, v. 10. Poseidônios, who was born about B.C. 135 and died about B.C. 51, speaks of it from his own memory.

[3] Strabo, u. s.; τὴν δὲ [σύγκλητον] πέμψασαν ἐκθύσασθαι ἔν τε τῷ νησιδίῳ καὶ ἐν Λιπάραις, τοῖς τε καταχθονίοις θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς θαλαττίοις. The mention of the νησίδιον makes one think of the appearance of Vulcanello, but the consuls in Orosius fix that story to B.C. 183.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the holy place of Hadranos, may be tempted to ask, whether their ritual on Lipara contained any traces of a fire-god older on Sicilian, perhaps on Liparaian, soil than Vulcanus or Hêphaistos. Any power of fire is at home in the fiery islands; what is at first sight puzzling is why the floating island of the lord of the winds[1] should have found a fixed abiding-place in such a quarter. Yet Aiolos is not wholly out of his place on Lipara. The floating island might seem to have some kindred with islands which rose and sank again[2], and the lord of the winds was not without points of kindred with the lord of fire. The winds were held to have much to do with the outpourings of Strongylê and Thermêssa; and the men of Lipara claimed, and still claim, to be masters of a craft which can foretell all changes of the weather[3]. Of that craft Aiolos Hippotadês had doubtless been a master, and as such he was a fitting *epônymos* of the islands. And, when he was once planted there, it was an easy step to find a place for him and his sons among the ethnical and dynastic legends of Sicily itself[4].

CHAP. II.

Legend of Aiolos.

Several of the islands round about Sicily were, as we have just seen, fertile in fruits of various kinds, but not rich in corn. The boast of the great central island was to surpass all lands in wealth of corn and to be rich in fruits also. Sicily, the island of Dêmêtêr, where her gifts grew of themselves without the help of man[5], Sicily, so

Corn of Sicily.

[1] The isle of Aiolos, Aiolîê, is πλωτὴ νῆσος in Od. x. 3. Cf. Dionysios Periêgêtes, 465; ἐπτὰ δέ οἱ ταί γ' εἰσὶν, ἰπώνυμοι ἀνδράσι Πλωταί. See the note of Eustathios, Müller, ii. 504.

[2] See Smyth, 298, though his actual example is not one of our islands. But something of the kind has happened in the Mediterranean more lately.

[3] Strabo, vi. 2. 10. Cf. Smyth, 270.

[4] Diod. v. 7, 8. Things are made straight by creating an *epônymos* Liparos, whose daughter Aiolos married. But, so far from Syracuse, how came she to be called Kyana?

[5] See above, p. 67.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. long the granary of Rome, has not lost her ancient character. Not only do the many valleys, the few plains, stand thick with corn, but wherever on the rocky hill-sides a blade of wheat can grow between two stones, there it is seen growing. The good wheat of Sicily is still sold at Naples, and the worse wheat of Italy brought back again.

Other plants. Flax, hemp, beans, crops of every kind, are rich also. That Liber is still as bountiful as Libera is witnessed by the busy commerce whose seats are spread along the coast of Marsala. In the matter of fruits, trees, and vegetable growth in general, Sicily is specially remarkable for the ease with which the soil has become a new home for the

Foreign plants brought in. plants of other lands. The Greeks may have brought the vine and the olive; the Arab brought the palm of the lands which he subdued, though even the native dwarf palm is turned to the food of man. The loftier palm grows freely, but its fruit no longer reaches perfection, as it seems to have done in the days of William the Good. On the other hand, the orange and the citron, also doubtless gifts of the Arab, despised in his day, rank now, through importation of choicer varieties from other lands, among the choicest growths of the island [1]. Other foreign plants were brought in whose settlement has been less lasting or less profitable. The paper-plant of Egypt came in when Greek kings of Syracuse and Alexandria exchanged courtesies. It has vanished from Palermo as it has vanished from its own Nile; it lives on in the stream of Kyana and in a few other spots, but as an object of curiosity rather than of use. Besides the palm and the orange, the Saracen brought the cotton-plant and the sugar-cane. But the sugar-cane, a rich growth in the twelfth

[1] Hugo Falcandus, ap. Muratori, vii. 258; "Videas ibi et lumias acetositate sua condiendis cibis idoneas, et arangias acetoso nihilominus humore plenas interius, quæ magis pulcritudine sua visum oblectant quam ad illud utiles videantur." That is, he knew only the *bitter* orange, not the *sweet* which Sicily grows now.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

century[1], has now died out, and cotton survives only in some special spots. Later gifts still were not lacking. When the Spanish lords of Sicily laid their hands on a new world, their island kingdom was colonized by the fruits of its masters' conquest, and the aloe and the prickly pear have everywhere run wild. The almond, the fig, and the carob-bean abound; but the strange thing is that, as a rule, it is only these useful trees which are anywhere to be seen in Sicily. The oaks and other trees of which Theokritos speaks so largely[2] have in most places vanished; the mountain sides are as bare as they are in Greece and Dalmatia. A valley will often look as well wooded as the vale of Berkeley, but it will be only with the almond and the gnarled olive, not with the loftier trees of the forest. And with this destruction of the statelier forms of vegetable life, there is a strange lack of animal life also. Lizards run to and fro in the sunshine; snakes sometimes show themselves; butterflies and the great grasshoppers, the *grilli*, flutter to and fro in their season; the ground is sometimes thick with beetles; but a free mammal is hardly to be seen, and a bird of any size is almost as rare. The surrounding seas are rich in fish[3], from the huge tunny in his season downwards; the fish-

CHAP. II.

Lack of forest trees.

Lack of animal life.

Fish.

[1] Hugo Falc., ib.; "Si in partem aliam visum deflexeris, occurret tibi mirandarum seges harundinum quæ cannæ mellis ab incolis nuncupantur, nomen hoc ab interioris succi dulcedine sortientes. Harum succus diligenter et moderate decoctus in speciem mellis traducitur; si vero perfectius excoctus fuerit, in saccari substantiam condensatur."

[2] Idyll. v. 45;

τουτεῖ δρύες, ὥδε κύπειροι,
ὥδε καλὸν βομβεῦντι ποτὶ σμάνεσσι μέλισσαι·
ἐνθ' ὕδατος ψυχρῶ κρᾶναι δύο· ταὶ δ' ἐπὶ δένδρων
ὄρνιθες λαλαγεῦνται· καὶ ἁ σκιὰ οὐδὲν ὁμοία
τᾷ παρὰ τίν· βάλλει δὲ καὶ ἁ πίτνα ὑψόθε κώνους.

Cf. viii. 10.

This, as a whole, would hardly pass as a Sicilian picture now.

[3] Smyth (lxvi) gives a long list of Sicilian fish. See the description of the catching of the tunny, swordfish, and other fish in Polybios, xxxiv. 2, 3. (Strabo, i. 2. 15, 16.)

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. markets of the great cities may be profitably visited by the naturalist as well as by the lovers of those dainties which Sicilian cooks knew so well to dress in the days of the comic poets [1].

Horses of Sicily.

The horses of Sicily, winners of Olympic and Pythian crowns for the lords of Syracuse and Akragas, enjoyed a renown which Athenian tragedians ventured to carry back to the mythic ages of Greece [2]. The fame of the Sicilian horses has passed away to the horses of the Arab who once held Sicily; but the beast himself is largely used in both the ways in which he serves to the use of man. To man's luxury he serves more largely as the drawer of the car than as himself bearing his master; to man's use he serves largely in both characters. Yet it may be noticed that, though both uses are common throughout the island, yet each has its own region in which it is predominant. In eastern Sicily, once Greek, just as in Greece now, the horse is more largely set to carry than to draw.

The horse and the cart.

In the once Phœnician land, the land of the men who used the chariot in war, his chief duty is to draw the cart, the painted cart, bright with scenes from the history and legend of all ages and of all lands. But the northern eye marks how largely, beside the horse, the

Asses.

mule and the ass are used for both purposes. The ass in Sicily takes two forms, one larger, one smaller, than we are used to, the smaller of which is said to be an

Sheep and goats.

importation from Sardinia. Besides being the land of the horse, Sicily is, in one of the earliest strophes of Pindar,

[1] Athen. xiv. 72 (cf. 81 on Sicilian cooks generally); xii. 15; διαβόητοι δέ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τρυφῇ καὶ αἱ τῶν Σικελῶν τράπεζαι, οἵτινες καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς θάλασσαν λέγουσιν εἶναι γλυκεῖαν, χαίροντες τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς γινομένοις ἐδέσμασιν. Σικελοί is here for Σικελιῶται.

[2] Soph. Œd. Col. 507;

γυναῖχ' ὁρῶ
στείχουσαν ἡμῶν ἄσσον, Αἰτναίας ἐπὶ
πώλου βεβῶσαν.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

renowned as sheep-abounding[1]; but one can now hardly set down the sheep as characteristic of Sicily. In the inland parts flocks of sheep are far more common than they are near the coast; sheep of the type of those on the mosaics of Ravenna, sheep with fleeces which are as often black or pied as white. It is the goat, who has to be sure his place in the pastorals of Theokritos[2], whose abundance strikes the visitor from other countries. It is the goat that almost wholly supplies milk, and the kid is a far more common food than the lamb, in a land where full-grown mutton is hardly thought of. The flocks of goats so common in Sicily will sometimes supply thoughts which bear on the history of the land. While some are much like the goats of our own island, others have the twisted horns of the antelope, while some, with the hanging ears of the goats of Syria, suggest that they too came in with the Arab. The swine, black, long-legged, and with the marked bristly mane, contrast alike with the native hog of Britain and with his Asiatic conqueror. The ox plays a secondary part in Sicily; he sometimes draws the plough; but the contrast is striking between the constant use of the cow as the drawer of the cart in Southern Gaul and the invariable Sicilian use of the horse, mule, or ass. The camel, once known in Gaul as well as in Sicily, has wholly vanished from both lands.

CHAP. II.

Swine.

There is one marked feature of Sicilian life in all ages which is so closely connected with the physical character of the country that some notice of it naturally comes here. This is the universal prevalence of a town-life, above all of a town-life on the tops of hills. Nothing in Sicily

Town-life in Sicily.

The hill-towns.

[1] Olymp. i. 13;

Θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει σκᾶπτον ἐν πολυμάλῳ
Σικελίᾳ.

[2] We have the *αἶγες διδυματόκοι* in Idyll. viii. 41.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. more strongly strikes the traveller than constantly to pass by, sometimes to climb up to, the city set on an hill which cannot be hid. And it is almost more striking to find, in many parts of the country, hardly any form of man's dwelling except the city set on an hill. The village and the country-house, as they are understood in England or in France, are altogether unknown. The people are gathered in the towns. This gives the country a general air of loneliness, an air of supporting a smaller population than it really does. There are indeed scattered houses, thicker on the ground in some parts than in others. From the hill of Centuripa we look down on one district in which they are rather plentiful and on another in which there are none at all. But anything answering to the English manor-house or the French *château*, with the group of lesser dwellings of which it is the head, is nowhere seen. It is the town, most commonly the town on the hill, in which the Sicilian noble and the Sicilian peasant both dwell, and from which those who have any work to do go forth to do it. There are parts of the island in which the traveller may go miles without seeing a house; the owner of the land and those who till it for his profit alike live in the town. The landowner may have what he calls his country-house, but it is a mere summer-retreat, not a home. It is often in the close neighbourhood of other retreats of the same kind; a group of them really forms a town, though a town in which the houses stand less near together than in those which bear the name of *città*. This is, to be sure, a manner of life common in different degrees to all southern Europe; but the tendency gets gradually stronger as we go further south, and it seems to reach its height in Sicily. And in Sicily at least it is closely connected, not only with the earliest history of the country, but with the nature of the country itself. To a people seeking defensible sites for their dwellings Sicily offered

Causes of the preference of town-life.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

two choices only, the sea-coast and the hill-top. The third class of sites, the town on, or sometimes in, the inland river, such sites as insular Paris and peninsular Bristol, were not supplied by the short and precarious streams of Sicily; Symaithos himself and all his tributaries could not find a place for the long series of towns which are washed by the Rhine, the Rhone, the Seine, or even the smaller Thames and Severn. Till men reached the stage represented by the Phœnician and Greek settlements, the stage when the sea was no longer dreaded, the hill-top presented the only site which a community of men could hope to defend against their enemies. The practice of dwelling on hill-tops, common at a certain stage wherever there are hill-tops, is spoken of as specially characteristic of the earliest recorded inhabitants of Sicily[1]. And so it has been ever since. Many of the old hill-towns have been dwelled in without break from the beginning. Some, when destroyed in war or by the powers of nature, have been rebuilt, sometimes at once, sometimes after the lapse of ages, either on the ancient site or on some other, but still a lofty one[2]. Some again are altogether new creations of the Saracen, the Norman, or the Spaniard, sometimes of days later still. Henna, Agyrion, Menainon, Centuripa, still abide, and they can hardly be said to have changed their names. The Arabs added not a few *Calats*, sometimes on ancient sites, sometimes on sites which they themselves were the first to occupy. Calatafimi, Caltanisetta, Caltabellotta, Calascibetta, and Caltagirone, all preserve the memory of the second body of Semitic invaders. And the later state of the country caused the continuance

CHAP. II.

Advantages of the hill-sites.

Permanence of the hill-towns.

Later hill-towns.

Arabic names.

[1] Diod. v. 6; οἱ δ' οὖν Σικανοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν κωμηδὸν ᾤκουν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὀχυρωτάτων λόφων τὰς πόλεις κατασκευάζοντες διὰ τοὺς λῃστάς. Cf. Thuc. i. 7. So Dionysios (i. 12) of Ausonia; ᾤκισε πόλεις μικρὰς καὶ συνεχεῖς τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὅσπερ ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τρόπος οἰκήσεως συνήθης.

[2] As Noto pretty soon on another site; Centuripa, after being a "waste chester" for three hundred years, on the same site.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. of the practice which its earlier state and its physical nature had given rise to at the beginning. The hill-town was still the best shelter when the oldest days had come back, and when it was again more likely than not that a stranger by land or sea might be a brigand or a corsair.

Hill-towns of Sicily compared with those of Gaul.

But it is again the physical conformation of Sicily which makes the hill-towns of the island so specially impressive. It gives them a character which they share to a considerable extent with those of Italy, but which is necessarily unknown in northern lands. The hill-town still inhabited is rare in Britain; in Gaul it may be said to be the rule; there the river-city is its chief rival. But the heights of Britain and Gaul are small beside the heights of Sicily; it is merely the hill-city in the one land; it is the mountain-city in the other. The men of Sicily, the gods of Sicily, alike built their seats on high. The gods were gods of the nether-world, but their very nature as gods of the nether-world made them also gods of the high places. They were gods who wielded the powers alike of the burning mountain and of the boiling lakes and springs of the plain below. And gods and men dwelled together. The holiest place of Sicily was the strongest; the goddesses of the land looked down on their domain from the temple, city, and fortress, that men called the Inexpugnable[1]. In the other realm of the nether-powers, among the once fiery hills of the Arvernian land, the Celtic god who had his temple on the Puy de Dôme dwelled on a loftier height than Dêmêtêr on Henna or Aphroditê on Eryx[2]. But his people dwelled not with him. They looked up to him from below, first from loftier Gergovia, in after times from the Bright Mount of lowlier Nemetum—hill-cities both of them in their turn, but not mountain-cities with the

Auvergne.

[1] "L'Insuperabile" is still the style of Castrogiovanni. It seems to come from Livy, xxiv. 37.

[2] Greg. Tur. i. 32.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

clouds rolling below the dwellings of gods and men. The geographical position of Sicily gave the land its place in the history of the world; its geological character gave its people their ancient religion; its physical conformation determined their abiding manner of life. We have now to trace out, as far as our light will let us, all that history and tradition has to tell of the earliest inhabitants of the island, the men whose settlement in it was præ-historic, though they lived on to play a part in its history.

CHAP. II. Effects of physical causes on Sicilian history.

§ 2. *The Earliest Inhabitants of Sicily.*

It is the Phœnician and Greek settlements in Sicily which make the true history of the land; it is to them that Sicily owes its place in the history of the world. Yet to make out all that we can about the races who held Sicily before any spot of its soil became a new Hellas or a new Canaan is something more than a mere curious inquiry. Some of the earlier inhabitants of the island exercised no small influence on its later history. Some of them seem to have been connected with great and historic nations out of the island, and the early movements of the nations in Sicily form a part of the general history of their movements in Europe. Those movements drew to themselves the attention of the ancient writers in no small measure. We have clear accounts of the traditional belief, and there is a greater measure of agreement than is usual in such cases from the earliest mention of the island onwards. Every ancient writer who undertakes to give a view of Sicilian history begins by a list of the nations which were already dwelling in the island when Phœnician and Greek settlement began. And there is no very great difference of statement as to the names of those nations, their movements, and their ethnical relations. And, as the history of Sicily is a record of cycles, it

The nations before Phœnicians and Greeks.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. is fitting that the cycles should begin from the beginning.

Connexion with Italy and Spain.

In later times the lands that exercised most influence on Sicily were Italy and Spain. So, even when we deal with præ-historic times, we find the prevalent belief that Sicily was occupied by settlers, not only from neighbouring Italy, but also from distant Spain.

Names of the island: *Trinakria.*

The received belief made *Trinakria* the oldest name of the island, and held that it afterwards took in turn the more prosaic names of *Sikania* and *Sikelia* from two successive waves of settlement. This implies the possession of the island by some people earlier than the Sikans, and further implies that that people gave the island its name of Trinakria. Now setting aside, with Thucydides, all stories of Laistrygones and Kyklôpes[1], there was a general belief that the earliest known inhabitants of Sicily were

Iberians,

Iberians or some people nearly akin to the Iberians. And from this, however unlucky in point of language, it was a perfectly fair inference that it was from Iberians that the island took the name of Trinakria. As for the name Trinakria, we have seen by what process it came into being[2]; but the Iberians who are supposed to have bestowed

Sikans and Sikels.

it raise several questions. As to the presence of Sikans and Sikels in the island there is no reasonable doubt; the only question is as to the relations between the two nations and their names. And this question is closely connected with the question of the presence of Iberians. For we at once ask whether the Iberian inhabitants of Sicily are meant to be a distinct people from the Sikans or not. Each

[1] Thucydides himself never wrote a wiser saying than that in vi. 2; *παλαιότατοι μὲν λέγονται ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς χώρας Κύκλωπες καὶ Λαιστρυγόνες οἰκῆσαι, ὧν ἐγὼ οὔτε γένος ἔχω εἰπεῖν οὔτε ὁπόθεν εἰσῆλθον ἢ ὅποι ἀπεχώρησαν. ἀρκείτω δὲ ὡς ποιηταῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ ὡς ἕκαστός πη γιγνώσκει περὶ αὐτῶν.* The Kyklôpes and Laistrygones were to him exactly what Pelasgians and Druids are to modern scholars. Cf. a good deal in Strabo, i, 2. 9, 10, 11.

On the tales of the Kyklôpes, see above, p. 78.

[2] See above, p. 53.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

view might quote ancient authority on its side. But if Sikans and Sikels are to be looked on as one people, bearing two dialectic varieties of the same name, the evidently near connexion of the Sikels with some of the historic nations of Italy will at once cut off the Sikans from any fellowship with the Iberian stock. If, on the other hand, we look on Sikans and Sikels as two distinct nations, and on the likeness of their names as a singular incidental coincidence, then we shall be strongly tempted to look on the Iberians of Sicily as the same people with the Sikans. That is, we shall look on the Sikans as members of the same widespread stock as the Iberians and Ligurians of Spain, Gaul, and even Italy; whether we are to look for their kinsfolk anywhere out of Europe is a question on which I will not presume to enter. On the whole I am inclined to look on Sikans and Sikels as wholly distinct, and on the Sikans as being Iberians or nearly allied to the Iberians. They would thus be the earliest historical inhabitants of Sicily, a branch of the general præ-Aryan population of Southern and Western Europe, a population which has doubtless largely influenced later settlers, but of which the Basques are the only unmixed survivors remaining. The Sikels would be the vanguard of Aryan settlement in the island, an Italian people, who made their way into Sicily by way of Italy[1]. Their migration could hardly fail to have been older than the beginning of Phœnician settlement; but it need not have been very much older. And alongside of Sikans and Sikels, we find in the island a third people of whom it is much harder to say anything. These are the Elymians in the north-west corner of Sicily, a people whom the Greek writers set down as barbarians along with Sikans and Sikels, but who had traditions, or at least pretensions, which brought them nearer to the Hellenic range. By common consent, Sikans, Sikels, and

CHAP. II.

Their relations to each other.

Connexion of Sikans and Iberians.

Sikans præ-Aryan.

Sikels Aryan.

Elymians.

[1] See above, p. 20.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. Elymians, are set down as the races which inhabited Sicily in times earlier than the beginning of Greek and Phœnician settlement[1]. It is with these races that we find our first approach to Sicilian history, even in the imperfect shape of tradition and legend.

Different forms of tradition and legend.

It may here be well to remark that in no land is it more needful than in Sicily, not only to distinguish both tradition and legend from ascertained history and from probable inference, but further to distinguish the various forms of

The Sikel tradition.

tradition and legend. When we hear that the Sikels came from Italy into the island to which they gave their name, we are dealing with tradition of the best kind, with that kind of tradition which is simply an imperfect form of

Genuine tradition imperfect history.

history. It is the general and natural belief of the people, handed down from generation to generation. It may get confused and changed in the telling; the tale may come to take in additions which are strictly legendary or even some which are sheer invention. But the essential kernel of the story remains *quasi*-historical. That kernel consists of facts handed down by word of mouth, and differs from history only as word of mouth is a less safe means of handing on things than writing. But the derivation of the Sikans from Spain is not a genuine piece of tradition like the

Inference as to the Sikans.

derivation of the Sikels from Italy. It was not in the same way the belief of the people themselves. The Sikans claimed to be *autochthones*[2], to be the oldest people of the land and not to have made their way into it from any other land. The belief that the Sikans came from Spain was not learned from the Sikans themselves; it was

[1] See Appendix IV.

[2] Thuc. vi. 2; Σικανοὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς [Κύκλωπες καὶ Λαιστρυγόνες] πρῶτοι φαίνονται ἐνοικισάμενοι, ὡς μὲν αὐτοί φασι, καὶ πρότεροι διὰ τὸ αὐτόχθονες εἶναι, ὡς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια εὑρίσκεται, Ἴβηρες ὄντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σικανοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ὑπὸ Λιγύων ἀναστάντες. This is a remarkable formula for throwing aside the national tradition in favour of an inference from observation. Yet Thucydides or Antiochos did not speak without good grounds.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

a matter of inference on the part of Greek observers. The value of such an inference varies infinitely according to the circumstances of each particular case. It may be worth much or little, according to the man who makes it and the grounds which he had for making it. On the other hand, the belief of the Sikans that they were *autochthones* is by no means of the same value as the belief of the Sikels that they came from Italy. There was no temptation to the last-named belief if it did not rest on genuine tradition. The claim to be *autochthones* is a piece of self-assertion, which might be sheer invention, and which in any case is likely to cover ignorance. The belief again that the Phœnicians settled in Sicily at the expense of the earlier inhabitants, that they first occupied islands and points of coast, and then withdrew before the Greeks to keep certain stronger positions in the west of the island [1], may also be set down as genuine tradition. At the same time it must be allowed that an observant Greek of later times might, from what he saw in his own days, have made inferences much to the same effect. Much too of the details even of the Greek settlements is doubtless traditional; but now we have got within the range of some kind of records, however imperfect. Lists of Olympic victors and of priestesses of Argos have begun, and history has begun with them.

Sikan tradition.

Phœnician tradition.

Beginnings of history.

From these genuine traditions which are imperfect history we must carefully distinguish both the true legends and the inventions; and the inventions may be again distinguished into honest guesses and inventions with a purpose. The legends grow; the guesses are made. And in Sicily legends fall into several classes. The condition of the country, as a land of Greek settlers among earlier inhabitants who were not driven out, but with whom the colonists had large dealings, teaching them many

Legends.

[1] Thuc. u. s.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

things and learning some things from them, tended to foster the growth of legends of several kinds. One kind consists of local beliefs which the Greeks adopted from the older inhabitants. Sometimes they were adopted strictly as a matter of religious belief without much change; sometimes they made their way within the range of Greek mythology, and were tricked out with all the richness of Greek poetic fancy till it is hard even to guess at the first native shape of the story. There are legends in which we see that genuine bits of native history or topography have been surrounded by details of Greek origin, whether traditional, legendary, or simply invented.

Local beliefs adopted and adorned by the Greeks.

Inventions. For, lastly, there are the simple inventions, also of various kinds. There are the *epónymoi* who were called into being under the influence of that strange state of mind which thought that it was an addition to knowledge, a satisfactory explanation of something which before was doubtful, to say that Sikans or Sikels took their name from a king Sikanos or Sikelos of whom there was nothing else to be said. Then there was the supposed necessity for finding a place on the known earth for every spot spoken of directly or casually in the Iliad or Odyssey. We have seen one great example of this in the application of the name of the Homeric Thrinakié to Sicily[1]. And there was the less honest ambition on the part of cities striving to heighten their own fame and their own antiquity by ascribing their foundation to the heroes of the Trojan war, or in some other way connecting their story with the great national epic. Of all these kinds we shall come across plenty of examples in the course of our Sicilian inquiries, and several of them have affected the little that we hear of the earliest recorded inhabitants of the island, the people whom we know as Sikans.

Epónymoi.

Geographical inventions.

Invention of founders.

Application of

The different nature of our various classes of materials

[1] See above, p. 53.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

other than strictly historical records is shown when they are brought to the test of the modern critical method. Arbitrary guesses and interested inventions it gets rid of altogether, stopping perhaps to show what caused the guess or the invention to take its particular shape. Genuine legend it sets aside no less as matter of literal belief; but it explains its origin and meaning, and often clothes it with fresh beauty and with truth of an unlooked-for kind. But real tradition, that is imperfect history, it confirms. It may correct; it may bring order out of confusion; it may get rid of seeming contradictions; but it shows the genuine nature of the essential story. The critical method tells us that the Homeric Thrinakiê was either not meant for Sicily, or that, if it was meant, it was applied under a thorough misapprehension of the nature of Sicily. The poet of the Hesiodic Theogony clearly looked on Italy as a collection of small islands [1], and the poet of the Homeric Odyssey may have had the same notion of Sicily. If so, the small island of Thrinakiê, uninhabited save by the holy cattle and their keepers [2], may conceivably have meant

CHAP. II.

modern criticism.

The Homeric *Thrinakiê*.

[1] The poet of the Theogony (1012) makes Agrios and Latinos sons of Odysseus and Kirkê;

οἳ δή τοι μάλα τῆλε μυχῷ νήσων ἱεράων,
πᾶσιν Τυρσηνοῖσιν ἀγακλειτοῖσι ἄνασσον.

Any number of theories about Italian ethnology might be founded on these lines. Their real point is that their maker looked on Italy as a group of islands. One would say that, when this was said, Kymê was not yet founded, but was soon going to be.

[2] The whole picture of the νῆσος ἐρήμη (Od. xii. 351) of Thrinakiê, where the companions of Odysseus find nothing to eat but what they can catch, and where they meet not a soul, is clearly that of a small island (127);

Θρινακίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφίξεαι· ἔνθα δὲ πολλαὶ
βόσκονθ' Ἠελίοιο βόες καὶ ἴφια μῆλα.

The whole population is three hundred and fifty oxen, three hundred and fifty sheep, with two nymphs to look after them, nymphs whom their mother

Θρινακίην ἐς νῆσον ἀπῴκισε τηλόθι ναίειν.

The case was well put long ago by Keightley, Mythology, 274.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Skylla and Charybdis.

Mythical geography.

Historical witness of the Odyssey.

Sikels and *Sikanié*.

some part of Sicily, though it cannot be said to mean Sicily itself. The legend of Skylla and Charybdis, on the other hand, undoubtedly grew out of the real phænomena of the strait[1]. And this may perhaps show that the poet, in speaking of Thrinakiê, had in his eye some corner of Sicily conceived to be a distinct island. Or it may also show that later inquirers, striving to put together their Homeric map, thought that an island, great or small, in the neighbourhood of Skylla and Charybdis could be no other than Sicily itself. This step once taken, it was not going much further to throw in the rest of the mythical geography of the Odyssey, to make Sicily the dwelling-place of all the monsters and wonderful beings whom the wandering hero came across. It was just as easy to do the same with Italy, and the Greek settlers in both lands found homes for the Laistrygones and Kirkê and other mythical beings, each in their several neighbourhoods[2]. It is another matter when, in the later books of the Odyssey, we find several references to a people called Sikels and to a land called *Sikanié*[3]. This is the genuine geography of the poet's time, whatever we take that time to be. It is not necessary to infer that the Sikels of the Odyssey must have been dwellers in Sicily, and no land called from their name is spoken of. But when we find the poet of the last book of the Odyssey, besides the people of the Sikels, speaking of the land of *Sikanié*, we seem to be on surer ground. With a name never borne, as far as we know, by any other land than Sicily, a name which

[1] See above, p. 77.

[2] Pliny (N. H. iii. 9) makes Formiæ, "ut existimavere, antiqua Læstrygonum sedes." Cf. Od. xvi. 34, xvii. 1, et seqq.

[3] Od. xxiv. 306. Odysseus tells his father;

ἀλλά με δαίμων
πλάγξ' ἀπὸ Σικανίης δεῦρ' ἐλθέμεν.

The allusion is perfectly casual, as to a well-known land, and there is nothing to suggest any connexion between Σικανίη and the Σικελοί. Of the Sikel passages I shall speak presently.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

so many other writers tell us was the older name of Sicily, we do feel that we have lighted on a piece of genuine primitive history, which the true critical method confirms instead of casting aside. CHAP. II.

§ 3. *The Sikans.*

These Homeric inquiries bring us at once to the people whom all tradition makes the oldest recorded inhabitants of the island, the Sikans. And here we are at once met by a hard question. Are the two names *Sikan* and *Sikel*, *Sikania* and *Sikelia*, different shapes of the same name, marking a single people or two closely allied branches of the same race, or do they, like as they are to each other, mark two wholly distinct nations? Modern scholars are divided on this head[1]. Assuredly the philological presumption would be that two names so nearly alike were only dialectic varieties of the same word. Names far wider apart in sound and spelling are often assumed, and are sometimes philologically proved, to be the same. A crowd of cases could be brought together in which the same people or two closely allied peoples bear names differing in very much the same way. Had we nothing but the names to go by, we should have little doubt in ruling that *Sikania* and *Sikelia* were names at least as closely connected as *Francia* and *Franconia*. But we know on the other hand how dangerous it is to make inferences from mere likeness of name, how far wrong for instance we shall go if we assume that all the Albas, Albanies, and Albanias in the world have something to do with one another[2]. And when we look at the other facts of the

The names *Sikan* and *Sikel*.

Philological presumption of their identity.

Evidence the other way.

[1] See Appendix IV.

[2] It is most curious, after reading of Ῥωμαῖοι, Λατῖνοι, and Ἀλβανοί, in Dionysios, to turn to the use of the same names in Anna Komnênê. Now, wide as is the difference in the meaning conveyed by the two uses of Ῥωμαῖοι and Λατῖνοι, the names are the same, and we can trace all the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Position of the ancient writers.

case, we may be inclined to think that the very likeness of the names tells the other way. Every ancient writer who has to speak of Sicily and its inhabitants has to speak of Sikans and Sikels, and every ancient writer who so speaks of them carefully distinguishes the two. We are told emphatically that each in turn gave their name to the island, that the name of *Sikania* was exchanged for that of *Sikelia*. It does not seem to strike any one that the two names might possibly be only varieties of the same name. Of course the thought that such might possibly be the case would not come into the mind of Herodotus or Thucydides or Strabo with the same readiness with which it comes into the mind of a modern scholar. Still the fact is remarkable. We must suppose either that none of the ancient writers were struck by the likeness of the name, or else that they thought the likeness of the name a further reason for emphatically insisting on the marked difference between the two nations. No one hints at any connexion between the two, or at the names as suggesting any such connexion. And we must remember that the earlier writers who speak of them were not speculating about extinct races, but speaking of existing communities which still played a part in the world. In the time of Diodôros it must have been a mere antiquarian amusement to seek for either Sikans or Sikels among the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Sicily. But in the time of Thucydides and Philistos both nations stood quite distinct from the Greeks and from one another. Thucydides speaks of Sikans and Sikels just as a modern writer would speak of any two quite distinct European nations[1].

stages of the change of meaning. But the Ἀλβανοί of Dionysios and the Ἀλβανοί of Anna have nothing whatever in common; the likeness of the names is sheer accident. But one would not lightly say that the Ἀλβανοί of Dionysios may not have something to do either with the isle of Albion or with the city of Albany, N. Y.

[1] See Appendix IV.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Origin of the Sikans.

The Sikans are, for our purposes, the first inhabitants of Sicily. They come next after the poetic monsters of whom Thucydides will say nothing. They are the first to till the soil whose fruits were to be so plenteous[1]. That is to say, they are the first inhabitants of the island who have any share in the continuous history of Europe. Now who were they, and whence came they? We have seen that they themselves had no traditions on the subject, that they claimed to be *autochthones*. The accounts of them given by others were therefore only inferences from observation. Nearly all those accounts point to a near kindred between the early inhabitants of Sicily and the early inhabitants of Spain. But some accounts seem to speak of Iberians as an element in the population of Sicily distinct from the Sikans, while others speak of the Sikans as themselves an Iberian people who had come from Spain into Sicily. They are said in one account to have come from a river of the western peninsula bearing their own name[2]. Some modern scholars have chosen, somewhat arbitrarily, to bring them rather from Gaul, and to see in their name a cognate of the river *Sequana* or Seine[3]. There is no need to search minutely even into genuine traditions, much less into guesses, however ancient and probable, as to the details of migrations which must have happened before the beginning even of tradition. The one fact of importance is the general belief that the most ancient known element both in Sicily and in Spain was a kindred element. Whether they passed from Spain into Sicily, or from Sicily into Spain, or into both lands from some third quarter, is a point on which it is unsafe to make guesses. It is enough if we set down Sikans and Iberians as both of them branches of that great stock

Their relation to the Iberians.

[1] See the passage from Silius (xiv. 34) quoted in Appendix IV, and the place from Diodôros quoted below.

[2] Thuc. vi. 2. See Appendix IV.

[3] See Appendix IV.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. which was spread over a large portion of southern Europe before the coming of the Aryans. The local nomenclature of the two lands is said to show likenesses[1]; further than this we can say nothing as to the Sikan tongue. If the view here taken of the position of the Sikans among mankind be a true one, it ought to have been something akin to Basque.

Kindred with the Basques.

Sikans in Italy.

If the Sikans then were part of a widely spread race, as it is not wonderful that the name should be found in Spain, so neither is it wonderful that it should be found in Italy. Sikans as well as Sikels are not uncommonly mentioned among the early inhabitants of Latium[2]. At the same time it is not so safe to build on the name in Italy as it is in Sicily. It is far more likely that the two names should have got confounded in a land where those who bore them were mere antiquarian survivals than in a land where they were nations still living and acting. Even to one who, like Virgil, was an antiquary as well as a poet, the temptation to confuse the names must have been rather strong[3]. The general fact therefore that Sikans appear among the inhabitants of Italy, when combined with their generally admitted connexion with the Iberians of Spain, undoubtedly helps to establish their place as part of the wide-spread race which is as well called Iberian as anything else. But it would be dangerous to quote each particular passage where Sikans in Italy are mentioned as adding any point of detail to our stock of evidence.

Sikans in Sicily.

Some traditions seem to have made the Sikans cross into Sicily from Italy[4]. In the view which I have taken, it is of little importance which land was first occupied by its own branch of a wide-spread people. In any case the Sikans of the island were not settlers from the

[1] See Appendix IV.

[2] See Appendix IV.

[3] Ecl. x. 4. See Appendix IV.

[4] See Pausanias, v. 25. 6, and Appendix IV.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

peninsula in the same sense in which the Sikels afterwards were. The presence of Sikans in Sicily is the fact from which we start. In historical times we find them only in the western part of the island; they had once held the eastern coast; but they fell back to the west, some said before the eruptions of Ætna[1], others before the invasion of the Sikels[2]. They are, as might be expected, set before us as a less advanced race than the Sikels, a race which, it is implied, never got beyond the primitive stage of dwelling on the hill-tops[3]. What is here meant is most likely to contrast them with the Sikels, who clearly had settlements on the coast before Greek colonization began. Yet, as Greek settlers supplanted the Sikels in the occupation of the eastern havens, the Sikels may at an earlier stage have already supplanted the Sikans. But we may at least safely say that the Sikans always remained a scattered and divided race[4], a race that lagged behind, that had no considerable towns, that never came together as subjects of a single king or as members of a single league. The Greek settlers do not seem to have borrowed from them either words or things, nor yet traditions and beliefs, in the same way in which they certainly borrowed from the Sikels. The Sikans drop out of notice, we can hardly say how. One must suppose that they did in the end accept Greek culture, and that they were lost in the general mass of the Greek-speaking people of Sicily. But we say so only from the result; we cannot trace the steps of the change even in the same measure in which we can trace it in the

CHAP. II.

Their historical position.

Their special love of hill-tops.

Their history.

[1] Diod. v. 6. After a general eruption, *φοβηθέντες τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἕω κεκλιμένα τῆς Σικελίας ἐξέλιπον, εἰς δὲ τὰ πρὸς δυσμὰς νεύοντα κατῴκησαν.* But he emphatically asserts that they had possessed the whole land; *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἅπασαν τὴν νῆσον κατῴκουν*, and adds, *τὴν χώραν ἐργαζόμενοι τὰς τροφὰς εἶχον.* This most likely means that they were the first to do so, as Silius says.

[2] Thuc. vi. 2.

[3] See above, p. 97.

[4] Diod. u. s.; *οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ὑπὸ μίαν ἡγεμονίαν βασιλέως τεταγμένοι, κατὰ πόλιν δὲ ἑκάστην εἷς ἦν ὁ δυναστεύων.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. case of the Sikels. Little unhappily as we know of the Sikel people and of particular men among them, of the Sikans we know much less.

Kôkalos of Kamikos.

Yet we know the names of several of their towns, and one of them, though it is not easy to fix its place on the map of historic times, holds a remarkable place in Greek legend. This is Kamikos, the city of King Kôkalos, well nigh the only Sikan of whose actions we have even a fabulous account[1]. In every mention of him he is distinctly marked as a Sikan, as one who lived before the immigration of the Sikels. The care which, in these passages and in others, is taken on this head might almost suggest that the writers felt it needful to guard against possible confusions. Kôkalos himself may be an imaginary personage, but his city is real. Kamikos has its place in history, though not a prominent place. Once only is its name heard in the great days of Sicily, and that in a casual mention as a point occupied by Akragantine malecontents. It appears once more in a no less casual way in the history of the Punic Wars of Rome, as a town which, after Akragas had fallen, yielded to the Roman arms. Both these notices and the mention of Kamikos in the legend show that it lay in what in historical times was the territory of Akragas, while they quite set aside the notion that the royal city of Kôkalos stood on the site of Akragas itself. It is said to have stood on a river of its own name, and all inquirers seem agreed in placing it to the north-west of Akragas rather than to the south-east. It has been placed on the site of the modern Siculiana, that is between Akragas and Minôa; but the last researches seem to fix it further to the north-east, among the mountains, the volcanic Calogero their chief, which rise inland above the

Site of Kamikos.

[1] See Appendix V.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Baths of Selinous[1]. Some questions are hereby stirred as to the extent of the Akragantine territory westward; but we may safely set down that Kamikos is to be looked for on this side of Akragas. CHAP. II.

The city of Kôkalos then is real, though we may not be positive as to its site. And there seems no special reason to lead any one to invent a King Kôkalos, unless his name had been handed down by genuine tradition. But what we are told of him at once plunges us into the most mysterious depths of Greek legend. The great mythical name of the Cretan Minôs is brought into the story; he is even sent to die in Sicily—Sikania as it then was—by the practice of Kôkalos. Such a tale, we may be sure, did not arise till Sicily was well known to the Greeks, perhaps not till that part of Sicily had received Greek settlers. And, if we put off the birth of the story till after the foundation of Akragas, we make the legend comparatively modern. The presence of Minôs was most likely suggested by the presence on the same coast of a place called Minôa. That name, be its origin Phœnician or any other, is one which it shares with several other spots in the Greek world[2]. But there must have been something in the received traditions of Kôkalos and Kamikos which fitted in with the particular form of the tale which connected them with Minôs. In the legend Kôkalos is the native prince who welcomes the stranger who brings with him the arts of a higher civilization. The representative of those arts is no other than the great master Daidalos himself. To Sicily he comes from Crete; he had fled thither from his native Attica to avoid punishment for the murder of a pupil who outdid him in his art. Such an outcome of artistic jealousy is a favourite story in all times and places; in this case the heinousness of the crime is heightened

Legend of Kôkalos.

Minôs.

Minôa.

Legend of Daidalos.

[1] On all the points in this paragraph see Appendix V.

[2] See Appendix V.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Flight of Daidalos to Sicily.

by the victim standing to his slayer in the endearing relation of a sister's son[1]. In Crete Daidalos had exercised his wonderful skill at the bidding of Minôs himself, and had abused it to a baser end at the bidding of his queen Pasiphaê. When the King's wrath is stirred thereat, Daidalos flees to Sicily, or at least to Sikania; but he can reach the land only by the perilous means with which his art supplied him. For Sicily was the land which Daidalos sought in his flight with artificial wings, when his less lucky son gave by his fall a name to one part of the great inland sea[2]. The famous artist is well received by the Sikan king, a forerunner of Hierôn or Roger in the encouragement which he gives to foreign merit.

He builds Kamikos.

Daidalos builds Kamikos for his friendly host, a city and treasure-house on a lofty height, but whose strength lay less in walls and bulwarks than in the steep and crooked path by which alone it could be reached. He does other great works in other parts of the island, in the land of Eryx, and in what was to be the land of Megara and of Selinous. To these works we may believe that the name of Daidalos got attached in much later ages, in the way in which the most famous names, mythical and historical, do everywhere get attached to works which seem beyond the powers of ordinary men[3].

Minôs in Sicily.

But even in Sikania the guilty artist was not safe from vengeance. Presently Minôs hears of his whereabouts. The lord of the sea[4] calls forth his fleet, and sails to the Sikan land to demand the surrender of

[1] See the story in Diodôros, iv. 76 (cf. Paus. i. 21. 4). There is a crowd of stories of this kind, like that of the "prentice's pillar" at Rosslyn. One of them attaches to the tower of Titchmarsh church in Northamptonshire, the only grand square tower in that land of spires and octagons.

[2] See Appendix V.

[3] See Appendix V.

[4] Diod. iv. 79; *Μίνως ὁ τῶν Κρητῶν βασιλεὺς, θαλαττοκρατῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Daidalos, and to do vengeance on those who refuse to give him up. Enticed to a conference and a feast, Minôs is further enticed into a warm bath, and is there slain by Kôkalos or his daughters, who play towards Minôs a part exactly opposite to that played towards him by the daughter of Nisos of Megara [1]. That his followers failed to avenge his death is attributed, partly to the pretences of Kôkalos, partly to disputes among themselves [2]. When their ships had been burned by the Sikans [3], they made two settlements in the island, one at Minôa where they had landed, the other far inland at Engyum, well known in later times as a Sikel town [4]. At Minôa they raised a stately tomb to their lost leader, and with the tomb was combined a temple of the goddess whom the Greeks worshipped under the name of Aphroditê, but whose mention on Sicilian soil always suggests that we may be in the neighbourhood of a Phœnician Ashtoreth [5]. So Minôs was honoured in the foreign land; according to one account, an attempt to avenge his death was presently made by his own people. The power of the great sea-king must have soon passed away; for his avengers come in the shape of a general Cretan league, which took in nearly all the Cretan cities [6]. Their forces invade Sikania; they besiege Kamikos in vain for seven

CHAP. II.

His death.

Settlements of his followers.

Tomb of Minôs at Minôa.

Cretan siege of Kamikos.

[1] See Appendix V. The Skylla of Old Greece, φοινία and κυνόφρων, is best painted by Æschylus, Choeph. 613.

[2] Diod. iv. 79; οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Κρῆτες μετὰ τὴν Μίνωος τελευτὴν ἐστασίασαν διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν.

[3] Diod. ib.; τῶν νεῶν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Κώκαλον Σικανῶν ἐμπυρισθεισῶν. The opposite story to that of Agathoklês and so many others who are said to have burned their own ships.

[4] Ib.; οἱ δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου πλανηθέντες καὶ καταλαβόμενοι χωρίον ὀχυρὸν ἔκτισαν πόλιν ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει ῥεούσης πηγῆς ὠνόμασαν Ἔγγυον. On Engyum, see below, p. 146.

[5] See Appendix V.

[6] All but two cities, according to Herodotus (vii. 170). They come στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. years; then, giving up their hopes in that quarter, they withdraw to the heel of the boot, and there change from Cretans into Iapygians of Messapia. And the failure of the Cretans to avenge their king is thrown in their teeth by the Pythia ages after, when they were doubting whether to give help to Hellas in the days of Persian invasion[1].

Cretans and Iapygians.

In this story the Iapygian part may either mark some primitive kindred between Greeks and Iapygians, or it may be a throwing back of the process which afterwards spread Greek influences among them[2]. In another story, though it is one of the endless attempts to connect this or that land or city with the heroes of the Trojan war, we may see one of the cases where a local worship is brought within the range of Greek legend. Among the accidents of the return from Troy, the Cretan Mêrionês and his comrades found their way to Sicily, where they were gladly received, not by the people of Minôa on the coast, but by those of inland Engyum[3]. There they were received to citizenship, and they helped to build a notable temple to the Mothers, the powers that had watched over the infant Zeus in his Cretan cradle. The harvests of Engyum, like those of many other parts of Sicily, grew up on stony ground. But building-stone was lacking, and the temple of the Mothers arose, so the historian of Agyrium tells us with evident pleasure, out of stone which the men of Engyum brought, by a journey of some length and difficulty, from his native place[4]. This last story touches Minôs and his legend only very indirectly. But his memory springs up again in Sicily in historical times. In after days, when Akragas had arisen, partly at

Later legends.

Settlement of Mêrionês.

The temple of Engyum.

[1] Herod. vii.

[2] See Mommsen, die Unteritalischen Dialekte, p. 97 et seqq.

[3] Diod. iv. 79; *προσεδέξαντο τοὺς καταπλεύσαντας Κρῆτας, διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας μετέδωκαν.*

[4] See Appendix V.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the hands of men of Cretan stock, and when her tyrant Thêrôn was great among the powers of Sicily, the tomb which held the bones of the great Cretan king was found on Akragantine ground, much as the tomb of British Arthur was found in his own isle of Avalon. The invention in both cases led to a translation; but the translation of Minôs needed a longer journey than the translation of Arthur. Why one does not exactly see, the Sicilian tomb of Minos was swept away, but the lord of Akragas gave over his precious relics to go back to their own land[1]. CHAP. II. Invention of the tomb of Minôs. His translation.

It is no doubt easy for ingenious men to find many meanings for legends of this kind. It is no less easy to say that nothing certain can ever come of speculations where there can be no direct evidence. But in some parts of the stories we seem to light on pieces of genuine local tradition. Such, I have already hinted, we are likely to find in King Kôkalos of Kamikos and in the name of Minôa. But such we most conspicuously do not find in the tale of the foundation of Engyum. That is surely a sheer fiction, which arose when a Sikel town thought it fine to claim a mythical Greek founder. The story stands as low in the scale of falsehood as the stories of West-Saxon Ælfred founding something in Mercian Oxford or in Northumbrian Ripon. But the notice of the local worship of Engyum stands on quite another ground. It is hardly part of our Sicilian duty to search out the nature of its goddesses, or their relation to other alleged nurses of Zeus in Crete or elsewhere. The local evidence is not clear enough; but there is every chance that we have here lighted on a real bit of local belief clothed in a Greek shape. Only the later history of Engyum and Agyrium makes it far Tradition and fiction. The goddesses of Engyum.

[1] See Appendix V.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. more likely that the goddesses whom they honoured were of Sikel rather than Sikan origin.

Kôkalos of Kamikos has a place by himself. He is all but the only Sikan whom we come across by name either in history or in legend. He is the only Sikan round whose name any considerable mass of legendary matter has grown.

Other notices of Kôkalos.

His story must have deeply impressed some minds; for one summary of the history of Sicily leaps from him to the well-known tyrants of the fifth century before Christ[1]. Kamikos is not the only place spoken of as the seat of his power; some quarter him at Inykon, a town which plays its part in later history, but whose exact site, though seemingly within the Akragantine territory, is uncertain[2].

Teutos of Ouessa.

Ouessa or Vessa also appears as a Sikan town in the story of Phalaris, and it supplies us with a second personal Sikan, Teutos by name[3]. But the name of the place has given rise to much debate, and its site also must remain uncertain. Still we may safely place it at no great distance from Akragas[4]. That region was specially the Sikan land; it is round it that our few Sikan legends gather; even those actors in the tale of Kôkalos who wander as far as Engyum set forth from Minôa. That is to say, among the great Greek cities of Sicily, Akragas was the one that was most distinctly founded at the expense of Sikans, the one whose land could be specially spoken of as Sikania[5]. Yet in the earlier days of the settlement of Gela, we hear of Sikans far enough to the East for the

Site of Akragas Sikan.

[1] Justin's summary (iv. 2) is very odd; Trinacria became Sicania. "Hæc a principio patria Cyclopum fuit, quibus extinctis, Cocalus regnum insulæ occupavit, postquam singulæ civitates in tyrannorum imperium concesserunt, quorum nulla terra ferocior fuit. Horum ex numero Anaxilaus," &c.

[2] See Appendix V.

[3] Polyainos, v. 1. 4. We shall come to this again.

[4] See Holm, i. 358.

[5] Steph. Byz.; Σικανία, ἡ περίχωρος Ἀκραγαντίνων. See Appendix IV.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Geloan founder Antiphêmos to take the Sikan town of Omphakê, and thence to carry off an image which legend spake of as one of the works of Daidalos[1]. Shut out from the land of their legendary fame by the growth of the Greek cities on the south coast, the Sikans still in historic times stretched from their old border to the northern sea of Sicily. There, as late as the days of the Athenian expedition, Sikan Hykkara still stood on a bay of its own, between Elymian Segesta and Phœnician Panormos[2]. This is the one known Sikan settlement, a fishing settlement[3] it would seem, which does not answer to the general picture of the Sikan town on its high place. Its modern representative Carini, which seems to keep traces of its name, stands somewhat inland, but remains of the town whose people Nikias enslaved are said to be seen on the coast itself[4]. We may believe that Hykkara marks a later stage in the growth of the Sikan people, when the example of Sikels, Phœnicians, and Greeks had taught them that sites on the sea-coast, however much exposed to the attacks of pirates, had still advantages of their own[5]. The inland Sikans play a distinct part by that name as late as the wars of Dionysios[6]. When we reach the age recorded by Polybios, we hear no more of

CHAP. II.

Hykkara.

Later notices of Sikels.

[1] Paus. viii. 46; Δωριέων ἐς Σικελίαν ἐσοικιζομένων Ἀντίφημος ὁ Γέλας οἰκιστὴς, πόλισμα Σικανῶν Ὀμφάκην πορθήσας, μετεκόμισεν ἐς Γέλαν ἄγαλμα ὑπὸ Δαιδάλου πεποιημένον. It was not to be seen in Pausanias' day. See ix. 40. 2. Cluver (207, 8) takes Omphakê for the akropolis of Akragas. Schubring places it at Monte della Grandia, due north from Terranova or Gela. Gela, p. 121.

[2] Thuc. vi. 62; ἦν δὲ παραθαλασσίδιον, he remarks.

[3] Hykkara is said to have taken its name from a fish called ὕκης. Athen. vii. 132; διὰ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθόντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἰχθῦς εὑρεῖν τοὺς καλουμένους ὕκας, καὶ τούτους ἐγκύους· δι' οὓς οἰωνοσαμένους Ὕκαρον ὀνομάσαι τὸ χωρίον. His authority is Timaios. Philistos too (Steph. Byz. in Ὕκκαρα) found something to say about Hykkara in his first book. This seems to imply the presence of early legends there.

[4] Fazello, i. 315.

[5] See Thuc. i. 7.

[6] Diod. xiv. 48.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. Sikans; indeed even of Sikels his one mention[1] belongs to another land and to an earlier day. By that time the Greek and the Phœnician between them had assimilated whatever was left of the older races of the island.

Sikan towns. Still, small as are the traces which the Sikans have left of themselves, we can make out a good many of their towns besides those that figure in the legend of Kôkalos. Of some which are distinctly known to have been Sikan, it might be hard or impossible to fix the sites. Such is Indara, of which we know only the name, and the fact that the name found a place in the History of Theopompos[2]. So also did the name of Sikan Miskera, a name which

Krastos. has provoked a good deal of guessing[3]. Of Krastos Philistos found something to say which we should like to hear; but other writers were surely misled when they claimed it as the birth-place of Epicharmos and of Lais. This last may have been a mistaken inference from the reputation which the unknown town enjoyed for the beauty of its women, a reputation which in later days

Halikyai. more fitly abides on Aphrodite's own Eryx[4]. Halikyai is a name which has called up some questioning. It appears in Thucydides in a place where we should certainly not look for it, if the town there meant is the Halikyai of which we hear quite in the west of the island, between Entella and Lilybaion. A town of

[1] Polyb. xii. 5, 6.

[2] Steph. B.; Ἴνδαρα, Σικανῶν πόλις. Θεόπομπος. Cluver, 392.

[3] Ib.; Μίσκερα, πόλις Σικανίας. Θεόπομπος, κ.τ.λ. All these entries point to bits of lost history. What had Theopompos to tell of each place? The notion that Μίσκερα and Μάκαρα are the same comes from Siefert, Akragas, p. 54.

[4] How did Stephen of Byzantion get so many entries about this very obscure Krastos? (see also Cluver, 393; Siefert, p. 54; Holm, i. 358). Philistos recorded it as πόλις Σικελίας τῶν Σικανῶν, a careful description. Philêmôn spoke of the beautiful women, from which Neanthês may well have got the statement about Lais, really a native of Sikan Hykkara. To both Lais and Epicharmos we shall come again.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

some mark in later times, its whole history is connected with that side of Sicily; it has been claimed as Elymian; but it is far more likely to have been Sikan[1]. Sicilian antiquaries have found a place for it which answers the geographical description, on the site of modern Salemi, a hill-town, not far on the right from the road from Palermo to Castelvetrano[2]. Iaita, Ietas, the later Jato, is also shown to be Sikan by its position, a strong hill-fort of which Philistos had to speak, and which plays a part in the wars both of Pyrrhos and of Roger[3]. Ankyra, whose name is found in the wars of Dionysios, is but doubtfully fixed on the march of Sikan, Sikel, and Greek[4]. Of Schêra and Skarthaia there is still less to be said[5]. Trikala, Triokala, is but a name till we reach the Slave-wars of Roman days; but its place as a neighbour of Kamikos justifies us in setting it down among Sikan posts[6]. The existence of a western Herbêssos, distinct

CHAP. II.

Iaita

Triokala.

Herbêssos.

[1] See Appendix IV.

[2] It is hard to see how the Ἀλικύαιοι of Thucydides (vii. 32), who are spoken of as Sikels along with the men of Centuripa, can be the people of the Ἀλικύαι which (Steph. Byz.) Theopompos described as μεταξὺ κειμένη Ἐντέλλης καὶ Λιλυβαίου. There must either have been two places of the name, or else there is a mistake in the reading (see also Holm, i. 358). In all the places where they are mentioned by Diodôros (xiv. 48, 54, 55; xxii. 14; xxiii. 6) they appear as a people quite in the west of the island. But I cannot say that I am convinced by the arguments of Unger, Philologus, xxxv. 210, who makes Halikyai Elymian. On the site see Fazello's commentator Amico, i. 484; Cluver, 379.

[3] Stephen quotes Philistos for Ἰαιθία, πόλις Σικελίας—he says nothing this time about Sikans; and in Diodôros, Frg. Hoesch. xxii. 14, we come to τὴν Ἰαιτίναν πόλιν, ὀχυρότητι διαφέρουσαν καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Πανόρμου καλῶς κειμένην. It is "celsus Ietas" in Silius, xiv. 271. See Geoffrey Malaterra, iii. 20, 21; Cluver, 381. This cannot be the same as the Ἴται in Thuc. vii. 2.

[4] Ἄγκυραι is the true reading, not Ἀλίκυαι, in Diod. xiv. 48. We are less certain about the Ἀγκυλίαν χώραν in Diod. Fr. xxxvi. 3. Some place it at Vicari, the Brica of Geoffrey Malaterra, iii. 11; a very central post.

[5] Σκιρθαία appears in the Servile War (Diod. xxxvi. 8, Phot.) as near Triokala. Cluver, 375; Fazello, i. 483.

[6] Triokala, and its three good things (Diod. Fr. xxxvi. 7, Phot.), may

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. from the Sikel town in the east, is made plain in the Roman wars, and such an one can hardly fail to have been

Nisa. Sikan[1]. And among other doubtful places, inscriptions suggest the existence of a town of Nisa, most likely Sikan, on that central spot of the island, enthroned on hills and looking up to higher hills, to which the Saracen gave the name of Caltanisetta[2].

Another town which has already been casually mentioned must, I think, be added, with all but certainty, to

Entella. the list of Sikan towns. This is Entella, which has, wholly, as far as I can see, on the strength of its place in Virgilian story, been sometimes reckoned as a third Elymian town alongside of Segesta and Eryx[3]. Of that legend I shall speak elsewhere. Of the origin of Entella we have no direct historic mention, and the place does not appear in Sicilian history till quite the end of the fifth century. And it is first mentioned in the story of an event which altogether swept away its earlier inhabitants, whoever they may have been[4]. But its geographical position marks it as Sikan. The hill fortress by the eastern branch of the Hypsas or Belice, which is to this

wait for its time in the history. Schubring (Z. der Gesellsch. für Erdkunde, 1866, p. 154) places it, like Kamikos, in the mountains of Caltabellotta. See Fazello, i. 472; Cluver, 374.

[1] This Ἐρβησσός in the parts of Akragas, quite distinct from the town of the same name nearer Syracuse, appears in Polybios, i. 18, and in other passages that we shall come to. See Cluver, 360, 368; Siefert, 45; Holm, i. 359. From the same name being borne by a Sikel and a Sikan site, we may guess that it is a Sikan name kept on by Sikel occupiers.

[2] The question is not of much moment. The inscriptions will be seen in Boeckh, iii. 674. The bringing in of the δᾶμος τᾶς Νίσας seems a little conjectural. A town named Nisa does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.

[3] Holm, i. 90, 376; Bunbury (Dict. Geog.) takes it for Sikan.

[4] Diod. xiv. 9. In Steph. Byz. we read, Ἔντελλα, πόλις Σικελίας. Ἔφορος ιε' ἦσαν δ' οἱ οἰκοῦντες Καμπανοὶ τὸ γένος, σύμμαχοι Καρχηδονίων. That is to say, after the Campanian mercenaries had occupied the town and slain the male inhabitants.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

day known in a marked way as the Rock of Entella, stands apart from both the known Elymian settlements, in a land thoroughly Sikan. Its territory may well have bordered on that of Segesta, but that is all. A hill-town without a haven, even a haven as distant as that of Segesta, it bears the stamp of the most primitive occupation. And the thorough outrooting of the older inhabitants may well account for the place of Entella in later legend. When the later people of Entella, an Italian people more than anything else, began to look out for traces of their own early history, they would be naturally led to look for them in the tale of Troy rather than in any scraps of tradition which may have been handed on by the Sikan mothers of some of them. CHAP. II. Why claimed as Elymian.

It will be at once noticed that none of these Sikan or supposed Sikan sites is of first rate importance in the history of the island. None of them, it is needless to say, ranks with the Phœnician and Greek towns; none of them even holds the place of some of the Sikel and Elymian towns. Of some of them we shall have to speak again more minutely when we come to any mention of acts done in or around them in the days of Greek, Roman, Saracen, or Norman. But Sikan history, as such, there is none. The Sikans, eldest of the recorded nations of Sicily, are the most backward of all, those who play the smallest part in Sicilian story. Their day was gone before Greek settlement began, and Greek settlement brought them down more and more fully to the state of a mere survival. They may once have held the whole island; but when we first get any clear idea of Sicilian political geography, the Sikel had already torn from them the whole eastern half of the island, and Phœnicians and Greeks had driven them from the whole coast of the western half, save where the fishing-post of Hykkara was left for an invader from old Greece to lay No Sikan history.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. waste in later times. In the later geography of Sicily the two streams of Himeras are taken as the boundary of Sikel and Sikan. In the case of the Sikel we can see something of the steps by which he changed into a Greek. Of the Sikan we can only say that, when we get our picture of the island under Roman rule, his name and nationality have vanished. Perhaps others had come to sit in his seat; perhaps he had himself so changed his nature that the hellenized Sikan of the hill of Iaita could no longer be known from the hellenized Sikel of the hill of Henna.

The race is lost.

§ 4. *The Sikels.*

The Sikels. The second recorded race among the inhabitants of the island, the race from whom the island took the name which it has borne ever since, though our notices of them are still sadly meagre, are well known to us compared with those who went before them. The general belief of the ancient writers, the belief of men who wrote when there were still Sikels living by that name as a people, declared that the Sikels whose coming changed *Sikania* into *Sikelia* came out of Italy, and were of kindred race with other Sikels who still remained in Italy. The accounts which give this version of the story are clear and straightforward; those notices which imply any other origin for the Sikel people seem to spring out of mere confusion. The presence of the Sikels in Italy, and their passage from Italy into Sicily, does not rest, like that of the Sikans, either on the inferences of modern thinkers or on a few doubtful passages of ancient writers. Every notice of the earliest state of Italy sets the Sikels before us as an important part of the inhabitants of central Italy, as dwellers on Latin soil, as among the occupiers of the site of Rome itself[1]. No great amount of their language

Their Italian origin.

Sikels in Italy.

[1] See Appendix IV.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

is handed down to us; we have no Sikel writings, no certain Sikel inscriptions; but we have Sikel words which are so plainly Latin that it is hardly needful to argue the point at any length. A people who called a stream *Gelas* from the coldness of its waters leave little room for further dispute as to their ethnical kindred [1]. The exact relations of the Sikels of Italy to the Latins who held the Thirty Cities or to the Romans who held the Palatine hill against the Etruscan and the Sabine, are points which touch Italian rather than Sicilian history. For Sicilian purposes it is enough to rule that they were an offshoot of the general Italian stock, that they belonged to the same general branch of it as the men of Rome and Tusculum, that in short they were, in a wide sense of the word, a Latin people. They gave way before the pressure of those other branches of the Italian stock who were the abiding rivals of the Latins. From Latium they fell back into the oldest Italy, the modern Calabria; from thence they made their way across the straits into the island which became specially their own. Their last migration is distinctly said to have been caused by the pressure of the Opicans [2]. That name is one which is used somewhat vaguely, but, when it has any strict meaning, it belongs to some or other of those branches of the Italian stock which were not Latin [3]. If we may ever believe anything which is not actually written down in contemporary annals, we have surely the strongest grounds for believing that the Sikels were an Italian people, a Latin

Their tongue Latin.

Their relations to the Latins of Latium.

They flee into Sikania before the Opicans.

[1] Steph. Byz. in Γέλα; Καλεῖται ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ Γέλα· ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς, ὅτι πολλὴν πάχνην γεννᾷ· ταύτην γὰρ τῇ Ὀπικῶν φωνῇ καὶ Σικελῶν γέλαν λέγεσθαι. We shall come to more Sikel words and to other derivations of Γέλα.

[2] Thuc. vi. 2; φεύγοντες Ὀπικούς.

[3] Arnold (Thuc. vi. 4) remarks the increase of knowledge between the time of Thucydides who speaks of Κύμη ἡ ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ, and of Skylax (10) who places it ἐν Καμπανίᾳ. The Ὀλσοί of Skylax, who join the Latins, must be, as they are made by C. Müller, Volscians.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. people, who found themselves new seats in the island that had been Sikania, who were in all likelihood the vanguard of Aryan settlement in that island. They lived on as a Latin people, speaking a Latin tongue, till the spread alike of Greek conquest and of Greek peaceful influence gradually brought them, as adopted members, within the Hellenic fold.

Sikels in the Odyssey.

Sikels are, as we have seen, familiarly spoken of in the later books of the Odyssey. They are spoken of as a people between whom and the western islands of Greece a brisk slave-trade seems to be carried on. The old Laertês is tended by a Sikel bondwoman, and slavery among the Sikels is a doom with which a Greek might threaten his enemy [1]. There is nothing in this which either constrains or forbids us to look on the Sikels thus spoken of as dwellers in Sicily. That land is still Sikania [2]; the change from Sikania to Sikelia would not take place in a moment.

Sikels in Epeiros.

Some have planted the Sikels of the Odyssey on the coast of Epeiros [3]; there may well have been Sikels on both sides, as there were Chaones and other nations. Only we may ask whether these latter did not belong to a family of nations more closely allied to the Greeks than the Sikels would be if we look on them as immediate kinsfolk of the Latins. On the whole, the safest land wherein to look for the Sikels of the Odyssey is Southern Italy and Eastern Sicily, taken, as for many purposes they may be, as forming one whole.

The Sikel slave-trade.

The Sikel slave-trade falls in well with the brass and iron trade of Temesa [4]. But it must be remembered

[1] The γυνὴ Σικελὴ γρηῢς (210), ἀμφίπολος Σικελὴ (366), γρηῢς Σικελὴ (388, where she seems to be married to Dolios) comes three times in the 24th book, while at xx. 383 the suitors propose

τοὺς ξείνους ἐν νηῒ πολυκληῖδι βαλόντες
ἐς Σικελοὺς πέμψωμεν, ὅθεν κέ τοι ἄξιον ἅλφοι.

[2] xxiv. 206.

[3] See Appendix IV.

[4] Od. i. 183;

πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον ἐπ' ἀλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους,
ἐς Τεμέσην μετὰ χαλκὸν, ἄγω δ' αἴθωνα σίδηρον.

Digitized by Google · Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

that a trade of this kind, essentially a coasting-trade—such was all traffic between Greece and Italy and Sicily even ages later—may be carried on very briskly along a whole line of coast without much direct intercourse between the two ends. The Sikel bondwoman might have found her way to the house of Laertês, assuredly without any Sikel ship ever coming to Ithakê, perhaps without even a ship of Ithakê ever reaching Sikelia. If no one else, the man of Phœnicia, the man of crafty deceits[1], would be ready to do business between any two stages of the voyage. It is vain to try to fix the dates either of mythical personages or of mythical events; but the state of things described even in the last book of the Odyssey is surely older than the earliest Greek settlements in Sicily. Everything at the time of the beginning of that movement seems to show that Sicily was then still a land with which the Greeks had little or no direct intercourse, a land to or from which men might be now and then driven by stress of weather[2], but which was not to the Western Greeks at all what the shores of Thrace and Asia were to the Eastern. On the other hand, we must remember that it was the policy of the Phœnicians to keep other nations, especially Greeks, away from their settlements and from the lands under their influence. Sicily might thus really have been better known to the Greeks while it was purely Sikan and Sikel than it became after any part of it received settlements from Phœnicia. But at no time could there have been any close or systematic intercourse. Wandering Greeks may now and then have found their way to friendly or

Amount of Greek knowledge of Sicily.

Strabo (vi. 1. 5) accepts Temesa or Tempsa in Italy, not Tamasos in Cyprus, as this Τεμέσῃ. So Steph. Byz. The Italian site seems the more natural place of resort for Taphians.

[1] Od. xiv. 288;

δὴ τότε Φοῖνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ, ἀπατήλια εἰδὼς,
τρώκτης, ὃς δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐώργει.

[2] See again, Od. xiv. 206.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. unfriendly Sikels; but there seems no ground for supposing any direct or active intercourse between Greece and Sicily before the great age of Greek colonization begins.

Date of the Sikel migration.

The Sikan occupation of the island belongs to an age in which the most daring interpreters of mythology and tradition do not venture upon dates. With the Sikel migration it is otherwise. The received belief among the Greeks, doubtless therefore among the Sikels themselves, was that they crossed the straits from the mainland to the island about three hundred years before the first settlements of the Greeks [1]. This would place the event in the eleventh century before Christ. Of course we cannot take this as an exact date; still this choice of a number is not without a meaning. In the eighth century the Sikel migration was not a modern event; it was not an event of a hundred years back or so, an event of which some old men might have heard from grandfathers or even fathers who had shared in it. On the other hand, it was not an event shrouded in the mystery of a very distant past; it was not a mere kernel of probable truth to be picked out from some wild mass of ancient legend; it was a definite belief, with every likelihood in its favour, which had been handed on as a piece of sober tradition on both sides of the strait. We may accept the story of the Sikel migration as a genuine piece of that kind of tradition which is real, though imperfect, history. Still all exact chronology is out of the question. We may get some approach to an idea if we say that the Sikels whom the men of Chalkis drove from the peninsula that was to be Naxos may well have come in the ninth or tenth generation from forefathers who drove Sikans from the same spot. How long Sikans may have dwelled on those coasts, whether for centuries or for

[1] See Appendix IV.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

millenniums, it is not for the historian even to guess; the answer, if there is one to be given, must come from another science. CHAP. II.

Alleged Sikel invasion of Egypt.

There is indeed one alleged act on the part of Sikel adventurers which, if we accept it as true, might tempt us to place our Sikel migration a great many centuries earlier than it is placed by Thucydides. We have been told that Sikels took part, along with Achaians, Sardinians, and a crowd of other nations of Europe, in something like a general European inroad on that Egyptian land of which the poet of the Odyssey clearly knew so little. If any Sikel fleet did, as we are told, find its way to an isle of Pharos so far from the waters that were to bear its name—if it thence sailed on to the mouth of the river Egypt to plunder the rich fields of the Egyptians[1]—the sea-faring skill of the race must have greatly risen and greatly fallen between the days when they passed Skylla and Charybdis on their rafts[2] and the days when no Sikel sail disputed the lordship of the sea against invaders either from Canaan or from Hellas. Happily what some of the masters of Egyptian lore hold out to us as an article of faith other masters tell us that we may disbelieve without danger[3]. With such a licence in his hands, the Western scholar will not feel himself bound to accept a tale which the universal rules of his own science would pronounce to be hardly more worthy of belief than the voyage of famous Argô or the going down of Odysseus to the

Value of the story.

[1] Od. iv. 355:

νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἐστὶ πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε, Φάρον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσιν,
τόσσον ἄνευθ', ὅσσον τε πανημερίη γλαφυρὴ νηῦς
ἤνυσεν, ᾗ λιγὺς οὖρος ἐπιπνείῃσιν ὄπισθεν.

It is a curious change from this Egyptian Pharos to Faro as the name of the Messanian strait; and the purely accidental likeness of the Hadriatic Pharos comes between. For the river Egypt see Od. xiv. 257 et seqq.

[2] Thuc. vi. 2.

[3] See Appendix VI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Likeness of names.

house of Aidês. He will again strengthen himself by remembering how little is proved by the mere likeness of names when likeness of name is the only argument. He will remember how easy it would be for a conqueror from the east of the Euxine to set forth to overcome the world at the head of a mingled host of Achaians who have no share in the empire of Agamemnôn, in the league of Aratos, or in the principality of William of Champlitte —of Albanians who own no kinsfolk on the Illyrian hills— of Iberians who own no kinsfolk in the peninsula of the West—of Georgians whose name tells of no fellowship with the work of Oglethorpe in the yet further West. Or, to come nearer to our own story, he may remember that Lewis of Hungary, lord of *Siculi* in his own realm [1], may well have brought men bearing the very Sikel name to wage his warfare against the offspring of Sikels in the Greater Hellas. The Egyptian exploits of the Sikels of the fourteenth century before Christ, so utterly impossible in the face of all that is known of them, their land, and their neighbours, asserted only on the ground of a supposed likeness of name in which Western eyes and ears can discern no likeness, may be safely cast aside as one of the many rash guesses of ingenious men who do not wait to look at a subject from more sides than one. And when the Egyptian scholar withdraws his Sikels, but still claims belief for his Sardinians on the strength of a special kind of helmet, the Western scholar may again be tempted to point to *Sardeis* rather than to *Sardô*, and to hint that the keels of Phœnicia were ready to carry helmets or wares

Sikels and Sardinians.

[1] The Szeklers in Transsilvania are regularly called *Siculi* in Latin. I am a little disappointed that, after turning over several Hungarian chroniclers, I do not find any one who brings them from Sicily. But it is something to read of the Hungarian "pagus Simigiensis," "in cujus agro posita olim fuit Segesta vetustissima civitas, cujus geographi veteres meminerant." (P. Ranzanus, Scriptt. Rer. Hung., p. 330.) Did our mysterious Elymians come that way?

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of any kind to any haven where they were likely to find a market. CHAP. II.

In the Sikel then we have an Italian settler in the great island, the near kinsman of the Latin of the Tiber and the Latin of the Alban hill. We are at once struck by the contrast between the destinies of the two branches of the race. For one branch of the Latin stock the highest fate in the world's history was destined. It was theirs to be the masters of the world, to make their city the centre of the world, to make their speech the abiding speech of law and religion for all time. Against the great historic monuments of Latin speech, against the Vulgate and the Code, against the page of Tacitus and the page of Matthew Paris, against the native Saturnians of Nævius and the borrowed Saturnians of Earl Simon's poet, the kinsmen of that speech in Sicily can only show those three or four scattered words which prove that they were kinsmen. While the Latin of the mainland is adding city to city and kingdom to kingdom, while Greek kings become his liegemen and Greek lands his subject provinces or helpless dependencies, the Latin of the island is day by day losing his native speech and his national being. Henna and Agyrium pass under the rule of the Greek lord of Syracuse as cities hardly less Greek than Syracuse herself. And yet the fate of the Sikel is not so wholly different from that of either of his masters. The Latin, as a Latin, has vanished from the soil of Italy, no less than the Sikel, as a Sikel, has vanished from the soil of Sicily. His Thirty Cities were swallowed up by one city, the least purely Latin of the whole tale. From Tusculum sprang the last champion of Rome's freedom; from Velitræ sprang the first founder of her Empire; but Tusculum and Velitræ lost all independent being no less than Henna and Agyrium. And if the Greek led captive the Sikel,

Fate of Sikels and other Latins.

Latins in Italy.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Latin speech of modern Sicily.

largely too did he lead captive the common lord of Greek and Sikel. And in the end a tongue kindred to his own, a tongue in which some would fondly see traces of his own speech, has on the soil of the Sikel displaced the tongues of all his conquerors. Not the tongue of the Phœnician, the Greek, or the Arab, hardly we can say the tongue of the Roman, but the tongue of the once Sikel lands of the oldest Italy, the Italian speech, in such shapes as it took on the soil of the Greater Hellas, has for ages been the one speech of his island. We might even say that Italy, as apart from Rome, could show no speech of her own alongside of the tongues of her sister lands, till her speech was made ready for abiding life by the work of a Sicilian king on Sicilian soil.

It may be that Ducetius and Frederick, could they have come across one another, might here and there have seen the likeness in a word or two of each other's native speech [1]. It is certain that neither could, without a master's help, have known a word of the speech of any Hanno of Panormos or any Mohammed of Castrogiovanni. In some sort then, though the Sikel himself has passed away, yet, in the cycles of Sicilian history, remote kinsfolk of his stock have in the end come to the front in the land of his settlement.

Lack of Sikel monuments.

But he himself has utterly passed away. He has given his name to a land on which he has left no direct traces of his presence. He has left no records, no writings, hardly

Tombs.

any works of art. The very graves which we look on as his, the winding chambers of the dead with which his hills are honey-combed, may after all be spoils which he won from earlier races, as later races have won them as a spoil from him. This is truly a strange fate for the kinsman of the Roman and the Tusculan. The key to

[1] Of all the tongues spoken by Frederick (that of the Saracen among them), I of course mean the Romance speech which he nourished up in Sicily to become the speech of Italy.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Relations of Sikels and other Latins to Phœnicians and Greeks.

the difference is to be found in the different times at which the two branches of the race came across those among the Mediterranean nations which had got the start of them in intellectual and political developement, the alien Phœnician, the comparatively kindred Greek. The nations of central Italy, Rome at their head, grew up with the healthiest growth, living their own life on their own soil. Before they came to have any dealings for life or death with either the men of Canaan or the men of Hellas, their institutions in war and peace had put on their full shape, and that a purely native shape. They had been strong enough to face and to overthrow the phalanx of Epeiros and the navy of Carthage. They stood ready to accept the intellectual teaching of Greece, to become in some sort themselves its missionaries, but not in such measure as to alter aught that was essential to the national life. They had in short no decisive dealings with either race till the physical and political advantage was wholly on their own side. Their kinsfolk in Sicily on the other hand were brought across the two most advanced nations of the world when those nations were in their full strength, while their own institutions and national life were still undeveloped. First the Phœnician came, then the Greek, nations their superiors both in arts and in arms; between the two they were hemmed in; the only choices open to them were submission, assimilation, and the independence of mere barbarism. And the lot of the Sikel nation was on the whole neither submission nor independence, but assimilation by the Greek.

Advantages of the Italian Latins.

Disadvantages of the Sikels.

It must have been the Phœnician settlers on the east coast with whom the Sikels had first to deal. With them they had a kind of dealings which wrought less of disturbance in their native seats or in their native ways than was wrought by the Greek settlements which came later. The Greek came, not merely for trade, but for dwelling and

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. dominion, as the Sikel of the coast found to his cost. How Greek settlers would have fared on the coasts of Latium before Rome came into being we can hardly guess. In Sicily at least they met with no strength, no union, able to withstand them. From the coasts then the Sikels withdrew, or abode only as servants of Greek masters. In the inland parts of the island, where the Greeks cared not to settle, they kept their independence, but came under the moral influence of their Greek neighbours. Hemmed in between the Greeks on one side and the barbarians of Western Sicily on the other, the Sikels never developed a culture, a political system, or a polished language of their own. They gradually conformed themselves to Greek models, till in the end they passed as Greeks, till Cicero could draw no distinction between a Sikel and a Greek town. The Latin, in all that pertained to government and warfare, remained an unmixed Latin; his literature, his religion, his social life, were influenced, but only influenced, by Greek models. The Sikel in the end became an assimilated Greek; but, as ever happens in such cases, he did something in return to assimilate his masters. The Sikel learned to imitate or adopt, as far as artistic character went, the beautiful coinage of the Greek; but the Greek stooped to borrow names for his coins from the Sikel, and to adopt the system of weights and measures which the Sikel had brought with him from Italy. The Latin largely adopted, if not the religion, yet the mythology of Greece; so did the Sikel also. But the Greek also learned to worship the gods of the Sikel, to adopt them into his own mythology, and to turn the legends of Greece into new shapes which better fitted their new homes on Sicilian soil.

Greek influence on Sikels and Latins.

Sikel influence on the Greeks.

The Sikans, as we have seen, withdrew before the invaders from Italy, whether overcome by their force in

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

war or frightened by those eruptions of Ætna which did now and then, in later times also, influence the course of political and military affairs. The Sikel advance was doubtless gradual; but, as it was a national migration, the movement of a large part of a whole people, it must have been far more speedy than the advance of the scattered and isolated settlements afterwards made by the Greeks. We know that some Sikels remained in Italy; but assuredly the more part of the nation made their way into the island whose name was changed by their coming. Henceforth the Sikel in Sicily is the rule; the Sikel anywhere else is an exception. The change in the name of the island was, we may safely guess, mainly the work of the Greek settlers. The land was to them specially the Sikel land. The Sikels were those with whom they had first to deal and most to deal. All the oldest Greek settlements in Sicily and some of those in Italy were made directly at their cost. But in tracing the Greek advance against the Sikels as well as in tracing out those Sikel posts which never passed under Greek dominion, we must remember that they had doubtless been for the most part Sikan posts in earlier times. The Sikans, special lovers of high places, assuredly did not leave the heights of Troina and Henna to be occupied for the first time by their conquerors. We may fairly look for traces of the Sikan even in the parts which most fully become *Sikelia*, just as in our own island we may look for the traces of the Briton in the lands which most fully became England, as we may look for traces of the races before the Briton in the lands which specially remained British. But the Sikan in Sikel lands is præ-historic. We know that he held the land as a whole; we may fairly guess that he held this or that post in it. In all the western half of Sicily the Sikel occupation of this or that post is the earliest fact with which we can start. And it is won-

CHAP. II.

Sikel advance against the Sikans.

Sikels succeeded Sikans.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

derful how long a list we can put together of places which are recorded as Sikel sites. Not a few of them grew into considerable towns, towns which play a considerable part in history as Sikel possessions, and which never ceased to be Sikel possessions, except by virtue of that silent process by which the Sikel merged his national being in that of another people.

Sikel sites.

The Sikel sites known on distinct evidence to have been Sikel are many more in number and of far greater importance in Sicilian history than those which we can mark as abiding posts of the Sikans. They are mostly inland; the Sikels were deprived by the Greeks of all their settlements on the eastern coast; even on the north coast, where the Greeks settled so little, there are not many known Sikel posts actually on the shore. But, starting from the Italian Lokroi, a spot basely won by Greeks—if Greeks they all were—from the Sikels of the mainland [1], we can trace them along the most precious sites of the eastern coast. Zanklê on the strait kept the Sikel name which described its harbour [2]. To Naxos ages after Sikel memory clave as the first of their homes to pass from them [3]; Megara, Leontinoi, Syracuse itself, are all recorded as sites where the Sikel gave way to the Greek [4]. The occupation of such sites as these, combined with our early notices of Sikel trade, points to them as a people who had advanced far above the standard of their Sikan predecessors. It speaks not a little for the amount of commercial progress which they had brought with them from Italy that their Italian system of reckoning lived on through a close intercourse with Phœnician and Greek, and that the *nummus*, the *litra*, and the *uncia* passed from the Italian tongue of the Sikel into the speech of the

Sites occupied by Greeks.

Greeks adopt Latin measures.

[1] Polybios, xii. 6.
[2] Diod. xiv. 88.
[3] Thuc. vi. 4.
[4] Thuc. vi. 3, 4.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Greeks of Sicily[1]. An Arabian writer once stopped to reckon—in a Greek coinage—how many *dirhems* he would have given in the slave-market for Frederick, lord of Sicily, Rome, and Jerusalem[2]; and we may stop to think how many *nummi* would have been the price of much-enduring Odysseus in the market of Danklon if the suitors had carried out their purpose of selling him to the Sikels. Still we must again remember that a busy trade in their own homes, a brisk exchange of the goods that they had to sell and the goods that they needed to buy, does not necessarily prove that Sikel merchants ever went to and fro upon the seas like the traffickers of Tyre or Milêtos. The man of Canaan was ready to bring from the ends of the earth all that would find a market on Sikel soil, and he was no less ready to carry the good things of the Sikel soil to the ends of the earth in return. CHAP. II.

Cutting short of Sikel national life.

In the general interests of the world we cannot regret the Greek plantation of Sicily; still we cannot help seeing how promising a national life was cut short when the Sikel was cut off from the sea, and was driven to become either a bondman or a dweller on hill-tops[3]. It is in this latter character that he mainly meets us in history. He tills the fruitful ground, he grows rich in flocks and herds and honey; but, like his successors to this day, the centre of his life was the fortified town, however small, perched on its hill-top. Many of his sites will meet us in the course of our story, and any attempt at a minute picture of each will often come better when we reach the event which made the spot memorable. But a general survey of the Sikel land and of some of the most remarkable of the points which we know to have been in Sikel occupation

Survey of Sikel sites.

[1] See Appendix VII.

[2] Reinaud, Extraits des Historiens Arabes, 431.

[3] See the remarks of Holm, i. 75.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. will fittingly come in at this stage of our subject. And it may best be begun on the northern side of the island, the side where the Sikel was least disturbed in his earlier possession and which was the scene of his most considerable enterprises in later times, the side too where he still kept access to the sea after he had been driven from it on the eastern and southern sides.

Sikels inland, save on north coast.

In the time of the Peloponnesian war it could be said in a general way that the Sikels still kept the northern and central parts of the island [1]. The saying of a much later writer that the Greeks would not allow them to keep any hold on the coast [2] is undoubtedly true as regards their general policy, a policy which in and near the lands in which the Greeks settled was clearly successful. We need not say that there was no Sikel post rivalling the great sea-faring towns of the Phœnicians; there was none which could be at all compared to the Elymian settlements, to Eryx with its nearer, and Segesta with its more distant, haven. There were Sikel sea-towns on the north coast; but their lack of importance in the days of purely Sikel occupation perhaps shows either how little sea-faring turn the Sikels had or else how the growth of any tendency that way was cramped between Phœnicians on one side and Greeks on the other. On the other hand, it must be remembered that at no time has any town on the most purely Sikel coast risen to a place among the foremost cities of the island. This coast, the coast which appears as Sikel in recorded history, may be defined as stretching from the most eastern outposts of Himera to the most western outposts of Zanklê. Of Parôpos, a point mentioned casually as lying in the westward part of this region, nothing can

Extent of Sikel coast.

Parôpos.

[1] Thuc. vi. 2; ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν τῆς νήσου ἔχουσι.

[2] Strabo, vi. 2. 4; οὐδένα δὲ [τῶν βαρβάρων] τῆς παραλίας εἶων οἱ Ἕλληνες ἅπτεσθαι, τῆς δὲ μεσογαίας ἀπείργειν παντάπασιν οὐκ ἴσχυον.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

be said; there is every likelihood of its Sikel occupation, but there is no distinct evidence[1]. Somewhat to the east of it we come to a more memorable site, of which we must speak at somewhat greater length. CHAP. II.

This is the modern Cefalù, famous alike for its relics of unrecorded days and for one of the noblest churches of the Norman kings. Its name, in various Greek and Latin spellings, of which Kephaloidion or Cephalœdium is the best known[2], is clearly taken from the stormy headland on which it stands, dashed by the waves of a sea specially haunted by the greater dwellers of the deep[3]. The Greek form of the name suggests some inquiries. It assuredly no more proves a Greek origin for the place than the name of Panormos itself[4]. It may, like Cephalœdium or Cefalù. Origin of the name.

[1] In Polybios, i. 24, Hamilkar surprises a Roman camp *μεταξὺ τοῦ Παρώπου καὶ τῶν θερμῶν τῶν Ἱμεραίων*. Pliny (iii. 14. 1) reckons the "Paropini" among the Sicilian *communes* and places them opposite the island of Ustica (see Cluver, 382). There are late copper coins with the head of Apollôn and the legend ΠΑΡΩΠΙΝΩΝ. Coins of Sicily, 129; Head, Hist. Num. 193, where the site is placed between Himera and Cephalœdium.

[2] The common form is Κεφαλοίδιον. But it occurs as Κεφαλοιδίς in Archestratos of Gela (in the fourth century) quoted by Athênaios (vii. 63);

ἐν Σικελῶν τε κλυτῇ νήσῳ Κεφαλοιδὶς ἀμείνους
πολλῷ τῶνδε τρέφει θύννους καὶ Τυνδαρὶς ἀκτή.

The form is also used by Ptolemy and Pliny (iii. 14); but the most remarkable spelling is that which is found in a fragment of Diodôros, xxiii. 14, Hoesch.; *εἰς Κεφαλύδην*. (It is to be noticed that this is the same fragment which contains the word *ἄλογα* in the sense of *horses*.) For the spelling with the *υ* points to the time when *υ* and *οι* had the same sound, that of the Old-English *y* or the German *ü* (still kept in some local dialects both of English and Greek), distinct from that of *η*, *υ*, and *ει*. They all got confused in the tenth century. Cf. Omortag's Inscription in Jireček's *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, 148, with the Greek words given in Latin letters by Liudprand. Movers (Phönizier), ii. 338, will have the Greek name translated from the *Phœnician*. Poor despised Sikels!

[3] Silius, xiv. 252;

"Quæque procelloso Cephalœdias ora profundo
Cæruleis horret campis pascentia cete."

[4] Fazello, i. 378, comments on the name: "a *cephale*, quod caput est Latinis, nacta, vel ob id quod ad verticem præruptæ rupis, et promontorii speciem habentis, condita fuit." Bunbury (Dict. Geog.) takes the name as a proof of Greek origin; but this surely does not follow.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. Panormos, be simply the Greek name of a town which bore another name in its own tongue, or one might rather fancy it to be an adaptation made by hellenized Sikels out of some earlier Sikel name. It may well be kindred with the name *Capitium* which we shall presently find actually occurring in Sikel geography [1]. Anyhow it fitly describes the isolated hill crowned by the remains of the Sikel, Roman, and Saracen city, while the newer town which has supplanted it nestles round King Roger's minster at its foot. The central position of the headland, the mid point of the long and shallow bay which takes in a good half of the north coast of Sicily, provides the elder Cephalœdium with an outlook which is historically most instructive. The headland parts two historic regions. To the left, to the west, the historic sites are far thicker on the ground than they are to the right, and they are of far more varied historic interest. We see how thoroughly the earlier inhabitants of the island vanished from the western side, while on the eastern they not only remained, but founded new settlements. Westward from Cephalœdium our range of view takes in the Phœnician head of Sicily, Panormos with her mountains and havens, and her sister Solous, loftier in site and lowlier in fame. It takes in Greek Himera, with her Thermai which in a manner kept on her life, a Greek city in truth founded by Phœnician hands. All these sites concern the relations of the powers, Phœnician, Greek, and Roman, which strove for Sicily. Of Sikans and Sikels they suggest nothing, and the Elymians lie beyond our range to the west. But to the eastward our Sikel height looks down on a land almost wholly Sikel. Apollônia perhaps crowns a neighbouring hill; Agathyrnum perhaps bounds our view; between them come two of the most memorable sites in Sikel history, the Halæsa of Archônidês and the more distant Kalê Aktê of

Its position.

View from Cefalù.

Phœnician and Greek sites to the West.

Sikel sites to the East.

[1] See below, p. 140.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Ducetius. The Greek settlements in the north-east corner lie beyond our range. Cephalœdium then may almost be looked on as a Sikel outpost, guarding the land to the east, which Phœnician and Greek had in a manner passed by, from the land to the west which they made one of their chief battle-grounds. It is the central point of the northern coast of Sicily, and no less the centre of its history. CHAP. II.

Sikel and other remains on the hill.

On no site then could we more fittingly look for the foremost monument of Sikel antiquity in the whole island than on the headland of Cephalœdium. No spot could be better suited for the purposes of a primæval town. The rocky peninsular hill, joined to the mainland by a low neck of land, rises steeply from the sea on three sides, leaving the ledge occupied by the present town at its foot. The extent of the now forsaken town above is traced out by walls of later date, while the central point of the hill, yet more steep and rocky, soars above all, the old akropolis of the Sikel, the site of the castle of Saracen emirs and Sicilian kings. The forsaken site is full of remains of buildings of various dates, among which is one of an interest absolutely unique. In a small space indeed we can see two dates of the work of the Sikel himself and two dates of the work of his Roman master. A building yet stands on the slope of the hill in whose walls we see the work of the primæval Sikel, that piling of vast irregular stones to which those who love to burn their fingers with doubtful theories rejoice to give the dangerous name Pelasgian. We see too the work of the Sikel brought under Hellenic influences, his more regular rectangular masonry and the cut stones of his doorways. We long for some piece of evidence which might enable us to connect the building with the name of Ducetius or of either Archônidês. The only part of the building which keeps a roof is covered with a brick vault, while over all rise the ruins of a small early

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

apsidal church [1]. Nor is this wonderful building the only relic of præ-historic days which Cephalœdium has to show. The early possessors of the mountain city did not forget the narrow ledge of low coast at their feet. A hill-city closely overhanging the sea needed a haven. Two primæval walls on the two sides of the present town, one leading down to the sea, the other rising above the sea, served to join the city on the hill to the waters below. Those who reared them had clearly made a great advance on the condition of the mere dwellers on the hill-tops. They had learned better to know the sea; they had learned that, if it might be a source of danger, it might also be a source of well-being. The long walls of Cephalœdium were no unworthy forerunners of the long walls of Athens.

The primæval walls.

I have assumed Cephalœdium to have been a Sikel town. It is dangerous to argue that the Phœnicians would not have passed by such a site, to infer that Cephalœdium was one of the posts which they occupied in earlier times, one of those from which they withdrew to the West, and that it was afterwards either recovered or first occupied by Sikels [2]. The presence of Phœnicians in the immediate neighbourhood is likely indeed. A little way beyond Cefalù to the east is a small peninsula now covered with a mediæval castle, bearing the name of *Torre della Caldura*. It is exactly such a post as those on which the Phœnicians loved to plant their factories. From thence we may well believe that the cunning merchant, with his tempting wares and his ensnaring ways, made profit out of the Sikels of Cephalœdium. He may even have done the like to Sikan predecessors of the Sikel. But as for Cepha-

Phœnicians at or near Cephalœdium.

[1] Fazello (i. 378) describes the building; "Ubi adhuc arx est natura munitissima et urbs ipsa jacens ambitus m. ferme p. ubi quoque et templi ingentis diruti Dorica forma olim conditi visuntur monumenta." It has got the local name of *Tempio di Diana*.

[2] Holm, ii. 7.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

lœdium itself and the towns to the east of it, our distinct knowledge that there were in historical times neither Phœnician nor Greek settlements in this region fully justifies us in setting them all down as Sikel. That is, there is no reason to doubt that they were Sikel in the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ. Which were original Sikel foundations and from which Sikel conquerors had driven older Sikan owners, at that it is hopeless even to guess.

Towns in this neighbourhood Sikel.

From the height of Cephalœdium we have looked down on the two next towns along the northern coast. Of Halæsa and Kalê Aktê the Sikel foundation is undoubted; but they do not come among the towns of earlier Sikel occupation. They are Sikel settlements which we shall have to record in the course of our dated narrative. They are creations of Sikel enterprise when the Sikel had begun to copy the Greek, and had learned that the foundation of havens of the sea was one of the points in which the Greek was most worthy of being copied. A little further inland, but not in the fully inland region, still in the land between the sea and the Nebrodian mountains, the modern town of Mistretta certainly represents one Sikel site and one Sikel name; it may not unlikely represent two. Amestratus exists only in coins of late date and in a reference of Cicero which proves it to have been somewhere in this part of the island[1]. Mytistratus, a place of uncertain site, plays a larger part in the story of Sicily; scholars have disputed whether it be the same as Ame-

Later Sikel foundations.

Amestratus and Mytistratus.

[1] Cic. Verr. iii. 39, 43, 74. In the second passage the people of Kalakté are made to pay their tithe at Amestratus, as if it were not very far off. Late copper coins have the legend AMHΣTPATINΩN (Head, 111). Bunbury (Dict. Geog.) makes this the Amastra of Silius, xiv. 267;

"comitata Menæis
Venit Amastra viris."

No Sicilian Amastra is known, and "Menæis" is a very doubtful reading; but, if the "Menæi" are the immediate people of Ducetius, they are odd companions for the men of Amestratus.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. stratus or not[1], and its alleged coins seem very doubtful[2].

Apollonia. Still to the east, still not directly on the coast, stood Apollonia, perhaps the modern Pollina, perhaps the more distant site on the height of San Fratello. Whichever is the site, it appears always in connexion with Sikel towns[3]. Its Greek name proves only Greek influence and not Greek origin; but the name is of no mean importance in the religious history of the island. We shall presently come to no small signs of Greek worship of Sikel gods; we here see the Sikel calling in the god of the stranger, the god who specially watched over Greek settlement in Sicily.

Haluntium. It was perhaps in hope of winning over the gods of the enemy that Apollôn was made the patron of a Sikel town founded, or at least fresh named, after the Greek had settled on Sicilian soil. Haluntium, perhaps illustrious in Norman times as the stronghold of Saint Mark, perhaps proves its præ-historic antiquity by a place, however obscure, in the legend of Aineias[4]. Either of its alleged sites suits the town which was perhaps, and not Apollonia, the site of

[1] Holm (i. 366), who maintains the identity, collects the forms **Μίστρατον**, **Μουτίστρατα**, **Μυττίστρατον**, &c. Bunbury (Dict. Geog.) takes the other side. Stephen has **Ἀμήστρατος πόλις Σικελίας**, quoting Apollodôros, **Μυτισέρατα** [an evident slip], **φρούριον Σικελίας**, quoting Philistos, **Μυτίστρατον**; **πολίχνιον περὶ Καρχηδόνα**, **Πολύβιος πρώτῳ**. This reference is to Polybios, i. 24, where **Μυττίστρατος** appears as a city of Sicily, but with no very clear account of its position. (Kiepert places it far to the south-west.) This shows, as Holm says, Stephen's carelessness, but it does not get rid of his witness to the distinction of the two places.

[2] The coins with VM and TM (Catalogue of Greek Coins, 116; Head, 138) do not prove much; it was from about as much evidence that Saint Philumena of Amiens was devised. But there are also MYTI and TVM.

[3] In Diod. xiv. 72, Apollonia is coupled with Engyum; in xx. with Cephalœdium and Centuripa. In the long list of places of the name in Steph. Byz. it appears, without the addition **πόλις Σικελίας**, as **πλησίον Λεοντίνων** [**Ἀλοντίναν**] **καὶ Καλῆς Ἀκτῆς**. Some such correction is needed to make the geography right; I do not undertake to decide dogmatically on all these sites. See Cluver, 293; Amico in Fazello, i. 381. There seem to be no coins of Apollonia or of Agathyrnum. Those of Haluntium go back to B. C. 400.

[4] See the legend of Patrôn, such as it is, in Dionysios, i. 51.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

San Fratello; in either case it was beyond the power or the will of Verres to climb to its hill-top[1]. CHAP. II.

The last Sikel town along this coast to the east was that of Agathyrnum on the point of Saint Orlando, the furthest point to be seen from the height of Cephalœdium. Its primitive antiquity, at least if it be rightly placed, is witnessed by a legend which connects it with Aiolos and his isles of fire[2]; but it does not appear in Sicilian history till the distinction of Sikel and Sikeliot had passed away. The long stretch of coast to the east was, as far as we know, unmarked by any settlement, Sikel or Greek, but not far from the coast stands the later city of Pactæ or Patti, first heard of in the days of Count Roger[3]. For Sikel sites we have to turn inwards among the mountains, where, furthest to the east, we find Abacænum, whose Sikel character is distinctly guaranteed to us[4], and whose haven was rent away by Dionysios to become the new Greek town of Tyndaris[5]. But the antique Greek legends on some of its coins show that Abacænum must have been hellenized before his day[6]. It was seemingly one of the earliest Sikel

Agathyrnum.

Abacænum.

[1] In the story of Verres (Cic. Verr. iv. 23) it appears as "Haluntium."

[2] Agathyrnum is shown to be on this coast by the witness of all the geographical writers (see Bunbury, Dict. Geog.). There must therefore be some confusion in the form of the legend as told us by Diodôros, v. 8 (see Appendix IV). Of the sons of Aiolos, Pheraimôn and Androklês reigned over the north coast of Sicily, while Agathyrnos founded and reigned in the city which bore his name (*Ἀγάθυρνος βασιλεύσας τῆς νῦν ὀνομαζομένης Ἀγαθυρνίτιδος χώρας ἔκτισε πόλιν τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν Ἀγάθυρνον*). According to this, Agathyrnums could not lie, where it certainly did lie, between the strait and Lilybaion. But we need not suppose more than some momentary confusion in the mind of the man of Agyrium.

[3] Fazello, i. 393.

[4] Stephen says emphatically, *Σικελῶν μοῖρά τις ἐστί*. This is the time when he explains about the Sikel gentile name ending in *-ῖνος*. See Appendix IV.

[5] Diod. xiv. 78.

[6] Coins of Sicily, 1; Head, 103. There are both silver and copper coins of fine Greek work from about B.C. 450 onwards. Some of the earliest silver have the legend from right to left, and others *βουστροφηδόν*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. towns to flourish, and, after the loss of its haven, one of the earliest to decay.

Passing westwards along the Nebrodian range, we come to the lands watered by the upper course of the Symaithos and its tributaries, and there we come across an important group of Sikel towns. They may be best reckoned from

Petra. the west, beginning with Petra, famous as Petralia in the Norman wars, which, though it actually stands on the Himeras, comes in naturally with the rest, having no known Sikel posts to the west of it. We shall come across its name in our story, but not much more than its name [1]. Not far to the east, on the site of the modern Gangi [2], where one of the sources of the northern Himeras rises in

Engyum. a monastic cloister, we may best place that Engyum of which we have had some mention already. We have heard of its alleged Cretan origin [3]; the temple of the Mothers still kept its honours, and boasted of the offerings of Merionês, of Ulixês—was that the Sikel name of Odysseus?—and in later days of Scipio Africanus. But in the great pleading for Sicily from whose mighty peroration we learn this last fact, the dedication of the ancient temple seems to have somewhat changed. Many Mothers from the Ida of Crete seem to have changed into the one mighty Mother who was at home alike on the Ida of Crete and on

Capitium. the Ida of Asia [4]. To the east lie two Sikel sites, north and south of each other, Kapytion or Capitium, and Herbita. We have now left the northern Himeras, with its waters running into the Etruscan sea; we are among that system of streams which join in the one mouth of Symaithos to empty themselves into the sea of Greece southward of

[1] See Diod. xxiii. 14; Cic. Verr. iii. 39. In the verse of Silius (xiv. 248) its name swells into "Petræa." Its few copper coins are late.

[2] See Fazello's editor, i. 419.

[3] See above, p. 116, and Bunbury, Dict. Geog.

[4] See Appendix IV.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Katanê. Capitium, between the two branches of the Kyamosoros, the modern Salso of those parts, is barely known in history from its place in the long list of towns which suffered at the hands of Verres [1]. But the name, which has lived on in the shape of *Capizzi*, is of high interest [2]. One can hardly doubt that the obscure *Capitium* and the renowned *Capitolium* are names of like meaning in the kindred tongues of Sicily and Latium. Nor can we doubt that we have here the native name which some Greek, more likely some hellenized Sikel, translated into the more famous *Cephalœdium*. Inland Capitium drew its name from the shape of the neighbouring hill; but for the inland town, unlike the haven of the sea, no man troubled himself to devise a more sounding Hellenic name [3]. CHAP. II.

Herbita, the modern Sperlenga, fills, from the fifth century upwards, a considerable place in Sikel story, and a purely Sikel place [4]. Herbita.

Turning eastward along the southern foot of the Nebrodian mountains, we reach Galaria, its name surviving in the modern Gagliano, a town whose primitive date and Sikel origin is witnessed by the tradition which attributes its foundation to the legendary Morgês [5]. A single silver coin, if it be rightly called a coin of Galaria, witnesses that it came early under Hellenic influences and worshipped Dionysos and Zeus the Saviour in days when letters were still traced to the right in eastern wise [6]. The history of Galaria belongs wholly to the fourth century B.C., and it shows that the town justified its Hellenic adoption by good service against the barbarian [7]. But later times Galaria.

[1] Cic. Verr. iii. 43. [2] See above, p. 139. [3] See Holm, i. 66.

[4] See Diod. xii. 8, tō which we shall come in its place.

[5] Steph. Byz.; Γαλαρίνα, πόλις Σικελίας, κτίσμα Μόργου Σικελοῦ.

[6] The one piece attributed to Galaria in the Catalogue of Greek Coins, 64 (cf. Head, 121), has CA AA on one side, the only index of its name; on the other a very rude figure of a seated Zeus with the legend Я ƎTO ⅁.

[7] Diod. xvi. 67; xix. 104. In the former places the inhabitants are

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. know it not; as Verres found no plunder there, it must indeed have fallen low. It is but a guess; but some have placed to the north-east of Galaria a place whose Imachara. history is of an exactly opposite kind. Imachara, clearly somewhere in this part of Sicily, plays no part in the elder history, but a rather large one in the tale of Verres [1]. And if it really be Troina on its mount of battles, it stands forth among the most illustrious spots in the Norman Sikel sites near Ætna. conquest of the island [2]. On the other side of the main branch of Symaithos, in dangerous nearness to the great volcano, on a kind of ledge of high ground which may pass for one of its outposts, stood more than one Sikel town. Hadranum. Hadranum, the modern Adernò, founded as a city by Dionysios, had already had a long life as the seat of a temple of special holiness [3]. On a more isolated hill to the south stood another holy place of the Sikel, that one of the three Galeatic Hybla. towns called Hybla which bore the surname of Galeatis. The importance of both these places in the history of Sikel religion will entitle them to further mention at another stage [4]. Somewhere in the same region, most likely on the same ledge of ground as Hadranum, stood the famous Sikel stronghold of Inêssa, whose exact site is hard to Inêssa. fix [5]. Standing too near to Greek neighbours to be allowed always to remain Sikel, Inêssa is often mentioned in

οἱ τὴν Γαλαρίαν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, and in the second the town itself is *ἡ καλουμένη Γαλαρία*. Yet Stephen gives us a choice; *Γαλαρία χώρα* and *Γαλαρῖνος*, and *Γαλαρίνα* [*πόλις*] and *Γαλαραναῖος*. See Bunbury, Dict. Geog.

[1] Cic. Verr. iii. 18, 42.

[2] See Amico's note on Fazello, i. 417.

[3] See below, p. 184.

[4] See below, p. 166.

[5] Inêssa has been placed, sometimes on the high ground of Licodia, between Paternò and Adernò, that is between the two Sikel holy places of Hybla and Hadranum, sometimes at some point on the same line, but nearer than Paternò to Licodia (vi. 2. 3). Strabo speaks of it both under its own name and under its other name of Ætna (vi. 23); under this last he marks it well in vi. 2. 8.; *πλησίον δὲ τῶν Κεντορίπων ἐστὶ πόλισμα ἡ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν λεχθεῖσα Αἴτνη τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος δεχομένη*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Sicilian history, a border town whose possession was more than once disputed between the older and younger races of the land [1]. CHAP. II.

Sikels on the east coast.

On the eastern coast itself we may be sure that any Sikels who were still to be found lived on only as dependants of Greek masters. But the distance at which independent Sikels had to keep from the coast clearly differed in different parts, according as the Greek cities of the neighbourhood were more or less powerful. Northward from Ætna, where Hellas was represented by her first colony Naxos, later history will show us that, if there was no independent Sikel city, there were at least independent Sikels not far off who could be brought together to form one [2]. Where the strong hand of Syracuse had fixed its grasp, there was no such chance. The eastern Herbessus, near the borders of the territory of Syracuse and Leontinoi, is the most southern town which plays any distinct part in history as a Sikel town. Its site is uncertain; the older Sicilian antiquaries place it at Pantalica, the famous city of the dead, where the Sikel himself was hardly the first to honeycomb the hill-sides with the last resting-places of his fathers [3]. South of this, at Akrai, rival of Herbessus, at Neaiton on its rock, destined to be the famous Noto of Saracen and Norman times [4], at Helôron

Herbessus.

[1] Cf. Diod. xi. 76; Thuc. iii. 103; *Ἴνησσαν τὸ Σικελικὸν πόλισμα*. The carefulness of Thucydides in the use of the article is worth notice. Inêssa, which had played a great part in Sicilian history, is *τὸ πόλισμα*. The historian knew the name, and thought that his readers might not unlikely know it. It was otherwise with Hykkara (vi. 62), and even with Centuripa (vi. 94). Of them he most likely heard for the first time.

[2] See Diod. xiv. 15.

[3] Diod. xiv. 7. See Fazello (vol. i. pp. 453, 454) and Amico's note, i. 465. Why does Silius (xiv. 264) speak of "Herbesos iners"?

[4] There seems to be no notice whatever of Neaiton, the *Νέητον* of Ptolemy, the (Old) Noto of later times, before the treaty between Rome and the second Hierôn (Diod. xxiii. 5), where the *Νεαιτῖνοι* appear among the subjects of the Syracusan kingdom. Silius (xiv. 268) puts it on his list without an epithet.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. by its river, at Kasmenai, nearer to the southern sea, we have sites which assuredly once were Sikel, but which play no historical part in their Sikel character. We know them only as dependencies of Syracuse, and we shall have to speak of them as such. Motyca, a name of many spellings, has its existence proved by the references to it in later writers, but a place in history can be found for it only by an arbitrary alteration of the text[1]. But the site to which its name still cleaves in the hardly changed shape of Modica has an interest in itself which makes us wish that a larger place could be found for it in recorded annals. It is one of the most characteristic of those towns of south-eastern Sicily which stand at the meeting of several deep gorges in the limestone. The modern town stands in the valley formed by their junction, and we might easily be tempted to speak of it as having climbed up the sides of the hills. But in truth the Sikel town was on high. A point at the meeting of two ravines, rising steeply indeed over one of them, is crowned by a mediæval castle and by the higher of the two chief churches of Modica, that of Saint George[2]. Here we presumably find the akropolis, the stronghold and the chief temple; and the dedication to the warrior saint suggests, here and elsewhere,

Motyca.

Its site.

[1] See Cic. Verr. iii. 43 for the "Mutycenses;" and in Silius, xiv. 268, we find "Mutyce," coupled with "Netum." There are other spellings of "Mytice" and Μότυκα. See more in Bunbury. Dict. Geog. Diod. xvi. 9. Μαδινάιους has been thought to represent some form of the name.

[2] Modern Modica in truth consists of two towns. There are two mother churches, with a distinct limit marking the spiritual territory of each. That of Saint George on the height doubtless marks the original town, while that of Saint Peter below must be a later growth. One need not trouble oneself about the local tradition of an "old Modica," hollowed in the rock, one of the endless rock tombs or dwellings of the neighbourhood. Fazello (i. 453) says; "Motyca amplissimum et comitatus titulo populique frequentia egregium, in profunda valle oppidum situm est." "Ager totius Motycensis regionis lapidosus est, vallibus frequentibus, salebrosis, depressisque discriminatus." This description is meant to apply to the whole county of Modica, a large district.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

that his holy place represents that of Hêraklês or some other warrior power of the elder creed. This seems to be the original site of Motyca, from which the modern town has spread higher and lower. A loftier height, crowned by two monastic churches, would supply a noble temple-site, while the lower town runs far along the bottoms which meet at this point, and whose *fiumare*, full or empty as may happen, are fenced off in its streets. And above the houses rise the rocks thick with tombs cut in their sides, the characteristic feature of all these limestone combes. The only difference between populous Modica and Ispica in its wilderness is that at Modica the meeting-place of several gorges forms a space wide enough for occupation as a modern town. CHAP. II.

Sikel inland towns.

But for the main Sikel towns of our story we must go back more nearly to the heart of the island; and we must seek for many of them on the upper course of the waters which join to make up the stream of Symaithos. Here the Greek had no thought of settling. A site however strong, a territory however fertile, which was necessarily havenless, had no charm for him in his true days of settlement. Hence in this inner land of Sicily, rich alike in strong sites and in fertile fields, the elder—not the eldest—race lived on. Here Sikels still dwelled, keeping their independence, advancing in the arts of life; but not, like their brethren in Italy, developing a life of their own, simply adopting the life of their Greek neighbours. To the Sikel of the coast the Greek was a conqueror and a master; to the Sikel of the inland hill-towns he was a more advanced neighbour, who in no way threatened his independence, but who supplied him with political and social models which he was glad to follow. The independence of the inland Sikels was not threatened till Greek conquerors arose of another stamp, not settlers seeking a home on a foreign coast, but princes who started from the possession of a

Hellenized without conquest.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. certain part of the island, and who strove to add to it the lordship of the whole or of as great a part as their arms would win for them. In those days the independence of Sikel cities is threatened and destroyed by Greek tyrants, but only as the independence of Greek cities is also threatened and destroyed. The Sikel cities have their commonwealths, their revolutions, their tyrants, just like the Greek; there is nothing to distinguish between the two.

Of these Sikel cities of midland Sicily, the specially Sikel cities of history, the cities whose independence was secured by their lacking the attraction which drew the Greek to Zanklê and to Ortygia, we may start from the corner which we had reached, at the foot of the Heraian mountains to the south-east. We come presently to one Sikel stronghold so illustrious on many grounds that its notice may be kept till we are led to it in
Menænum. another character. From Menænum on its height, above its own river Menas, came forth Ducetius; had fortune gone otherwise, Menænum might have been the Edessa of a Sikel Philip. And his Pella lay below, hard by the holy place of the Sikel gods, the mysterious Palici, who form one of the ties between Sikel and Greek worship[1]. Around this centre gather other Sikel spots of less fame. To the east, reaching perhaps as far
Xouthia. as Leontinoi, most inland of Sikeliot cities, Xouthia, whether land or city, marks, as the traditional seat of an Aiolid king, a settlement of primitive date of which we have nothing more to say[2]. Nearly opposite to Menænum on the north, on a peninsular height between

[1] See below, p. 165, and Appendix VIII.

[2] Ξουθία appears in Stephen as a city on the authority of Philistos (πόλις Σικελίας· Φίλιστος τρίτῳ Σικελικῶν). In Diodôros (v. 8) it seems rather to be a district; ἐβασίλευσε Ξοῦθος τῆς περὶ τοὺς Λεοντίνους χώρας, ἥτις ἀπ' ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν χρόνου Ξουθία προσαγορεύεται. See Cluver, 129, 130. For the kindred of Xouthos see above, pp. 91, 145.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

two rivers which join to pour their waters into Symaithos, stood Eryca on the modern site of Rammacca. The northern stream is its own Erycas, the Gabella, which here joins Menas, the stream of Menænum[1]. The name of Eryca suggests the Elymian Eryx; the root of both may well be sought in the tongue of those Sikans whose strongholds passed to both races of strangers. Echetla, on the other hand, a place which has its name in history as a strong post on what in the days of Roman warfare was the march of Syracuse and Carthage[2], suggests old Greek affinities. We seem to meet again the rustic warrior of Marathôn who so well wielded his ploughshare against the Mede[3]. We press further inland to Ergetium, a place of many spellings and small renown, whose ruins are still seen in the modern Citadella by the Gabella[4].

CHAP. II.

Eryca.

Echetla.

Ergetium.

We go on to Sikel sites of greater renown. To the north, on the Chrysas or Dittaino, is the most likely site of the famous city of Morgantina. The name, so marked in the

Morgantina.

[1] Steph. Byz.; Ἐρύκη. Σικελικὴ πόλις. Φίλιστος Σικελικῶν δευτέρῳ. He again refers to Ἐρύκη under the head Ἀκράγαντες. Eryca also appears in the extract from Kallias of Syracuse in Macrobius, v. 19. 25; ἡ δὲ Ἐρύκη τῆς μὲν Γελῴας ὅσον ἐνενήκοντα στάδια διέστηκεν, ἐπεικῶς δὲ ἐχυρός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος καὶ . . . . τὸ παλαιὸν Σικελῶν γεγενημένη πόλις. Kallias wrote in the time of Agathoklês; so this last notice is important; it was doubtless by that time hellenized. But it is hard to make anything of his measurement, which, if it means anything, must mean from the most inland point of the Geloan territory. Schubring (Sicilische Studien, 373; Alt-Sicilien, 114) places Eryca at Rammacca, which otherwise agrees with Kallias' description, but which is much further from Terranova. Nothing is recorded of Eryca in history.

[2] Echetla, unlike Eryca, has a history. See Diod. xx. 32 and Polyb. i. 15, where we get the geography; ἐν μέσῃ κειμένην τῇ τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἐπαρχίᾳ. That is as boundaries stood under the second Hierôn. Schubring (Alt-Sicilien, 112) places it at Vinizzi or Licodia.

[3] Holm compares the Marathonian hero Ἐχετλος or Ἐχετλαῖος (Paus. i. 15; 4. and 32. 5) and the Hesiodic ἐχέτλη, (Ἔ. κ. Ἡ. 465).

[4] See Amico on Fazello, i. 432, 447. The most notable thing is the existence of the form Σεργέντιον (Ptolemy, iii. 4. 12), which reminds one of *Segesta* and *Egesta*. Was the form without the *s* an attempt to give the word a Greek meaning? Even Schubring cannot find the exact site.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. traditions of the Sikel conquest, speaks for itself [1]. In the wars of Sicily it holds a foremost place as one of the Sikel strongholds [2]; its name is not forgotten in the tale of the wrongs of Sicily [3]; nor does it pass without an epithet when a Latin poèt gives us his catalogue of Sicilian cities [4]. Its coinage of many dates shows how the figures of Hellenic gods supplanted the elder and doubtless native devices of an old man's head and an ear of barley [5]. Yet of a city which has thus much of materials for fame, it is hard to fix the exact site, though it cannot be far from the region with which we are dealing. We are warned away on the

Henna. west by the most illustrious name of all; Henna on her mountain, navel of Sicily, home of her goddesses, must not be passed by lightly as one item in a catalogue; she has her place above all other spots in the tale of the fusing together of the religious life of the Greek and the Sikel. But to the north-west of Henna, between the streams of Salso and Dittaino, several memorable names of Sikel

Assorus. sites will worthily wind up our catalogue. Assorus, by the upper course of Dittaino, still keeps its name, its site, and the traces of a temple of the highest local sanctity, the home of the local river-god, which Verres strove to plunder in vain [6]. As a Sikel town it plays its part in Sicilian

[1] Of the kindred names we have heard already (see Appendix IV). Strabo mentions the place by the name of *Μοργάντιον* (vi. 1. 6) before he gets into Sicily, and again in Sicily (vi. 2. 3); both times he speaks of it as a foundation of the Morgêtes, and the second time adds, *πόλις δ' ἦν αὕτη, νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστι.*

[2] Its first mention however is that of a dependency; Thuc. iv. 65. Livy (xxiv. 27) must have made some strange confusion in names when he sent a fleet to Morgantia; for, as Holm truly says, the *πόλις ὀχυρὰ Μοργαντίνη* of Diodôros (xxxvi. 4) cannot be on the coast.

[3] Cic. Verr. iii. 18; but the notice is slight.

[4] Silius, xiv. 265; "Frondosis Morgentia campis."

[5] Catalogue of Greek Coins, 114; Head, 137. The old coins going back to B.C. 480 have the names from right to left.

[6] The curious story of Verres' dealings with the temple of Assorus (Cic. Verr. iv. 44) will come in its proper place. The point to notice here is

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

history, in the unusual character of a tyrant's faithful ally[1]. To the east is Agyrium, on its mountain peak, one of the most famous of the Sikel towns of Sicily, and in whose history we shall find some of the most precious illustrations of the process by which the distinction between Sikel and Sikeliot was wiped out[2]. It has its place in pagan mythology and in Christian hagiography; but we may perhaps think less either of the legend which brings Hêraklês to Agyrium[3] by the stream of Chrysas[4], or of the tale of that Eastern Saint Philip who has added a new name to *San Filippo d'Argiró*, than of the historian of Sicily and of the world who claimed Agyrium as his birthplace. We may be sometimes inclined to smile, sometimes to nod, over the ponderous labours of Diodôros; but in his own island, in his own city, he claims no small measure of thankfulness; and that he, the man of Sikel Agyrium, could describe himself as Diodôros the *Sikeliot*[5] is one of the most speaking witnesses of the change which had taken place between the days of Thucydides and his own. Yet from the coinage we might infer that the hellenization of Agyrium, thorough as it was in the end, began less early than that of some other Sikel towns. Its coins all date from a later time; nowhere do we see such rude beginnings as at Assorus; on none is the

CHAP. II.

Agyrium.

Birthplace of Diodôros.

that the river-god to whom it belongs bears the Greek name Chrysas. Rivers do change their names, specially in Sicily.

[1] Diod. xiv. 58.

[2] As for instance the passage from Diodôros just quoted where we have a *tyrant* of Agyrium just as in a Greek city.

[3] See below, p. 181.

[4] If the golden (or muddy) waters of Chrysas (now Dittaino) were not in the way, it would be easier to reach the hill of Hêraklês and Saint Philip. It is rather mockery to call a railway station by the name of a place which cannot be reached from it even on foot, and further to give that station the corrupt form of *Agira*, which calls up neither the Sikel nor the Christian legend.

[5] Διόδωρος ὁ Σικελιώτης is his description at the beginning of his work. His familiar Latin surname wipes this out.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. name of the men of Agyrium written after that ancient fashion which would be specially in place if their Hêraklês
Ameselum. was a Phœnician Melkart. Ameselum has no coinage; we know it only as a strong town between Agyrium and Centuripa [1], whose territory King Hieron parted out between its two greater neighbours [2]. For Tissa, known only for its smallness [3], it is perhaps vain to seek a site.

But a word more must be said of one of the partners in
Centuripa. the spoils of Ameselum. Centuripa stands out as perhaps the first of purely Sikel towns, famous in every Sicilian war, still flourishing under Roman dominion, endowed with a life which, when it was overthrown by Sicily's own Emperor, could make it rise again after three hundred years of ruin [4]. We are perhaps tempted to wonder that the new founder of the sixteenth century placed his restored creation on a site which spoke so strongly of the
The site. days even before the Sikel. Centuripa may be outtopped by Henna in the number of feet above the sea; but the actual ascent is at least as long, and the remarkable grouping of the hills at the point where the city stands has an effect which is altogether its own. A mass of hills join together at a single point, not in the shape of one peak soaring over all, but in that of a number of ridges radiating

[1] Holm has collected the various spellings, among which Ptolemy's Κεντούριπα must be, as he says, the Latin form written back into Greek. The accusative is Κεντόριπα in Thucydides vi. 94, and Κεντόριπας in vii. 32. In the course of ages it became *Centorbi*. It is now a rather needless fashion to use again the spelling *Centuripe*, which however, as Latin, may be Sikel. Its site is well noted by Strabo, vii. 2. 7.

[2] Diod. xxii. 15.

[3] "Parvo nomine Tissa," says Silius, xiv. 267. Yet Stephen witnesses that Philistos found something to say about it. So Cicero (Verr. iii. 38) reports; "Tissensibus, perparva et tenui civitate, sed aratoribus laboriosissimis frugalissimisque hominibus." There is not much more to be said of the men of Tissa; but there are plenty of their kind still in Sicily.

[4] Fazello (i. 429) records the destruction, and describes the place in its state of ruin. Silius (xiv. 203) has "vertice celso Centuripæ," which in Sicily is hardly distinctive. Solinus (v. 13, 19) finds something to say about its wonders.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

from a central point, making, as has been well said, the town which is planted at that point take the form of a star. Each narrow ridge carries one of the main streets of the town; there is no one akropolis, but marked buildings crown the rising headlands of the diverging hills, and one or two tall peaks are thrown up, as if to form natural watch-towers of the city. More commanding views than those to be seen from the height of Centuripa can hardly be found. A northern prospect, looking over the dales of the Symaithos and its nearer tributary the Kyamosôros, shows the whole bulk of Ætna soaring above Hadranum and the other towns on the ledge of hill in front of the great mountain. From other points we can look on the peaked hill of Agyrium, on Imachara, if Imachara be Norman Troina, and on the mountain home of the goddesses of Sicily. The deep and wide valleys between the diverging ridges, the rays of the star, are not here, as on some other sites, mere stony ravines; the slopes of the hill-sides are fully tilled and largely green with vegetation. For an inland town of this class such a position carried with it both strength and wealth, and we find that Centuripa counted, under Roman rule at least, among the most flourishing towns of Sicily. It is in the Roman days that we get the fullest account of her state, while her surviving monuments belong to the same age or a later. Remains of walls and buildings of respectable antiquity lie thick on the hill-sides and in some places reach to the hill-tops of Centuripa, witnessing to a former extent of the city within which it has greatly shrunk up, and to a measure of architectural grandeur to which the present town can certainly lay no claim. The masonry of Imperial times, with its heavy wide-jointed bricks, is there in abundance; fragments of stately columns lie in the front of the head church; there is much to remind us of the Centuripa whose wrongs were set forth by Cicero, little or nothing to remind us of the city which became

CHAP. II.

The view.

Roman Centuripa.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. the ally of Nikias and Lamachos. It is disappointing, amid such a mass of later fragments, to find nothing which we are tempted to refer to the days even of the hellenized Sikel. Nor is there anything in the history of the place to connect with any special local worship or local tradition. But the site is enough; the city which so many hills unite to bear aloft, the city which looks down on the richest wheat-fields in the whole island, is pre-eminently Sicilian. We might even say pre-eminently Sikel, if it were not that an older people still may put in a fair claim to the first occupation of a site which so pre-eminently answers the description of those on which the Sikan loved to dwell.

Trinakia or Tyrakia.

It is disappointing to be able to say so little of another Sikel town whose name perhaps attracts us more than any other. This is Tyrakia, Trinakia, any of the other spellings of the city whose name at least suggests the poetic name of the whole island[1]. Trinakia was undoubtedly a strong Sikel post, which drew on itself the avenging wrath of Syracuse, and the tale of whose fall is a stirring one[2]. And it has commonly been looked on as continued in the later Tyrakia, a place which appears under Roman rule as small but flourishing, and as clothed with a kind of mystery which does not ill befit the mythical sound of its name. On the other hand, the identity of Trinakia and Tyrakia has been doubted, and a site for Trinakia has been found at the modern Aidone. It is a central point, not ill suited for the purpose, standing on the watershed between the rivers that reach the eastern and those that reach the southern sea. More can hardly be said than that the guess is a likely one, but that it is a guess and no more.

I have kept out of my list of Sikel towns a few whose

[1] See Appendix VIII.

[2] Diod. xii. 39.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Sikel and Greek gods.

importance is of another kind, as illustrating above others the interchange of religious feelings and worship which gradually took place between the Sikel and the Greek. As in all other lands, so in Sicily, the Greeks were ever ready to accept the deities of the land in which they settled, to worship them according to the rites of their native worshippers, and at the same time to go as far as they could in bringing the foreign god within the range of their own creed. The deity of the stranger was a Hellenic god under a foreign name, to some extent perhaps under a foreign shape; at the least he was a banished child of one of the gods of Hellas dwelling in a far country. If he could not well be made the same as Zeus or Apollôn, nothing was easier than to make him the son of Zeus or Apollôn by a nymph of the land. His story would be made to put on as far as might be a Greek character; or one of the established tales of Greek mythology might be boldly moved to a new spot, and tricked out with details which suited their new dwelling-place. We can see typical examples of both these processes in the way in which the Greeks dealt with several of the holy places of the Sikel and with the worship and the legends of each. Such above all is Henna, such also is Hadranum, such is the Galeatic Hybla. With this last, as with the one of least moment, we will begin our picture.

Hellenization of Sikel deities.

Galeatic Hybla.

The name of Hybla, familiar on other grounds, is in truth the name of a deity, doubtless a native Sikel deity [1], in whose honour several spots of Sikel soil were named. There was at Olympia a statue of Zeus bearing a sceptre, an archaic work which was held to be the offering of the men of Hybla [2]. Three towns of Sicily might claim to be the giver. There was a Hybla, known as the Greater, close to the site of that Megara which was specially distinguished as Hyblaian, of which we shall have to say more when

The three Hyblas.

[1] See above, p. 75. [2] Paus. v. 23. 6. See Appendix IX.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. we come to the plantation of the Greek settlements in Sicily [1]. There is another, known as the Least Hybla, the modern Ragusa, among the limestone gorges of south-eastern Sicily. But Pausanias, who had seen the statue, held it to be the gift of the Hyblaians of Ætna. Their city, the Lesser, the Galeatic, Hybla, represented by the modern Paternò, sits on an isolated hill not far from the ledge which bears Hadranum, and perhaps Inêssa, in front of the great mountain of all. There is little now on the spot to suggest either Sikel, Greek, or Roman days. Paternò was famous in the Norman wars, and the most prominent object there is the stern rectangular keep of Count Roger's castle. But that castle represents the fortifications of the akropolis of Hybla, while a whole range of churches at its side, covering the rest of the hill to the south-west, doubtless mark the site of the holy place of the patron goddess. The town lies below to the east; to the north, Ætna, here plainly girded about by his satellites, rises in all the grandeur of his near neighbourhood. To the west Symaithos winds to and fro through his valley, and beyond his stream Centuripa sits enthroned on her mountain-top. The hill of the Galeatic Hybla is in truth a model akropolis. Of no remarkable height, positively low beside the sites of the other towns which surround it, it seems from the height of Centuripa to dwindle to a hillock. But it is well isolated; it is a marked object in the distant view, and occupied, as it still is, wholly by buildings of defence and religion, it keeps up with special force the character which the high place of a city bore in old times.

The Galeatic Hybla at Paternò.

The akropolis.

But it is on the religious side that the height of Hybla specially concerns us. And objects may be seen from it which directly connect themselves with the worship of the Sikel goddess. Just beyond the river is a hill pierced with

[1] See Appendix IX.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

primæval tombs. Nearer to the akropolis itself, the eye is struck by a wide barren space which at first sight looks like a broad *fiumara*. It is really the ground which has been made desolate by the last eruption of the mud volcano which at once connects the site with Maccaluba and the Lake of the Palici[1]. Not far off are mineral springs which were clearly frequented ages back, as the mud thrown up so lately covers the abiding remains of Roman buildings. Here, we may be sure, we have the key to the nature of the original local worship, to the worship of the goddess of Hybla as a goddess of the nether-world, presiding over the natural phænomena of the spot. Her worship seems to have run a course of its own, distinct from what we shall find to have happened to more famous forms of Sikel religion. It neither kept itself free from all Hellenic influences nor yet was it wholly absorbed into the range of Hellenic legend. It would seem that in Roman times the goddess of Hybla became identified with the Latin Venus[2]. But it should be remembered that the Latin Venus was, in her first estate, a harmless goddess of growth, falling in well with one aspect of the powers of the nether-world. It was the extreme piety of the men of Hybla to their local goddess, even when the greatness of their city had passed away and when a small village only surrounded her temple, which led Pausanias to hold them for the most worthy among the bearers of the Hyblaian name to be the givers of the gift at Olympia. He quotes the statesman-historian of Sicily, Philistos himself, for a picture of the men of Hybla, most devout among the barbarians of the island, most skilful as interpreters of dreams. The phrase of Philistos shows that in his day the Ætnæan Hybla was still distinctively Sikel, and that the sacred lore for which it was specially renowned was part of the native worship of the spot.

CHAP. II.

The mud volcano.

The goddess Hybla.

Devotion of the people of Hybla.

[1] See above, p. 75.

[2] See Appendix IX.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. There is indeed a story of the coming of Galeôs, son of Apollôn and Themistô, who is conceived by Greek fancy as the patron of the dream-expounders of Hybla[1]. But this points only to the introduction of Hellenic ideas and to the modification of the old Sikel belief. Neither this legend nor the identification with Venus proves that the Sikel goddess was either displaced or changed into a purely Hellenic being. Ages after Philistos, in Pausanias' own day, Sicily had no barbarian inhabitants—save any Roman colonists who spoke their Latin tongue—but Hybla still kept her native honours and her native name. She was reverenced by the Sikeliots with devout worship.

The Heraian Hybla or Ragusa.

It is only likeness of name which can lead us to couple the Least Hybla with that which is only the Lesser. This, the most southern of the three, has, as far as history goes, its existence barely proved, while geographically it belongs to the same region as Motyca and the other towns of the south-eastern corner. But as at Motyca, the characteristic and instructive nature of the site makes up for the lack of historic record. And we may be sure that each of the three Hyblas was a seat of the worship of the goddess, though it is of one only that the fact has been handed down to us. The third, the Heraian Hybla, commonly, and seemingly with good reason, looked on as represented by the modern Ragusa, occupies one of the most remarkable points among the limestone gorges[2]. A few miles north-east of Motyca, at the centre of another group of gorges through one of which flows the river Hyrminos or Ragusa—a real river and not a mere *fiumara*—stands an all but isolated hill, joined by a low and narrow isthmus to a spur of the far higher ground to the west. This loftier ground is a distinct and opposite height, not, as at Motyca, part of the same mass as the lower hill. The two heights are covered

[1] See Appendix IX.

[2] See Schubring, Hist. Geog. Studien, p. 109.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

by two distinct towns, the Lower and the Upper Ragusa. CHAP. II.
It is hard to say how either came by the name of the renowned city on the eastern coast of Hadria; but the Lower Ragusa is pre-eminently a site for an ancient city. There is little to see but the site, but the site is clear enough. The wall of the castle occupying the top of the hill cannot fail to represent the wall of the akropolis of Hybla. In some parts we can see how the rock was used as its foundation, and some of the blocks have been used again in the later work. And, if the epithet Heraian comes directly from the Greek goddess Hêrê and not from the Heraian mountains, it is on the height, and not at the foot of the hill, that we may place her temple. The church of Saint George is far more likely to represent a temple of Hêraklês. It may well be that at this Hybla the local goddess was identified with a different Greek deity from that whose name she bore at the Galeatic town. The lower wall of the town itself, as distinguished from that of the castle, is comparatively modern, but, like the wall of the castle, it doubtless represents the ancient lines. In fact the general effect of the Heraian Hybla is less changed than that of many towns which have much more to show in the way of actual ancient remains. Even the Lower Ragusa stands high above the deep bottoms at its foot, and the lower site, so nearly isolated and commanding the meeting-place of so many gorges, is really a stronger position, according to the notions of early times, than the Upper Ragusa that looks down on it. Of the three Hyblas, the one which has the least story to tell has undoubtedly the most striking position. Its neighbourhood too is rich in traces of the Sikel or of those before the Sikel. The gorges on each side are full of primæval burrowings; and at a point on the high table-land above the upper town are abundant signs of early occupation. Wells not a few, stone troughs with channels, wells with

Remains in the neighbourhood.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. clutch-holes,—the primitive ladder—paths worn deep in the rock by the feet of man and beast, cuttings of every kind, some which might pass for the stumps of a building with rude columns—all suggest, not so much a town or fortress, as a general meeting-place for the neatherds and shepherds of the now bare hill. And the rude art of primitive times goes on to this day. Places of shelter are still built of stones put together as the Sikan himself may have piled them, roofed in with that early attempt at the construction of the cupola which may be found at New Grange on one side of Sicily and at Mykênê on the other.

The words of Philistos quoted some way back show that the Galeatic Hybla was in his day distinctly Sikel. But that the barbarians of Hybla were the most devout among the barbarians of Sicily was a doctrine which would have been called in question on several spots more famous than Hybla. If we put aside the stranger goddess of Eryx from the competition, the lake of the Palici and the lake of Pergusa are distinctly the most renowned among the sacred spots of Sicily. We know that the one, we feel sure that the other, was a seat of native and immemorial Sikel worship which the Greeks simply adopted.

The Lake of the Palici.

The worship which had its holy place by the lake of the Palici was one which the Greeks did little more than adopt as it stood. The Sikel gods were still worshipped by their Sikel names and with their Sikel rites; no really Greek legends arose in honour of the place or its deities; a few Greek names were thrust in by way of explanation, and that is all. Italian deities needed no parents; the Greek mind could hardly think of deities without them. So the divine and merciful brethren of the Sikel creed, who in that creed sprang from the earth with no tale of birth or generation [1], had parents found for them also. It was an

Legend of their birth.

[1] Polemôn, ap. Macrobius (v. 19. 18); *οἱ δὲ Παλικοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις αὐτόχθονες θεοὶ νομίζονται.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

obvious allegory which called them sons of Hêphaistos, or of Sikel Hadranus, and the personified Aitnê [1]; another stage gave them Aitnê for a mother and Zeus himself for a father. In a third tale all meaning might seem to have passed away from the names, and the Palici are said to be the sons of Zeus by a nymph called Thaleia [2]. Yet even here the origin of the tales is not quite forgotten, for Thaleia is called a daughter of Hêphaistos. She, like so many others who shared the love of Zeus, drew on herself the wrath of Hêrê; but the way in which she sought to escape from her enemy was well devised, and was suited to the site of the story and to the nature of the powers of which she was said to be the parent. Either at her own prayer or by the will of her divine lover, Thaleia was hidden in the earth, and there brought forth her twin sons. The earth opened, and the divine brethren came to light, the awful and kindly gods of the Sikel [3]. CHAP. II.

Of the holy places of the newly-born gods, the main feature was two objects which were sacred to them, hardly to be distinguished from the gods themselves, and which are strangely spoken of as their brethren. These were two fountains or small lakes of unmeasured depth, ever bubbling up with hot water, which bore the name of Delli [4]. The spot is at some distance from any modern town, near The two fountains.

[1] Serv. Æn. ix. 584; "Alii Vulcani et Ætnæ filium tradunt." So Seilênos, author of Σικελικά, quoted by Stephen of Byzantium; he makes Aitnê daughter of Okeanos.

[2] This is the story followed by Macrobius himself, who took it from Æschylus. According to Stephen, Αἰσχύλος ἐν Αἰτναίαις γενεαλογεῖ Διὸς καὶ Θαλείας τῆς Ἡφαίστου.

[3] Macrobius, v. 19. 18; "Metu Junonis optavit ut sibi terra dehisceret. Factum est; sed ubi venit tempus maturitatis infantum quos illa gestaverat, reclusa terra est et duo infantes de alvo Thaliæ progressi emerserunt."

[4] Kallias quoted by Macrobius; οὗτοι δὲ κρατῆρες δύω εἰσὶν, οὓς ἀδελφοὺς τῶν Παλικῶν οἱ Σικελιῶται νομίζουσι. So Macrobius himself (v. 19. 19); "Incolæ crateras vocant et nomine Dellos appellant, fratresque eos Palicorum æstimant."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

a village which, in its Arabic name of Favarotta[1], keeps up the memory of the sacred waters, while the name of the Palici themselves is thought to be preserved in that of the town of Palagonia. It lies in the great plain, the dale of the Menas or Gurnalunga, which stretches between the two ranges of hills on the southern of which Menænum is a prominent object. Hard by, one of the low hills which break the surface of the plain, a hill steep and rocky, clearly of volcanic formation, is thought to have served as the akropolis of the short-lived city of Palica[2]. Without a guide it would not be easy to find out the place. Set on the right track, the traveller first smells the heavy scent of the waters; he then hears the noise, and lastly sees the waters themselves bubbling up. Once in sight, the lake thoroughly proclaims itself as one of the spots where the working of the powers beneath the earth is most clear. We feel its near fellowship with the other natural phænomena of Sicily from Ætna downwards, with the lake of Pergusa, with Maccaluba and Terra Pilata. A clearly volcanic crater, the survivor most likely of a pair, is sunk below the level of the plain. It has no rim like the Alban lake and its smaller neighbour; there could never be any need of a channel to carry off its waters. But, while the waters of the Alban lake and the lake of Pergusa are as still as the waters of lakes in general, the crater of the Palici at once suggests the thought of a boiling caldron. The whole crater is not now covered with water; it contains a number of spots which are so, and where the water tosses and bubbles. The bubbling reminds one of Maccaluba on a larger scale; but the lake of the Palici sends forth no mud; if it did, it would, like Maccaluba and the crater by Paternò, make its presence felt at a much greater

Site of Palica.

The volcanic lake.

[1] The same name as the *Favara* near Palermo and other places, always marking hot springs.

[2] Diod. xi. 88.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

distance. No fish or water-fowl haunts the lake, as they haunt those of Pergusa and Leontinoi; the gases which are sent up from below still keep their deadly power over small animals. Even for man to lean over the water is held to be dangerous, as leading to giddiness and head-ache. Those who have ventured to disobey the ancient law which forbade the water to be touched report it to be neither hot nor cold. Legend, if not worship, still lingers round the spot. The fairy Donna Fatia has taken the place of Thaleia and her sons. One wonders that none among the many saints of Sicily has made the spot his own. CHAP. II. The deadly gas. Modern legends.

Here, in the plain, stood the house of the Great Twin Brethren of the Sikels, the place of the most abiding and most unmixed worship of their folk. It was the holiest place in Sicily; the oath sworn there was the most binding of oaths; the breach of it was the most sure to bring down some fearful judgement on the sinner. Men who had dared to put on the slight sacred garb, to hold the sacred branch, and then to utter falsehoods in the very home of the dreaded powers, had gone forth sightless from the temple[1]. They had even, so it is hinted, lost their lives in the boiling steam of the sacred founts. In the sanctuary of the awful Palici the slave found a welcome and a shelter; no master might carry him off by force. If the master's hard dealing had driven his slave to the holy refuge, he could reclaim him only by binding himself to better treatment by the solemn oaths of the place. Those oaths, we are told, even Sicilian masters of later days shrank from breaking[2]. No wonder then that, as we go on, we shall find the holy place of the Palici chosen, first as the Sanctity of the place. Shelter given to slaves.

[1] See Appendix X.

[2] Diodôros, historian of the Slave Wars, enlarges somewhat on this head, and ventures to say, *οὐδεὶς ἱστορεῖται τῶν δεδωκότων ταῖς οἰκέταις πίστιν ταύτην παραβάς.* Did masters or slaves keep the record?

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. home of a revived Sikel nationality, and afterwards as the place where revolted slaves sought for a blessing on their strife for freedom.

In this, one of the most pleasing pieces of old pagan religion, we distinctly see, in a form very little touched by poetic fancy, the primitive worship of the powers of nature, and above all the powers of the earth and of all that is under the earth. The Great Twin Brethren of Palica make us think of the Great Twin Brethren of Amyklai; and we wonder at the chance which has left the tale of the Palici, who have not even distinct names, so obscure beside that of the other *Dioskouroi*, the Kastôr and Polydeukês of heroic song. The two have a common point. Men drew the name of the Palici from their sinking below the earth and again rising[1], and one version of the tale of the Dioskouroi suggests the same thought[2]. But besides these faint analogies between native deities of Sicily and deities of old Greece, Sicily has Greek legends of her own, legends which grew up on her own soil, and which clothed the native deities of the land with all the splendour that the poetic imagination of Hellas could devise. But, even in its highest flights, the mythology of Sicily was, in a sense, of the earth, earthy. In a land where the powers of nature were so busily, and often so terribly, at work, men's minds were naturally drawn to the thought of those who bore sway beneath the earth's surface. The bounteous soil sending up its rich harvest, the mountain sending down its fiery flood to destroy for a while and to make

The Twin Brethren.

The nether-gods.

[1] See Appendix X.

[2] This chthonian view of the partnership of the Dioskouroi comes out most strongly in Pindar, Nem. x. 103;

ἁμέραν τὰν μὲν παρὰ πατρὶ φίλῳ
Διὶ νέμονται τὰν δ' ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίας ἐν γυάλοις θεράπναν.

Homer could hardly have known this story when he made them (Il. iii. 243) die and be buried like other people;

τοὺς δ' ἤδη κατέχεν φυσίζοος αἶα,
ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αὖθι, φίλῃ ἐνὶ πατρίδι γαίῃ.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

more fruitful in the end—the more common phænomena of a limestone country—the caves in the earth—the rivers finding their way under the earth—all led men's hearts to think with thankfulness, if with dread, of those at whose will such mighty forces were wielded. The worship of the Palici showed the powers beneath the earth in a gentle form. In another worship, another legend, the gentle and the terrible powers were strangely mingled and contrasted. In that worship, in that legend, the most famous worship and legend of all Sicily, the Sikel and the Greek had each his share. We have come to the special goddesses of the whole island, to the hill of Henna and its patronesses, the Mother and Daughter of whom all Sicily was the chosen home. CHAP. II.

Dêmêtêr and Persephonê.

The tale of Dêmêtêr and Persephonê, with all the adornments of Greek fancy, is thoroughly Sikel in its essence, the natural growth of a creed in which the power of the nether-world held the first place. The bounteous queen of the earth of whose gift comes the golden grain, her harmless daughter and the maidens sporting around her, are brought into strange and hostile contact with the stern ruler of the dwelling-place of the dead. Yet in the mere physical aspect, both are alike powers of the under-world; we may feel inclined to hold that the conception of the awful Persephoneia as the stern queen of Aidôneus is an older notion than that which paints her as the bright daughter of Dêmêtêr carried off against her will by the lord of the nether-realm [1]. However this may be, it is easy to see in the famous tale sung in the verse of Ovid and Claudian, some piece of ancient Sikel worship which has wholly lost its character amid the gorgeous trappings of Greek fancy. It is so changed that the very names of the original local deities are forgotten. Greek imagination failed to take hold of the

Sikel origin of their worship.

[1] See Appendix XI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. local religion of the lake of the Palici; it did take hold, with no small effect, of the local religion of the lake of Pergusa. When we look at the oldest forms of the Greek tale of Dêmêtêr and the Korê, we see at once that it had at first nothing to do with Henna or with Sicily [1]. It was simply carried thither, as other stories were carried to new places, when Sicily and Henna had become familiar to Greek imaginations. But if the worship had been purely Hellenic, if the Greek settlers in Sicily had simply carried their goddesses with them, the new place for the story would surely have been chosen within the range of Greek settlement. Dêmêtêr and the Korê were worshipped at Syracuse, and in the legend itself we see an attempt to connect the tale with Syracuse. But Sikel Henna is the home of the legend, the home of the goddesses of Sicily. Surely some local worship, some local story, some other tale of the nether-powers, like that of the Palici, drew to itself, first Greek worshippers and then Greek poets and expounders. In the case of the Palici, the Greeks were satisfied to adopt the local worship as it stood; but something in the local worship of Henna, something in the character of the deities worshipped there, fell in with the already existing legends of Dêmêtêr, Persephonê, and Aidôneus. The Sikel deities and their worship were merged in the Greek deities and their worship. Dêmêtêr and her Child became the presiding and protecting powers of all Sicily. The island itself was the gift which Zeus gave to his daughter at her marriage with her gloomy bridegroom [2]. One can hardly say whether it was the Greek that led captive the Sikel or the Sikel that led captive the Greek, when the gods of Sikel worship were so thoroughly sunk in those of Greece. The very names of the Sikel goddesses might pass away, but their

Oldest Greek form of the legend.

Henna.

Adoption of the Sikel worship.

[1] As in the Homeridian Hymn to Dêmêtêr. See Appendix XI.

[2] See Appendix XI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

holy place became the spiritual centre of the island for Sikel and Greek alike. CHAP. II.

Site of Henna.

The place was well chosen for its purpose. The city of the two goddesses comes nearer than any other spot in Sicily to being a physical as well as a religious centre. Henna has in some sort kept its name to this day; for *Casr Janni*, *Castrum Johannis*, *Castrogiovanni*, is not a really distinct name which has displaced the elder one; it is simply a corruption or misunderstanding, due to Saracen occupants, of the older form *Castrum Ennæ*. But that a site so pre-eminently religious should come to take the word *castrum* as part of its usual description marks a change, but a change which could not fail to come. In the days of Sikel, Greek, and Roman, Henna the Inexpugnable was indeed more than once called on to play the part of a fortress; but its religious character ever came first. And when the great cycle came round again, though its military character now comes first, yet somewhat of sanctity may be thought to cleave to a place which was so pre-eminently the battle-field of creeds, of the two rival creeds before which the faith of the Sikel and the Greek had passed away. Though *Casr Janni* cannot boast of being, like Rametta and like Noto, the last post held either by Christian against Mussulman or by Mussulman against Christian, it was, in the ninth century and in the eleventh, stoutly indeed defended by the votaries of each creed in turn. For the same features which fitted Henna to be a religious centre fitted *Castrum Ennæ* to be a warlike centre. Other cities set on hills cannot be hid; but Henna is set on so high a hill that it sometimes is hid from the eyes of those who may look to the hills for help. Rising three thousand feet and more above the sea, the loftiest inhabited spot in Sicily, the hill of Henna would anywhere in southern Britain, anywhere in northern or central Gaul, pass for a mighty mountain. It would seem a spot where

The name.

Its place in the Saracen wars.

The mountain-city.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. the goat might climb or the bird of prey might soar, but where man would never pitch his home or even his place of shelter, amidst ice and snow, clouds and mist. Even in the climate of Sicily, it must have always depended on the shifting vapours whether the men of Henna could catch a glimpse of the land below them, or whether friends or enemies could see aught of the houses of defence or of worship on the height. Even round the height which fronts it, the height of Calascibetta—whose fame dates only from the days of the Arab and the Norman and whose name proclaims the Arab as its founder—far lower as its summit is than that of Henna, the clouds sweep fitfully; one half of the town stands out in clear daylight, while the other half is shrouded by the fleeting mist.

Yet for those who did not shrink from thus becoming the sport of the powers of the air, the hill of Henna was not without its attractions. The site was in many ways fitted to become the great central post of a people and its worship. The height was in itself so steep as hardly to need defences wrought by the hand of man. The modern town is approached by roads on each side of the hill, by a well-engineered zigzag road on its northern side. But there is still a path of the older kind, a path steep and stony as becomes it, the path by which we may be pretty sure that all conquerors of the island, from the Sikel to the Norman, made their way to the height which could not be conquered. Here we come in by a gate, itself of no great antiquity, but which seems to have older fragments of wall attached to it, while a deep hole in the rock hard by, and the general air of the approach, make us feel that this is the fitting way by which to climb up to the navel of Sicily. But the true nature of the hill will hardly be taken in by any one who draws near to it from the north side. As seen from the other side, we might say that Henna, or at least Castrogiovanni,

Strength of the post.

Ancient approach.

The two hills.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

is built on two hills. There are two heights, with a deep ravine between them, of which nothing is seen from the more frequented side. As usual, the sides of the ravine are thickly hollowed with primæval burrowings, which form a strange contrast to the modern houses, which here, as in other towns of the limestone gorges, coming down as low as the slope of the hill will let them, are built immediately above the homes and dwelling-places of the still unhellenized Sikel. The hill rises high on both sides, and this wild piece of scenery in the midst of an inhabited town has a stranger effect than even the general position of the mountain-city itself. CHAP. II.

The summit of the hill supplied a table-land of some extent, enough for all the buildings of a considerable town. At the east end the hill rises and narrows to furnish a fit site for an akropolis, and beyond that it rises and narrows yet again to furnish the most lordly place of all either for a house of worship or for a house of warfare. That spot stands forth as the very crown and centre of all inhabited Sicily. From their high place Henna and its goddesses could look up, down, and around, on the sea of hills, tossed up and down into their abiding shapes, and swept and curled by the passing clouds into shapes ever-shifting. Here, as everywhere else where the eye can reach him, the Mount of Mounts soars over all, lifting his imperial crown above all the smaller potentates around him. Yet all is not barren, all is not even mountainous. The fruits of Sicily, native and imported, climb up the mountain side; the vines of Snowdon or Skiddaw would have a strange sound indeed; but here the gift of Liber struggles far up the path towards the high place of Libera. And below the eye can rest, as did the eye of Cicero[1], on the rich fields which were the special demesne of Henna's goddess, the fields which were one day

The akropolis.

The outlook from the hill.

[1] Verr. iv. 48. See Appendix XI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

to make Sicily the granary of Rome. And lest, on this island site, the folk of Sicily should forget that their home was in an island, an island open to the coming of men of other races, it is said that in hours of special brightness the blue line of the Mediterranean can be traced, the line of its eastern waters, the waters that make the path from Hellas. By that path those were to come who were to make Henna and its temple famous among the sanctuaries of the earth. On that hill Sikel and Greek were to put forth their powers of mutual influence in their highest measure. Henna was no Greek foundation; it must be the mere blunder of a late compiler, unconfirmed as it is by any higher authority, which makes the inland city a colony of Syracuse [1]. We may be sure that Henna was a Sikel stronghold, a Sikel holy place, from an age altogether præ-historic. But as the Sikel was drawn to the higher culture of the Greek, as the Greek learned to worship the gods of the Sikel and to interweave their tales into his own mythology, Henna would naturally put on a Greek character without any sudden or violent change. The life of the Greek citizen would grow up there more easily than on other Sikel heights which did not in the same way draw foreign worshippers, and whose forms did not in the same way allow them to become the sites of considerable towns.

Mutual influence of Greek and Sikel.

Henna early hellenized.

There is no spot of an historic fame so ancient and so abiding as that of Henna which keeps so few memorials of its earlier history. In these later days the city has certainly not been ruined by unbroken prosperity; yet it has less to show of the days of its greatness than Messana or even than Massalia. Here and there we mark a wheel-track or a cutting of the rock, but it is disappointing that in a place so full of memories, Sikel, Greek, Roman, Saracen, and Norman, we can find

Modern Henna or Castrogiovanni.

[1] Steph. Byz. in Ἔννα. See Appendix XI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

nothing, no wall or castle or temple or church or palace, older than the kings of the house of Aragon. We have no clue to the site of the theatre which beheld the Roman massacre; we can guess, with every likelihood, but we can only guess, at the site of the renowned temple of the Mother and her Child. The site of the temple is placed on the point already spoken of, the extreme point of the hill towards the east. We pass out of the town; we pass by the castle of King Frederick; we mark a piece of wall crowning the cliff, a piece of wall not of yesterday, but which we are assuredly not tempted to carry back to the days of Sikel independence. At last, a mass of rock rising sheer from the plain is reached by a flight of steps cut in the rock. From such a point Dêmêtêr could indeed look forth over her island, and her island could look up to its goddess. In the absence of all direct evidence, we may provisionally accept this site as that of the holiest place of pagan Sicily.

Small ancient remains.

The temple.

To this famous spot then and its neighbourhood the fancy of the Greeks of Sicily transferred a legend which had already grown to a great place in their mythology. From the Iliad and Odyssey we should hardly be justified in inferring any connexion between the goddess of Sicilian and Eleusinian worship and the awful queen of the nether-world[1]. We may say the same of one passage in the Hesiodic Theogony where Persephonê appears as thoroughly at home among the powers of that world. In another passage she appears, according to the ordinary story, as a daughter of Zeus and Dêmêtêr, carried off by Aidôneus and bestowed on him by Zeus[2]. In the Homeridian hymn to Dêmêtêr we have the story in its full developement; but it is told only in the interest of Eleusis, not at all in the interest of Sicily. Here we see the maiden Persephonê with her

The legend of Dêmêter transferred to Henna.

Oldest notion of Perse-phonê.

Eleusinian Hymn to Dêmêter.

[1] See Appendix XI.

[2] See Appendix XI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

comrades gathering flowers; we see the wonderful flower that she gathers; we see the sudden coming of Aidôneus, the carrying of the Korê to the nether-world, the sojourn of Dêmêtêr at Eleusis, the reconciliation with Aidôneus, the compromise by which Persephonê spends part of the year above ground and part below. All these are parts of the Eleusinian story. But there is no mention of Sicily. It is not from Sicily that the Korê is carried off; the search through all the world, and specially through Sicily, has no place in this distinctly Eleusinian version. The local features of course grew up after the Greek settlers had carried the tale to Sicily, and had found a place for it at Henna. Other Sicilian towns indeed claimed the honour; it is a little striking that during the most flourishing days of the Sicilian Greek we hear little of Henna as the home of the goddesses. It may be that, while Gelôn was reigning at Syracuse, while Timoleôn was delivering Sicily, the Sikel sanctuary was only gradually making its way to the highest place in Greek reverence, and that its greatest day of honour belonged to a later time. But in the end the rights and the legend of Henna become undisputed; the sanctuary of the goddesses became the birth-place of both, of the Mother no less than of the Daughter[1]. The fame of Henna spread through the world. The navel of the fairest of islands was sung at the court of a Ptolemy of Egypt[2]. It is somewhat strange that our first complete picture of Henna as the home of the goddesses, our first complete telling of the local tale, should come from the oratory of the Roman pleader as he sets forth the wrongs of Sicily. Now at last

No mention of Sicily.

Slight mention of Henna in earlier writers.

Later fame of Henna.

Cicero.

[1] Cic. Verr. iv. 48; "Nam et natas esse in his locis deas et fruges in ea terra primum repertas arbitrantur." The coupling of mother and daughter as both natives of Henna is to be noticed. It might point to some Sikel tradition quite different from the Greek Dêmêtêr.

[2] See the lines of Kallimachos in Appendix XI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

we hear in full of the city on the height, with its table-land cut off from all approach[1]. Now we hear of the reverence paid to the spot by the whole world, a reverence which among the men of Sicily had become the very essence of their lives[2]. It is from the mouth of Cicero that we first hear of the groves and the lake, the lake girded with flowers through the whole year, of the cave to the north of untold depth, from which the chariot of Dis came forth to bear away the unsuspecting Libera[3]. From him we first hear of the lake by Syracuse which opened to receive the lord of the nether-world back to his own realm[4], and of the torch which the mourning mother lighted at the furnace of Ætna to seek for her lost daughter throughout the world[5]. When we hear from Latin lips the tale into which Sikel beliefs had been wrought by Hellenic fancy, when for a while we exchange Dêmêtêr and Persephonê and Aidôneus for Ceres and Libera and Dis, we ask whether these Italian words in the mouth of the Opican of Arpinum do in any way come nearer to the sacred names which were heard on the hill of Henna in the old days before the Greek had become, in the things of the spiritual world, at least as much the pupil of the Sikel as his master.

CHAP. II.

Were the Latin names Sikel?

It may therefore be strange, but it is after all not

The Latin poets.

[1] Cic., u. s. "Enna . . . est in loco præcelso atque edito, quo in summo est æquata agri planities et aquæ perennes; tota vero ab omni aditu circumciisa atque dirempta est."

[2] Ib. "Hoc cum cæterse gentes sic arbitrantur, tum ipsis Siculis tam persuasum est ut animis eorum insitum atque innatum esse videatur."

[3] Ib. "Raptam esse Liberam quam eamdem Proserpinam vocant ex Ennensium nemore, qui locus, quod in media est insula situs, umbilicus Siciliæ nominatur."

[4] Ib. "Propter est spelunca quædam, conversa ad aquilonem, infinita altitudine, qua Ditem patrem ferunt repente cum curru exstitisse abreptamque ex eo loco virginem secum asportasse, et subito non longe a Syracusis penetrasse sub terras, lacumque in eo loco repente exstitisse."

[5] Ib. "Quam cum investigare et conquirere Ceres vellet, dicitur inflammasse tædas iis ignibus qui ex Ætnæ vertice erumpunt, quasi sibi cum ipsa præferret, orbem omnium peragrasse terrarum."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. wholly unfitting, that the strains which set forth the glories of Henna and her goddesses in all their fulness should come from the lips, not of Greek but of Latin poets. It is but a tribute from the more lucky to the less lucky branch of the same stock. But strangest of all does it seem that we have to go to the same minstrel to hear the praises of Stilicho and the curses on Rufinus, and to hear the aged tale of Dêmêtêr and her Child wrought up to a measure of fulness which has no like among extant poets. Yet we would gladly give them all up, Ovid and Claudian and any chance tribute from other poets, could we but find a line or two in the style of "Enos Lases juvate" sung by a Sikel bard to the Sikel deities. Yet the fate of the ancient Latin religion has in truth been much the same in Italy and in Sicily. In Italy the mere names of the native deities lived on; but their character and personality were lost in those of the Greek gods who were supposed to answer to them. In this particular case the change has not been so violent as in some others. Dêmêtêr and the Korê have something in common with Ceres and Libera, while it is not a little hard to see how Greek Aphroditê came to be looked on as answering to Latin Venus or Greek Hermeias to Latin Mercurius. The native powers of Henna, whether called Ceres and Libera or anything else, hardly changed their characters when Greek names were given them. But the process is the same alike in Sicily and in Italy; the whole mythology of the stranger is applied to the native deity, whether so to do involves a change of character or not. Here and there a native power, say Latin Pales and the possibly kindred Palici, kept both name and character; others again, like Vertumnus and Pomona, without being identified with any Greek deities, had adventures in the Greek style invented for them. And after all, the great mass of the Italian gods, the plebeian multitude which formed the Lower

Claudian.

The Latin religion in Italy and Sicily.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

House in the divine Comitia[1], remained untouched through their own insignificance. The crowd of powers, presiding over every function of human life, whose names Saint Augustine learned of Varro[2], have had no hellenizing legends devised for them. CHAP. II.

We have every reason to believe that, if we knew as much of local Sikel religion as we know—little as that knowledge is—of local Italian religion, we should see much the same story in both lands. But of the Sikel religion we have only survivals, and but few of them. In the worship and legend of the Palici the Greek insertions are so small and unimportant that we may say that we have the genuine thing left to us. At the native worship of the goddesses of Henna we can only guess, but our guess is a pretty safe one. In its Greek shape it gradually came to the first place among Sicilian forms of local worship. But the spiritual pre-eminence of Henna seems not to have assured its temporal prosperity. It shared in the general decline of the Sicilian towns. Not so very long after the glowing picture of Cicero, Strabo speaks of it as a declining place[3]. And the most brilliant picture of the goddesses and their tale came just before the end. Soon after Claudian's day all religious glory passed away from Henna. To her Christian inhabitants the gentle goddesses of the soil became evil beings, workers of sorcery and all wickedness. Her Mussulman masters most likely never heard

Survivals of Sikel religion.

Later history of Henna.

[1] The general notion is not uncommon in the Latin writers. The particular phrase "plebs" among the gods I get from two passages of Ovid, Met. i. 173, and Ibis, 81;

"Vos quoque plebs superum, Fauni, Satyrique, Laresque,
Fluminaque et Nymphæ, semideumque genus."

See Comparative Politics, 202–3.

[2] De Civ. Dei, iv. 11.

[3] Strabo, vi. 2. 6; ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ, τὴν μὲν Ἔνναν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δήμητρος, ἔχουσιν ὀλίγοι, κειμένην ἐπὶ λόφῳ, περιειλημμένην πλάτεσιν ὁμοπεδίοις ἀροσίμοις πᾶσιν.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. their names. Nor did Henna, like Syracuse, win back her holiness in a new shape by becoming a place of spiritual rule and pilgrimage under the new creed. But the mountain city lived on, renowned among the cities of Sicily, though no mitred prelate ever dwelled on her height, and though the rival hill beneath her was chosen before her as a dwelling-place of kings.

Lake Pergusa.

The lake of Pergusa, we may be sure, was, like the lake of the Palici, an essential part of the worship of the goddesses from the beginning. Its character, as a marked volcanic basin, shows with what a true instinct it was chosen for a place in the legends of the powers beneath the earth. It is a lake of no great extent, one which may be walked round in little more than an hour. Of a nearly oval shape, the whole is taken in at a glance; it has surrounding hills which at some points rise into peaks of marked outline, while others are mere low downs, sometimes sinking so as to be hardly more than a rim to the lake. Pergusa may easily have been unseen from the height of Henna; the first impression of the traveller who approaches from that side, the northern side, may well be that the lake and its surroundings form a world of their own, cut off from the sight of all beyond their own surrounding hills. And so it is through a large part of the lake's circuit, though there are points from which the holy hill of the goddesses comes boldly into the view. There is something striking in the solitude of the spot, something striking in the contrast between the lake of Henna and the site of Henna itself. But it hardly comes up to the elaborate pictures of the poets, and assuredly the surroundings of the volcanic lake do not make a vale.

Present state of the lake and its surroundings;

Looking, on the other hand, at the spot as the scene of a great manifestation of the powers of the nether-world, it is thoroughly well chosen. Poisonous gases, it is said, are at

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

times sent up from beneath the waters of the lake, showing its kindred with the more active craters of Maccaluba and the Palici. The surrounding hills are in several places burrowed into with holes which might well suggest themselves as passages to the realm of Aidôneus. The sulphurous hills too between Henna and the lake suggest the nether powers in another shape, as does in a way, so widely different, the green corn, the special gift of Henna's own goddess, thick on every piece of ground that can be made to bear it. But the poetic picture of the woods coming down to the banks of the lake is now, if it ever was otherwise, merely a poetic picture. The surrounding hills are mainly bare, though it is true that here and there trees do show themselves of other kinds than the utilitarian olive and almond. The eternal spring, with its boundless wealth of bloom, is hardly to be seen, at least not in the last days of February. The hundred-headed narcissus may be looked for in vain, but daisies and other simple flowers may be gathered, though in no special abundance. Not only is the song of the swans as mythical at Pergusa as elsewhere; the swans themselves have vanished; of smaller water-fowl there is a fair store on the rippling waves, and the place seems, unlike the deadly waters of the Palici, to be a chosen resort of birds of many kinds. But the lake remains, physically far less changed than the other lake with which we are so constantly led to compare and contrast it. The later legends which have grown around it are surely softenings or poetic adornments of the native tradition. The first chthonian powers that were worshipped by the lake-side were doubtless in many things very unlike the sportive maiden and the mourning mother. But the nature of the legends which grew up, the analogy of the Palici, the very fact that the Greeks came to look on the deities of the place as one and the same with their

CHAP. II.

hills;

flowers.

The early worship.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. own kindly goddesses, may lead us to think that the deities of Henna were looked on as kindly powers from the beginning.

Agyrium. Far less famous than Henna and its temple was a holy place in a Sikel city of which we have already made some casual mention, but where we are not so much inclined to see the survival of any ancient Sikel worship, as a case in which hellenized Sikels adopted a Greek story to the exaltation of their own city. The exploits of Hêraklês in Sicily meet us in many quarters and in many shapes, and in many of them we have to consider how far our seemingly Greek Hêraklês may be truly a Phœnician Melkart. We may perhaps bring ourselves to see him in that character at the foot of the mount of Eryx. But when, after his doings there, he comes on to the site that was to be Syracuse [1] and to the city that was already Agyrium [2], we see that this part of his travels is merely tacked on in the interest of the Greek and the Sikel city. It was tacked on by men who perfectly well understood the relations of Greeks and Sikels as they stood in the independent times of Sicily. The story seems to have been an explanation of some local phænomenon. Not far from Agyrium was shown the likeness of the feet of oxen stamped in the hard rock as in wax [3]. These of course were the oxen of Gêryonês. The men of Agyrium kept a feast to Hêraklês, in which he was honoured with worship equal to that of the gods of Olympos. This worship was first offered to the hero in person, and he accepted it gladly as a sign of his coming immortality; for it was the first worship of the kind that had been

Exploits of Hêraklês in Sicily.

Hêraklês at Agyrium.

Feast of Hêraklês and Iolaos.

[1] Diod. iv. 23.

[2] Ib. 24; *ἴδιόν τι συνέβη γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀγυριναίων.*

[3] Ib.; *δδοῦ γὰρ οὔσης οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως πετρώδους, αἱ βοῦς τὰ ἴχνη καθάπερ ἐπὶ κηροῦ τινος ἀπετυποῦντο.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

offered to him[1]. For his new worshippers he wrought benefits, making for them a lake before their city which should bear his name, as also should the place which was marked by the feet of his oxen. He then, in a fit, it would seem, of generous and friendly memories, dedicated temples both to his friend Iolaos and to his defeated enemy Gêryonês. Both kept their honours in the days of Diodôros[2]. To Iolaos the youth of Agyrium dedicated their hair; the joint feast of Hêraklês and his chosen comrade was kept year by year with horse-races and athletic games[3]. To these were added rites and banquets whose rules breathed the spirit of the Palici. When the hero came in the flesh to Agyrium, bond and free went forth to meet him. So on the day of Hêraklês the slave shared in all things as the equal of his master[4]. CHAP. II. Kindness to slaves.

This tale, we may be sure, is practically Greek. Sikel Agyrium did not devise its legend of Hêraklês till legends of Hêraklês were pretty well spread throughout Sicily. But the kindly provision about the slaves was surely handed on from some native worship. And the same spirit of kindliness may be seen in the local worship of another sanctuary which has been claimed as Phœnician, but in which I venture to see yet another holy place of the Sikel. This is Hadranum, the seat of the worship of Native and Greek elements. Hadranum.

[1] Diod. iv. 24; ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τιμηθεὶς ἐπίσης τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς πανηγύρεσι καὶ θυσίαις λαμπραῖς, καίπερ κατὰ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνους οὐδεμίαν θυσίαν προσδεχόμενος, τότε πρώτως συνευδόκησε . . . νομίσας ἤδη τι λαμβάνειν τῆς ἀθανασίας, προσεδέχετο τὰς τελουμένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν θυσίας.

[2] Ib.; τέμενος καθιέρωσεν ἥρωϊ Γηρυόνῃ, ὃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τιμᾶται παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις.

[3] Ib. He adds some details. At Agyrium Iolaos is simply the comrade of Hêraklês. Further on (Diod. iv. 29) he appears as the colonizer of Sardinia (cf. Paus. x. 17. 2, Pseud. Arist. Mirab. Auscult, 100). This character perhaps came in when Sardinia was so much in men's minds. See Herod. i. 170; v. 106, 124.

[4] Diod. u. s.; πανδήμου δὲ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων γινομένης, κατέδειξαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἰδίᾳ τιμῶντας τὸν θεὸν θιάσους τε συνάγειν καὶ συνιόντας εὐωχίας τε καὶ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ συντελεῖν.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

the god Hadranus, whose name lives on almost without change in the modern Adernò. The site has been already spoken of, as placed on that lofty ledge of hill which looks down on the windings of Symaithos and looks up to the snows of Ætna. For the god and his temple an easy Semitic derivation has been found. Adrammelech the god of Sepharvaim, or some deity bearing a kindred name, has been translated to the inland Sicilian height[1]. Yet one does not see why the religious mind of the Sikel, or even of the Sikan before him, should not have been equal, on such a spot, to devising a fire-god of his own, without waiting to be enlightened by Semitic teachers. Phœnician wares may well enough have made their way from the coast to the inland parts of the island; Phœnician gods are less likely. There seems no reason to look on Hadranus the fire-god, identified with the Greek Hêphaistos, spoken of as the father of the Palici[2], as anything but yet another of those powers of the underworld whose worship on Sicilian ground was the natural fruit of the physical phænomena of the land. Placed on a point which forms a more prominent object and one more constantly in view than many loftier points, close, to all appearance, to the snowy sides, the fiery top, of Ætna himself, no place could be better suited for the sanctuary of a native god of fire. The helmed and bearded Hadranus, wielding his spear[3], may also have

Hadranus the fire-god.

Whether Phœnician.

[1] Holm (i. 94, 377) is very strong for the Phœnician origin of Hadranos. Movers (i. 340) has a Semitic fire-god אדר or אצר whom we find in the god of Sepharvaim and in the undutiful son of Sennacherib. Michälis (Die Paliken, p. 51) allows him to be Sikel. Cf. Brunet de Presle, 464.

[2] See above, p. 165, and Appendix X.

[3] The town appears in Plutarch (Tim. 12) as πόλις μικρὰ μὲν, ἱερὰ δὲ οὖσα Ἀδρανοῦ, θεοῦ τινος τιμωμένου διαφερόντως ἐν ὅλῃ Σικελίᾳ. We presently hear of his spear, τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ δόρυ. He appears helmed and bearded on Mamertine coins of Messana (Catalogue of Greek Coins, 109; Head, 136). The coins of his own city (p. 3) seem to prefer Apollôn. Head (Hist. Num. 103) has a river-god Adranos. But they are all of Roman date.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

become a war-god. But the change is not a hard one. Latin Mars himself is said to have been in his first estate one of the powers of the earth. CHAP. II. Mars.

As we read the story, the holy place of Hadranus, like the holy place of the Palici, was at first simply a holy place, in whose neighbourhood a city arose at a later time. What a Sikel prince did in the one case a Greek tyrant did in the other; the foundation of the city of Hadranum, a city dedicated to the local god, was a work of the elder Dionysios[1]. Yet he who visits the spot may find it hard to believe that there was not a Sikel stronghold here in days earlier than his. The modern town of Adernò stands, not on any insular or peninsular site, but on a point where the long line of high ground throws out a good many small spurs, like a wall with its supporting towers. And the mount of fire seems to rise immediately above the home of the god of fire. The modern town has shrunk up far within the ancient bounds; at every point save one it withdraws from the edge of the hill; the Norman castle, another rectangular keep like that of Paternò, holds a far less commanding site, standing away from the brink of the high ground and even in the lower part of the present town. But beyond town and castle may still be seen the remains of a temple, most likely that of Hadranus, and those of a city wall, certainly that of Hadranum. The line of the south-eastern wall can be traced right away to one of the most commanding spurs of the hill, and a good deal of the wall itself remains, both there and at points nearer to the castle. At Hadranum the stones of wall and castle and temple are of course cut from the lava; the house of the fire-god was built out of his own gifts. As we look at the wall, we are certainly tempted to assign

Town of Hadranum founded by Dionysios.

Remains at Adernò.

The temple.

The wall.

[1] Diod. xiv. 37; Διονύσιος ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πόλιν ἔκτισεν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς Αἴτνης λόφον, καὶ ἀπό τινος ἐπιφανοῦς ἱεροῦ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὴν Ἄδρανον.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. it to an earlier day than that of the builder of the wall of Epipolai. There is everywhere more or less of a rectangular basement, which comes out most strongly in the remains of the tower which stood on the brow of the hill. But in some parts the rectangular shape is very rude, and the rest of the wall is built of blocks of all kinds of shapes most irregularly laid. Hard by the temple a statue of Aphroditê was found, a goddess whom Greek fancy might couple with the deity of the spot, whether as the fire-god Hêphaistos, or in the other character in which his helmed effigy may have caused him to be looked on as a form of Arês. But it is hard to accept the local belief that the columns, not even monoliths, of the so-called Roman Doric which are to be seen in the head church of Adernò ever came from the great local temple.

Worship of Hadranus.

The town of Hadranum flourished, and the worship of Hadranus went on, far into the days of Roman rule. Of that worship some curious details have come down to us from late sources. He was by this time thoroughly identified with Hêphaistos. His temple could now be spoken of by either name[1]; and it was in his character of Hadranus that Hêphaistos was spoken of as the father of the Palici. This last piece of theogony would seem to carry Hadranus back to the earliest stages of Sikel religion. The Sikels must have known Ætna before they knew the plain of Menænum, and the vaster display of the powers of nature would take its religious shape sooner than the smaller. In the days of Timoleôn, when Hadranus was revered by all Sicily, he already bore his spear like Arês[2]. But men still remembered that he was essentially a local power, a god of Sicily and of the hill in front of

[1] We have two accounts in Ælian's History of Animals (xi. 3. 20), one under the name of Hadranus, the other under that of Hêphaistos. He seems not to have known that he was speaking of the same person.

[2] See p. 184, note 3.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Ætna, a god in short of the elder people of the land[1]. The temple, like other temples, had its precinct and its sacred grove; but, as became the fire-god, a flame never quenched, never allowed to grow dim, blazed for ever in his holy place[2]. The god himself was believed to appear in person to his devout worshippers[3], and he showed in all its fulness the gentle and kindly nature of the Sikel deity, the father of the divine brethren who gave shelter to the slave[4]. His character as the favourer of the good and the punisher of the evil comes out most strongly in the wonderful tale of the thousand trained dogs by which his temple was guarded. The presence of the dog in his service has of course been seized on in order to carry him beyond the European range[5]. But the dog has his place in the worship both of Rome and of Macedonia[6]; and the dogs of Hadranus appear, not as his victims, but as his faithful servants. They have their later parallels in the dogs that guarded the shrine of the martyr of Canterbury and in the dogs that do the bidding of the charitable monks of Saint Bernard. But the training even of these last is hardly equal to that of the wonderful education of the dogs of Hadranus. They had thoroughly mastered the human or divine power of discerning good

CHAP. II.

The dogs.

[1] Ælian, H. A. xi. 20; Ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἀδρανός ἐστι πόλις, ὡς λέγει Νυμφόδωρος, καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ Ἀδρανοῦ νεὼς, ἐπιχωρίου δαίμονος.

[2] Ib. xi. 3; ἐν Αἴτνῃ τῇ Σικελικῇ Ἡφαίστου τιμῶται νεὰς, καὶ ἔστι περίβολος καὶ δένδρα ἱερὰ καὶ πῦρ ἄσβεστόν τε καὶ ἀκοίμητον. He can hardly mean that there was a rival temple at Inêssa. He doubtless uses Αἴτνη quite vaguely.

[3] Ib. xi. 20; πάνυ δὲ ἐναργῆ φησιν εἶναι τοῦτον.

[4] Ib.; τἆλλα ὅσα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγει [Νυμφόδωρος] καὶ ὅπως ἐμφανής ἐστι καὶ ἐς τοὺς δεομένους εὐμενής τε ἅμα καὶ ἵλεως, ἄλλοτε εἰσόμεθα. Unluckily Ælian's convenient season does not seem to have come.

[5] Holm (u. s.) sends us to Movers, i. 405; but Movers sends us back to Argos for dog-slaying there, κυνοφόντις ἑορτή, as it appears in Athênaios, iii. 56, more fully explained by Konôn, Phot. p. 133.

[6] The Roman story everybody knows; but see specially J. Lydus, De Mensibus, iii. 40.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. and evil. They were dogs of great size and beauty, surpassing the breed of Molottis itself[1]. But they knew when to use their strength and when to forbear. By day, when good men, whether strangers or men of the land, came to the temple and the grove, the mighty beasts welcomed them with whine and bound[2]. But he that came with blood on his hands was seized and torn in pieces, while the man of unclean life was, not indeed torn in pieces, but driven away from the holy place[3]. By night, as guardians of the temple, the faithful beasts tore in pieces any who came to rob[4]. But, as its guides, they gently led thither those who had stumbled and lost their way. Nor did they scorn to do the same good office to harmless drunkards, having first dealt out to them the warning chastisement of leaping on them and tearing their clothes to bring them to their senses[5]. The story may be coloured, but it at least points to some very careful and successful training of the dogs of Hadranus. And the love of good and hatred of evil, the power of discerning the two, vested at one place in a sacred beast, at another in the sacred waters, is of a piece with the story of the Palici, and in some measure, as we shall presently see, with the waters of Kamarina. When all that we know of Sikel gods and Sikel worship hangs

[1] Ælian, xi. 20; *κύνες εἰσὶν ἱεροὶ, καὶ οἵδε θεραπευτῆρες αὐτοῦ καὶ λατρεύοντές οἱ, ὑπεραίροντες τὸ κάλλος τοὺς Μολοττοὺς κύνας καὶ σὺν τούτῳ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, χιλίων οὐ μείους τὸν ἀριθμόν.*

[2] Ib. 3; *τοὺς μὲν σωφρόνως καὶ ὡς πρέπει τε ἅμα καὶ χρὴ παριόντας ἐς τὸν νεὼν καὶ τὸ ἄλσος οἵδε σαίνουσι καὶ αἰκάλλουσιν, οἷα φιλοφρονούμενοί τε καὶ γνωρίζοντες δήπου.* Cf. xi. 20, which adds, *εἴτε εἶεν ξένοι εἴτε ἐπιχώριοι.*

[3] Ib. 3; *ἐὰν δέ τις ᾖ τὰς χεῖρας ἐναγὴς, τοῦτον μὲν καὶ δάκνουσι καὶ ἀμύσσουσι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκ τινος ὁμιλίας ἥκοντας ἀκολάστου μόνον διώκουσιν.*

[4] Ib. xi. 20; *τοὺς δὲ μὴν πειρωμένους λωποδυτεῖν διαστῶσι πικρότατα.*

[5] Ib.; *νύκτωρ δὲ τοὺς μεθύοντας ἤδη καὶ σφαλλομένους κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν οἵδε πομπῶν δίκην καὶ ἡγεμόνων μάλα εὐμενῶς ἄγουσι, προηγούμενοι ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἑκάστῳ καὶ τῶν μὲν παροινούντων τιμωρίαν ἀρκοῦσαν ἐσπράττονται· ἐμπηδῶσι γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῖς καταρρηγνύουσι καὶ σωφρονίζουσιν ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτούς.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

so strikingly together, why should we go out of our way to see a Canaanite Moloch in the kindly god below Ætna? The eternal flame burned in the house of Sikel Hadranus, as it burned in the house of Latin Vesta; but assuredly no human victim ever passed through the fire to either. CHAP. II.

One hardly knows whether it is right to take in this place even the slightest glance at some well-known legends which are distinctly Sicilian in the local sense, but in which it would be rash to assert that even the faintest trace of native tradition lingers. They have at least been thoroughly made the play of Greek fancy at various times. In the tale of Akis and Galateia the Homeric Kyklôps appears, neither as the forger of thunderbolts nor the builder of walls; but as once more the giant shepherd of the Odyssey. He occupies his Sicilian quarters, on the coast between Katanê and Naxos. He is the lover of the Nereid Galateia, whose name, Homeric[1] and Hesiodic[2], has clearly been suggested by the flocks of the giant. His rival Akis, whom the nymph in most versions prefers to him, he crushes as he crushed the companions of Odysseus, and from the blood of the victim flows the small and cold stream which bore his name, a name which has been handed on to the modern Acireale and Aci del Castello[3]. A short-lived stream

Legend of Akis, Galateia, and Polyphêmos.

The river Akis.

[1] In the list of Nereids in the Iliad (xviii. 45) Galateia is one of the few that have an epithet, and her epithet is one which awakens more curiosity about ἀγακλειτὴ Γαλάτεια than about Ἀλίη βοῶπις and εἰνάλοκαμος Ἀμάθεια. The higher criticism might suggest that the list was not drawn up till the fame of Galateia had been more spread abroad than that of her sisters.

[2] Hesiod. Theog. 250, where she is only εὐειδής.

[3] Silius, xiv. 224;

"Dum fugit agrestem violenti pectoris iram,
In tenues liquefactus aquas evasit et hostem,
Et tibi victricem, Galatea, immiscuit undam."

The nymph tells the story herself with much detail in Ovid, Met. xiii. 882 et seqq. To some the words "puniceus color" might suggest genealogies or etymologies at least less out of place than some that we shall

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

making its way from out of a volcanic *katabothron*, it might well seem to flow from beneath the rock which the giant hurled at his rival. Theokritos and Ovid have told the story, each in his own fashion, and the learned Roman, an observant Sicilian traveller, has not unnaturally brought in a greater store of local notices than the native poet of Sicilian shepherds[1]. Lucian too has made the tale the subject of a sportive dialogue[2]. But the most unexpected version is that which is as old as Timaios, and to which Appian, after weighing many tales which he thought fabulous, gave a solemn assent[3]. Here Polyphêmos is not scorned by the nymph—even hostile versions allow that at the time of his wooing he was young and still had an eye[4]. But the relations between the two grow into matter of the gravest ethnological import, and Sicily, the land into which so many nations have swarmed, becomes itself a land from which nations go forth to seek new homes. To Polyphêmos and Galateia were born three sons, Keltos, Illyrios, and Galas, who set forth from their native island to rule over the nations which took their names from them[5]. We need hardly stop to comment, save

Galateia and Galatia.

come to. Akis, one may mark, is here "Symæthius heros." He is (750) the son of Latin Faunus—in which it is just possible that a Sikel tradition may linger,—and an easily made nymph Symæthis.

[1] Ovid (Met. xiii. 729; xiv. 1) brings in the story with a good deal of his careful geography. Theokritos (vi. 6 and xvi.) had no such need.

[2] In the first of the Ἐνάλιοι Διάλογοι, where Galateia is less stern than in some versions. There is a geographical picture in § 2; ποιμαίνων ποτὲ ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς παιζούσας ἡμᾶς ἰδὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ῥίζης ἐν τοῖς πρόποσι τῆς Αἴτνης, καθὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ τῆς θαλάττης αἰγιαλὸς ἀπομηκύνεται.

[3] Appian, Illyr. (2); τόδε μοι μάλιστα, πολλὰ μυθευόντων ἕτερα πολλῶν, ἀρέσκει.

[4] Theok. xi. 8;

ὠρχαῖος Πολύφαμος, ὅκ' ἤρατο τᾶς Γαλατείας,
ἄρτι γενειάσδων περὶ τὸ στόμα τὼς κροτάφως τε.

In 31 he reports of himself;

εἷς δ' ὀφθαλμὸς ὕπεστι, πλατεῖα δὲ ῥὶς ἐπὶ χείλει.

[5] Appian, u. s.; Πολυφήμῳ γὰρ τῷ Κύκλωπι καὶ Γαλατείᾳ Κελτὸν καὶ Ἰλλυριὸν καὶ Γάλαν παῖδας ὄντας ἐξορμῆσαι Σικελίας, καὶ ἄρξαι τῶν δι' αὐ-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

possibly to ask whether some dim thought of the colonies planted by Dionysios on and near the Illyrian coast were at all in the mind of the inventor of this wonderful genealogy. CHAP. II.

Sicilian history is more concerned with a casual fragment, which may be a mere rationalizing explanation, but in which some local fact or tradition may possibly lurk. Douris of Samos held that the story of the love of Polyphêmos for Galateia arose out of the existence of a temple which the shepherd enriched by the milk of his flocks built to the honour of the Nereid. This comes by way of rebuke to the less learned poet Philoxenos, the guest of Dionysios, whose mind, seemingly not given to antiquarian research, could, in the poem which he devoted to Galateia, think of nothing less common-place than a love-story[1]. To us perhaps the mention of the temple suggests some fellow-feeling with Douris. Where did it stand? Somewhere near Ætna; that is all. Now the vanished cities of Euboia and Kallipolis were somewhere in this region. If we had any records of them surviving, one might possibly find traces of some local worship of the local stream into which the Hellenic fancy had worked in the two Homeric names.

Version of Douris.

Poem of Philoxenos.

τοὺς Κελτῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν λεγομένων. It appears from the Etym. Magn. in Γαλατία that the version which Appian preferred is as old as Timaios. Γαλατία χώρα ὠνομάσθη, ὡς φησι Τίμαιος, ἀπὸ Γαλατοῦ, Κύκλωπος καὶ Γαλατίας υἱοῦ. The Etymologist was clearly thinking only of the Asiatic Γαλατία.

[1] The fragment (43, C. Müller, ii. 479) comes from a scholiast on Theokritos; Δοῦρίς φησιν, διὰ τὴν τῶν θρεμμάτων πολυπληθειαν καὶ τοῦ γάλακτος ἱδρύσασθαι [Πολύφημον] ἱερὸν ἐν Αἴτνῃ τῇ Γαλατείᾳ. Φιλόξενον δὲ τὸν Κυθήριον ἐπιβημήσαντα, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐπινοῆσαι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀναπλάσαι, ὅτι Πολύφημος ἦρα Γαλατείας. Of Philoxenos, his presence in Sicily and his poem on Galateia, doubtless the source from which many drew, we shall hear again. The tale is thus carried back to the days of Dionysios. . What is the exact force of building a temple ἐν Αἴτνῃ (cf. Diod. xi. 26, of Gelôn, where the phrase is κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην)? Did Philoxenos or Douris carry back any of the towns called Ætna to mythical times?

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Legend of Daphnis.

The story of Polyphêmos and Galateia is put by Theokritos into the mouth of Daphnis, as the story of Daphnis himself is put into the mouth of Thyrsis[1]. Others put Daphnis in an age when Akis had not yet become a river[2]. His tale too, from whatever source it came, was old enough to be recorded in the Sicilian History of Timaios[3]. His name is palpably Greek; but the shepherd of the Heraian mountains, then clothed with a greater wealth of trees than they have now, is at least Sikel in his dwelling-place[4]. Founder, we are told, of the craft of the bucolic poets[5], he won the love of a nymph, whose name is variously given[6]. Warned that faithlessness to her would be punished with blindness, he falls a victim to the wiles of a daughter of a prince of the land[7]. The vengeance of his earlier mistress overtakes him, and in some versions it takes a harder form than had been threatened. He falls from a rock in his blindness; he is himself changed

His transformation by Cephalœdium.

[1] Theok. vi. 5, i. 65. Thyrsis is ὠὲξ Αἴτνας, and speaks of Ἄκιδος ἱερὸν ὕδωρ.

[2] So says Nymphodôros of Syracuse, as corrected in Fr. 2 (C. Müller, ii. 376, cf. Ebert. Diss. Sic. 280); Νυμφόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Σικελίας θαυμαζομένων φησὶν ὅτι ἐπὶ Δάφνιδος Ἄκις ποταμὸς Σικελίας οὐκ ἦν.

[3] Diod. iv. 84 (see above, p. 70); ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ συναγκείας δένδρων οὔσης θεοπρεποῦς, καὶ Νύμφαις ἄλσους ἀνειμένου, μυθολογοῦσι γεννηθῆναι τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Δάφνιν, Ἑρμοῦ μὲν καὶ νύμφης υἱὸν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς φυομένης δάφνης ὀνομάσθαι Δάφνιν. Ælian, V. H. x. 18; τεχθέντα δὲ ἐκτεθῆναι ἐν δάφνῃ.

[4] Timaios, 4 (C. Müller, i. 193), preserved in the Erotica of Parthenios (29); βουκολῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην χείματός τε καὶ θέρους ἠγραύλει. I prefer the less obvious geography of Diodôros. In Ælian his cows are sisters to the oxen of Hêlios.

[5] Diod. iv. 84; φύσει δὲ διαφόρῳ πρὸς εὐμέλειαν κεχορηγημένον, ἐξευρεῖν τὸ βουκολικὸν ποίημα καὶ μέλος, ὃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν τυγχάνει διαμένον ἐν ἀποδοχῇ.

[6] Diodôros gives her no name. Timaios calls her Echenaïs. Ælian (V. H. x. 18) waxes eloquent over the beauty of Daphnis. In another version he was the ἐράμενος, not the son, of Hermês.

[7] So both Timaios and Diodôros. The seducer is in Timaios μία τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν βασιλίδων. The phrase might be thought to come from the court of the second Hierôn, which Timaios barely lived to see.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

into a rock; his stony likeness was said to abide, far away from his native hills, on the Sikel coast of the northern sea, hard by the headland of Cephalœdium[1]. CHAP. II.

In tales like this it is just possible that some native tradition may linger, however tricked out it may be by the lively fancy of the Greek. At all events Greek fancy amused itself by attaching tales to spots which are essentially Sikel and which play no part in the Hellenic history of the island. Even Galateia and Daphnis thus become witnesses to the way in which the Sikel lived on, influenced by the Greek and influencing him in turn, till the distinction between the two altogether died out. And we must further remember that the Sikel people were not confined to the one land to which they gave their name, and that we may fairly look for signs of Sikel custom and religion, not only in Sicily, but also in the neighbouring land where we know that Sikels once dwelled. Of this we have at least one distinct witness. In the Italian Lokroi, treacherously founded by Greeks at the cost of Sikels, many traces of Sikel custom and Sikel religion are recorded to have lived on[2]. In this special case the cause is said to have been because the settlers at Lokroi, unable to claim an acknowledged metro-

Sikels out of Sicily.

Sikel customs at the Italian Lokroi.

[1] Servius ad Æn. viii. 68. We here get other names both for the nymph and her rival. What follows is of more local importance; "ab irata nympha amatrice luminibus orbatus est, deinde (in) lapidem versus: nam apud Cephalœditanum oppidum saxum dicitur esse, quod formam hominis ostendat."

But what suggested Cephalœdium for one who could have found several rocks nearer his birth-place?

[2] Pol. xii. 5; *αὐτοὶ καὶ πλείω τῶν Σικελικῶν ἐθῶν παραλαβόντες διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς πάτριον ὑπάρχειν.* The reason given is because of the origin of the Lokrians, who were said to be a gang of runaway slaves and the like, who had carried with them a number of well-born women. One must suppose that this Sikel origin of the Lokrian customs was matter of local belief. The Sikels of Sicily were surely too thoroughly hellenized in Polybios' time for him to have made any inferences from his own observation.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. polis in any Greek city, had no ancestral customs of their own. But the like must have been the case everywhere; it was the case in every Greek settlement; the Greek in distant lands never kept himself altogether pure from the influence of his barbarian neighbours [1]. Least of all could this ever have been the case in Sicily; the fact that the Sikel could take in so much from the Greek would of itself show that the Greek also took in something from the Sikel. In short we have seen already, and we shall see yet further as we go on, that the history of the Sikels is no small part of the history of the island which was specially theirs. It was not without fitness that the island bore their name and not that of any other of its inhabitants, that it changed from *Sikania* to *Sikelia* and did not change again. The Greek-speaking people for whom Cicero pleaded must have been made up of many elements strangely unlike each other; but, if heads could have been counted, the Sikel element must have outnumbered every other. A people in their peculiar position, in their peculiar stage of culture, supplied better materials for fusion with the Hellenic settlers than either men in a ruder state or men who were, like the Phœnicians, representatives of an alien civilization. The Sikel became Greek with none to step in between him and the Greek; we may suspect that the carrying out of the work over the rest of the island was in many places the result of the rule of Rome. Everywhere the Roman carried Greece with him; but Sicily came into his hands as a Greek land, in which Greek was the element to be encouraged and extended. But it was, we may be sure, no small help in the work that the Greek had had the Sikel, first for an unwilling and then for a willing, learner.

Sicily rightly Σικελία.

Fusion of Greeks and Sikels

[1] This is well enlarged on by Grote, iii. 234, 492; iv. 53, 66.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

§ 5. *The Elymians.*

The Elymians.

The third among those races of Sicily with which we are concerned at this stage differs from both Sikans and Sikels in the nature of the accounts which we have of their several origins. The little that we know of Sikans and Sikels is strictly traditional; that is, it comes from a source trustworthy in its own nature, though not a little liable to be corrupted. The origin of the Elymians comes within the range of legend, and that kind of legend which always savours of deliberate invention. Their claim to be sprung from a mixed settlement of Trojans and Phokians after the fall of Ilios[1] is a story of quite another kind from the story of the Sikels crossing the strait on their rafts three hundred years before the coming of the Greeks into Sicily. Every tale which connects the origin of any city or people with the Trojan story is at once marked as suspicious. It is not only suspicious—we might say something more—as a matter of fact; it awakens a strong suspicion of deliberate invention. The Trojan story was the common resort of cities whose foundation was known not to be of yesterday, but which had no undoubted badges of connexion with any elder Greek city. When a city had no acknowledged Theoklês or Archias to point to, nothing was easier than to claim one of the wandering heroes as its founder. If a city chose to say that it was founded by Aineias or Odysseus, who could disprove it? Those heroes sailed into every part of the world, and either of them might have left a settlement behind him anywhere. That the Elymians of north-western Sicily joined themselves on to the Trojan cycle and claimed a descent partly Trojan, partly Greek, showed either that they had no clear tradition of their origin or else that they had wilfully corrupted it. This is true even of the earlier and simpler version of the story

Their alleged Trojan origin.

Suspicious character of all Trojan stories.

Different forms of the Trojan story.

[1] Thuc. vi. 2. See Appendix XII.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. which, as we have just said, makes the supposed Trojans of Sicily flee from Troy after the Achaian capture. The story, in its first shape, may or may not have brought in the name of Aineias; the words of Thucydides are too few to tell us whether it did or not. But when we come, as we presently shall, to the elaborate stories in later writers, which make the Elymians of Sicily a Trojan settlement earlier than the Achaian capture[1], we shall see the stamp of distinct invention yet more clearly. And alongside of these we have to deal with another set of legends in which we hear nothing about Troy, but in which we may suspect that both Greek and Phœnician elements are mingled. We have already heard of Hêraklês at Eryx[2], and all mythical chronology gives him precedence over any one who sailed away from burning Ilios. The tale of earlier Trojan settlement is plainly inserted to get over this chronological difficulty.

Legend of Hêraklês at Eryx.

As a statement of fact, the Trojan origin of the Elymians seems to come one degree nearer to history than the story of Hêraklês coming to Eryx with the oxen of Gêryonês. In truth it is one degree further off. The legend of Hêraklês grew in the way that legends do grow, a way in which there certainly is small regard for truth, but in which there is no conscious assertion of falsehood. The claim to a Trojan origin might be equally made without any feeling of guilty falsehood; but it was direct invention as distinguished from mythical growth. As statements of fact, both stories go for nothing. But both may be instructive as telling us something of the circumstances and the state of mind of the people among whom such tales arose. And it is certain that the existence of both tales had a practical effect on the course of Sicilian history. We

Comparison of the stories.

[1] On the accounts in Lykophrôn and Dionysios, see Appendix XII.

[2] See above, p. 182. On the legend of Hêraklês in Diodôros, see Appendix XII.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

shall see that the belief that Hêraklês had made Eryx his own led to real enterprises on the part of men of Herakleid birth to win back the lands of their divine forefather[1]. And the fact that the people of Segesta claimed to be children of Troy had important effects when others who claimed to be children of Troy came to meddle in the affairs of Sicily. Their Trojan origin stood them—or their successors—in good stead at the hands of their Roman kinsmen. And in a certain sense the claim of kindred was well founded. That is to say, the same line of thought was at work in the Latin and in the Elymian legend. Neither could have arisen till the tale of Troy and that aftergrowth of it which grew into the tale of the wanderings of Aineias were widely spread and fully accepted far beyond the immediate Hellenic range. The claim of the Elymians to a direct Greek connexion, through wandering Phokians joining with the Trojan settlers, most likely came later. It belongs to times when Segesta and Eryx had been brought within the direct range of Greek influence in Sicily itself.

Later results of the stories.

Alleged Greek element latest of all.

Who the Elymians were I will not pretend to say as a matter of mere guess-work. When Pausanias calls them Phrygians[2], it is simply the Trojan story in another shape. It is as when Euripidês and a crowd of other writers call the men of Ilios itself Phrygians. It is easy to connect the Elymian name with the Elam of the East; it would be no less easy to connect either or both with the Elimiôtis of Macedonia or the Elymia of Arkadia[3]. Once more, all such mere likenesses of name go for nothing, unless they are supported by some strong corroborative evidence. The Elymians were, in the Greek sense, barbarians. The alleged Greek intermixture was either so little believed or

The Elymian name.

The Elymians barbarians.

[1] See Appendix XII.

[2] v. 25. 2. See Appendix XII.

[3] See Xen. Hell. v. 2. 38, vi. 5. 13, for the Macedonian and the Arkadian Elymia. The latter seems to be mentioned nowhere else.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. was held to be so slight as not to take them out of that class[1]. But they are barbarians who stand alone; they are not Sikan; they are not Sikel; they are not Phœnician. Setting aside one story—perhaps not without a meaning—which brings them, as well as Sikans and Sikels, out of Italy[2], there is nothing to tell us whence they came. If we are driven to make guesses out of mere likeness of name, it is easier to pass from Sicily to Macedonia or Arkadia or from Macedonia or Arkadia into Sicily than it is to reach Sicily from Upper Asia. Of the language of the Elymians we have no certain remains beyond a strange, perhaps barbarian, case-ending which has made its way into coins which are in every other respect Greek[3]. With no better evidence than this, it is safest to confess that a corner of Sicily was held by a people of uncertain origin, of whom we can only say that they were neither Sikan nor Sikel, neither Greek nor Phœnician, but that they were largely brought within the range of both Greek and Phœnician influences.

Likeness of names elsewhere.

On one point alone we may perhaps risk a guess, not indeed at chronology in days when there is no reckoning of time, but at the mere order of settlement. We can hardly suppose that the Elymians were an earlier people than the Sikans, driven into a corner by the Sikans. They are far more likely to have been colonists in the strictest sense, in the same sense as the Phœnicians and the Greeks. That is, they were strangers from some other land, who found a corner which the Sikans had failed to occupy or from which they could be driven out. That corner is one of the real corners of Sicily, its north-western

The Elymians probably colonists in the strict sense.

[1] They are not only called *βάρβαροι* in Thucydides' list, vi. 2, but Nikias in v. 11 speaks *οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἐγεσταῖοι, ἄνδρες βάρβαροι*. To be sure, it was just then his object to make them of as little account as might be.

[2] Quoted by Dionysios from Hellanikos. See Appendix XII.

[3] On the last theory of all on this head, put forth since this was written, I shall say something in Appendix XII.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

corner; the Elymian territory lay partly on the northern and partly on the western side of the island. That the modern Castellamare, on its own deep bay, represents the ancient haven of Segesta there seems no reasonable doubt. And if so, it seems to follow that the rest of the north-west coast of Sicily belonged to the Elymian sea-board, in other words that no settlement of any other people came between the haven of Segesta and the haven of Eryx. In truth there was nothing to lead to any such settlement. The coast is rocky and nearly harbourless, and no town of any size seems ever to have arisen on or near it. Hykkara was a Sikan neighbour to the east of the port of Segesta; Motya was a Phœnician neighbour to the south of the port of Eryx. But who shall dare to guess in what order Eryx became Elymian and Motya Phœnician? It is enough if we hold that the Sikan was there before either, even if we believe that Hykkara was not among the points where he first fixed himself.

CHAP. II.

Castellamare the haven of Segesta.

The chief of Elymian cities was ever Segesta, but the crown of the Elymian territory was the sacred mount of Eryx. The voyager from Palermo to Trapani, as he turns to the south and enters the western sea of Sicily, sees its huge mass as the chief object in his view. Its vast bulk slopes up, with one break only on the western side, to the single summit once crowned by the city and temple, and still crowned by the modern town which represents them. And Eryx soars yet more proudly through its contrast with the low peninsula stretching into the sea in face of it, the peninsula on which rose the town which was to be its haven. That peninsula, which, from its sickle-like shape, took on Greek lips the name of Drepanon or Drepana, will be found by him who walks the streets of modern Trapani to rise enough above the sea to furnish a slope on either side. But in the approach by sea the buildings of the town seem to float upon the waters, like Venice itself.

Eryx.

Drepana.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. Lying close to the foot of Eryx, with the lofty islands of Aigousa shutting in the view behind it, the aspect of Drepana is more striking than it could have been in any other place. What was its history? Little as we know of the mysterious race that held Segesta, we know at least what manner of sites they chose for their cities. They are sites which help to prove the early date of their settlement in Sicily. They are not such as either the Phœnician or the Greek would have chosen. The Elymian settlers had clearly not learned to love the sea. Of their two sites neither is on the sea-shore. Both indeed stand within sight of the sea; one of them is very near to it; both in aftertimes had havens on its shore; but we may doubt whether they had havens from the beginning. We may suspect that Drepana did not become the haven of Eryx till ages after Eryx, town and temple, had come into being.

The Elymian sites.

Segesta and Eryx.

The two absolutely certain Elymian sites are well contrasted with one another. For the centre of Elymian power a site was chosen at once conspicuous within its own bounds and shrouded from the outer world. For the outpost of the race in the face of mankind, for their hill-fortress looking over land and sea, they chose a site which might seem to have received a charge from nature to make itself renowned by illustrious deeds. Of these two settlements everything suggests that the inland Segesta was the elder. The founders of Eryx indeed neglected what, according to all Greek and Phœnician ideas, was a most tempting site in the peninsula of Drepana, and preferred to place their city on the top of a huge mountain. Still Eryx stands in a close relation to the sea. The waters form a large part of its wide landscape, and they all but wash one side of the rock itself. Once, we may believe, the rock itself was an island. But Segesta is wholly inland. From its height indeed the sea

Relations of the two to the sea.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

forms a marked feature in the view; but it is the distant view of a bay fenced in by land on either side, a bay which comes nearer than any other in Sicily to reminding us of the inland seas of Greece. At Eryx the sea is an immediate neighbour; at Segesta it is a distant friend or a distant enemy; when Segesta was first founded, it was most likely a distant enemy. The haven of Segesta or Castellamare is full six miles in a straight line from the ancient town, a greater distance than that of Peiraieus from Athens. The founders of Segesta took the sea into their reckonings only to keep as far from its waters as they could. In idea at least, Segesta belongs to the oldest class of cities; Eryx belongs to a class at least one stage younger. And, while Segesta has utterly perished, Eryx still survives under a borrowed name. An existing town, a dwelling-place of man, still in part girded by its ancient walls, has never ceased to sit on the mountain-top, on the site of the Elymian city and of its famous house of Aphroditê.

Segesta the older settlement.

Segesta then, the greater and, we may safely add, the older, of the Elymian settlements, was a city essentially inland. Its distance from any other town is considerable. Phœnician Panormos and Motya, whose settlement may have been as old as that of Segesta itself, and Greek Selinous, which assuredly did not arise till long after any of them, were its nearest neighbours of importance. Two Sikan posts, Hykkara on the coast and inland Entella[1], stood nearer, but were of less moment. Panormos, Motya, and Selinous, holding their several points on three shores of the island, thus held Segesta hemmed in between them. With its Phœnician neighbours the Elymian city seems to have been on good terms from the beginning[2]; but we often hear of its disputes about boundaries and other

Position of Segesta.

Its relations to Phœnicians and Greeks.

[1] On the Sikan, not Elymian, character of Entella, see above, p. 122, and Appendix XII.

[2] Thucydides (vi. 2) speaks of the Phœnicians when they withdrew westward as *ξυμμαχίᾳ πίσυνοι τῇ τῶν Ἐλύμων*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

matters with its one Greek neighbour Selinous. As the territory of the two commonwealths marched on each other, it is plain that the land of the two together stretched from the northern to the southern sea, and cut off Phœnician Motya from Phœnician Panormos and Solous. But on the most memorable occasion of dispute between Segesta and Selinous, the ground of quarrel shows that the relations between the two commonwealths were not always unfriendly, and also that Segesta must, by that time at least, have made no small progress in Hellenic ways. The dispute turned, not only on questions of boundary, but on rights of marriage[1]. Greek Selinous would hardly have granted rights of that kind to a city of mere barbarians, who had shown no capacity for entering the Hellenic fold.

Segesta and Selinous.

What little we know of Segesta in other ways leads us to the same conclusion. The name of the city was changed on Hellenic lips according to a law of change which affected many words in the Greek language itself. Segesta—the Latins, as usual, preserved the true name—became Egesta or Aigesta in all Greek writings, save on the coins of the city itself. On those coins, silver and copper, spread over the whole time of Greek numismatic art in Sicily, coins with the hound, the nymph, and the river-god, the art is Greek, the language is Greek, save that the name of the town always keeps its native beginning, and sometimes puts on a native ending[2]. The surviving monuments of Segesta are Greek; on that it is hardly needful to insist. But on some of these points the Phœnicians themselves came under Greek influence no less than the Elymians. The coinage of Panormos became no less Greek in point of art than that of Segesta. Segesta however had points of connexion with Greece which are not to be found in Panormos or any

Name of the town.

Greek influence of Segesta.

[1] Thuc. vi. 6; *περί τε γαμικῶν τινῶν καὶ περὶ γῆς ἀμφισβητήτου.*

[2] Some of the coins are of very fine work; but the head of Segesta is not like the head either of Arethousa or of Queen Philistis.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

other Phœnician city. Had we not been distinctly told that Segesta was not a Greek city, we should hardly have found it out from the facts of her history. Thucydides tells us that the people of Segesta were Elymian, and that the Elymians were barbarians; but neither in his narrative nor in any other are they systematically marked off as Elymian and barbarian in the way in which both Phœnicians and Sikels are marked off. Segesta is constantly spoken of along with the Greek cities, Selinous or any other, in matters of war and peace, without any hint that she was not a Greek city like the rest. A war with Segesta, a treaty with Segesta, is hardly ever spoken of as a war or a treaty with barbarians. The truth no doubt is that, as the non-Hellenic origin of the Elymians was believed in and boasted of by themselves, the people of Segesta were, in a formal list of the inhabitants of the island, necessarily set down as barbarians, and any orator to whom it was convenient could speak of them as such. But the origin which they claimed, non-Hellenic as it was, brought them near to Hellas. The Trojan had a right in the Homeric tale as well as the Achaian. And they must have been very early admitted to the fellowship of Hellenic life in a way in which the Carthaginian never could be admitted and the Sikel could not be as yet.

CHAP. II.

Effect of the Trojan tradition.

The still abiding remains of Segesta are among the most striking remains of antiquity, and they have a character of their own in which no other monuments have a share. But they tell us less of the city itself than the remains of many other ancient towns, whether destroyed or still existing. At Segesta there is next to nothing that can be called ruins. No solitary columns stand, as at Nemea and Corinth and by the Syracusan harbour, as surviving witnesses of great buildings which have fallen. There is no group of buildings, standing, as at Poseidônia, or ruined,

Remains of Segesta.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

The temple.

as at Selinous, to make us feel that we are looking on the remains of a great city. The temple of Segesta stands by itself; as far as there is anything about the temple itself to tell us, it might have been meant to stand by itself on its hill, like a Cistercian abbey in its dale. It has indeed a fellow, a second witness of the great days of Segesta; but while the temple on its lower hill is seen far away, the theatre on its loftier hill is barely seen from the foot of its own height. The hill of the temple stands between two loftier hills. Of these, that which forms the akropolis, the hill of the theatre, parted from the temple by a steep chasm, stands to the left in the ordinary approach. From the akropolis we feel that the Elymian territory forms a whole. The eye ranges over its full extent. The gulf of Castellamare is seen to the north; the mountain of Eryx to the west. And little is seen that is not Elymian. The only towns that come in view are the two Saracen creations of Alcamo and Calatafimi, which arose as in some sort substitutes for Segesta after its ruin. The extent of the lower city is unmarked by walls; but, as we follow the steep path which leads from the foot of the hill of the akropolis to its summit, it is easy to trace the line of the rampart, while at one point there are the clear remains of a square strengthening tower. In the same hill-side, looking towards the sea, the theatre is hewn out after the Greek fashion. At the foot of the hill runs a small stream, sometimes swelled by rain into a fierce torrent. It is a tributary of Timoleôn's Krimisos, and is the stream to which the people of Segesta, in the spirit of their supposed Trojan origin, gave the name of Skamandros[1].

The theatre.

View of the Elymian land.

Eryx.

The other Elymian settlement, Eryx on its mightier hill, disguised under the name of Saint Julian's Mount, with no single object to compare to the theatre, still less

[1] See Diod. xx. 71.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

to the temple, of Segesta, has, as a city, more to show. CHAP. II.
And the spot has been clad by legend and by later history with attractions and associations of so many kinds that it is at once needful and a little hard to think of Eryx as simply the other Elymian settlement in Sicily. The alleged Trojan origin of the people, the dedication of the great temple to Aphroditê mother of Aineias, naturally suggested to Virgil the bringing of Eryx into a tale into which he had already brought Carthage. At this legend we shall presently glance; in historic times Eryx comes to the front as the scene of some of the most striking passages in the first great war between her then Phœnician foe and her Roman kinsman. And the great temple lived on when Eryx as a city had ceased to be. The height was crowded with worshippers[1]; the fame of Aphroditê of Eryx went forth into all lands; the name of the mount became familiar in poetic phrase; and "Erycina ridens" has been known to many who have never given a thought to the primitive Elymian settlement or even to the fortress so stoutly defended by Hamilkar.

The temple.

Eryx then differs from Segesta in that, without being a city in or upon the sea, it is emphatically a city by and above the sea. The mountain rises on its north-western side, if not sheer from the waters, yet with the merest rim of land between the waves and the mountain. To the west and south lies the wide lowland which forms the western seaboard of Sicily, suggesting the kindred flats of Somerset and Gwent on either side of the Bristol Channel. To the west lie Drepana and the isles of Aigousai, standing like guard-ships off the coast and lifting their bold outlines high above the waters. They suggest the islands by the Dalmatian shore; one indeed almost rivals the comb-like sky-line of Meleda. The mountain of Eryx

The mountain of Eryx.

[1] See the account of Eryx in Roman days which Diodôros brings in before its time, iv. 83.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. undoubtedly looks forth on summits higher than itself, in the direction of the range which fences in the land of Panormos to the east. But in the wide view over land and sea, the points really to notice are that, while it looks back to its fellow, perhaps its parent, Segesta, it also looks down on one of the heads of Phœnician Sicily. Some say that at specially favourable times a glimpse may be had of Africa itself. One thing is certain; nowhere does the solitary mountain rise so proudly over the whole western land as when we draw near to Sicily in the path of the enemy, the path that brought the Carthaginian and the Saracen to her shores. As Eryx is seen from the African sea, we understand the mistaken belief of Polybios[1] that it was, among the mountains of Sicily, the next in height to Ætna. Far lower, not only than Ætna, but than a crowd of other Sicilian mountains, Eryx, the western akropolis of Sicily[2], holds the place of Ætna, the eastern akropolis, in its own quarter of the island. The height may seem to beckon to the men of Africa to come and take possession; it may seem to stand forth as the bulwark of the land against them. The recorded history of the mountain and of the city on its summit is inseparably wound up with the tale of Phœnicia in Sicily, and above all with its last stage. We seem to have a panorama of the wars of Greece, Africa, and Italy, spread out before us, when we look down close beneath our feet on the waters which saw the defeat of Publius Claudius and the victory of Gaius Lutatius. And further to the south, we look to the low western point of Sicily, with the lower isle of Motya beside it, calling up at once the most stirring tale of warfare in the Punic wars of Rome and the bloodiest day of victory in the Punic wars of Syracuse.

Its Phœnician view.

Eryx from the African sea.

If in all this we have a contrast to the other Elymian site of Segesta, we have a yet stronger contrast to the

Eryx and Henna.

[1] See above, p. 57.

[2] See above, p. 54.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

great Sikel site of Henna. Both heights supplied sites equally commanding for the throne of a patron deity and for the citadel of an ancient people. But the waves beat at the foot of Eryx; from Henna the line of the waters is but seldom and faintly seen. To the foot of Eryx the keels of Tyre and Sidon came to traffic, perhaps to conquer. The navel of Sicily lay open to no such rude and sudden invasions. None could reach her in war or in peace who had not dwelled long enough on the soil of Sicily to draw in something of local feeling from the soil of Sicily. Hence came that gradual mixture of Greek and Sikel religion and everything else of which Henna is the centre and type. At the stages of the process we can only guess; but of the general nature of the process we have no doubt. But at the process by which the temple on Eryx became a house of Phœnician Ashtoreth we cannot even guess. We cannot even feel sure whether it was or was not a house of Ashtoreth from the beginning. For of the nature of Elymian religion we can say nothing. So again we at once ask whether the haven of Eryx, the haven which supplanted the city on the height, was the haven of Eryx when Eryx was purely Elymian, or whether it only became so in later times under Phœnician rule or at least under Phœnician influence. We ask again whether the island which seems hardly to rise above the waters, that Motya which was for several ages so great a Phœnician stronghold, was already in Phœnician hands when Elymian settlers first occupied the mount of Eryx. Such questions make us feel the difference between history, even of the vaguest kind, and simple guess-work. To the Phœnician settlements in Sicily we can give no dates; we must remember that the event to which we can give an approximate date, the choice of Motya as one of the points to be kept as a seat of Phœnician power [1], tells us nothing

CHAP. II.

Questions as to the temple and the haven.

[1] Thuc. vi. 2.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Phœnician and Elymian settlements.

as to the original foundation of Motya, most likely ages earlier. But the Phœnician settlements, if without date, are still historic; we know what folk their founders were and from what land they came. We know their tongue and their writing, and the great place which that tongue and writing holds in the history of the culture of our own stock. We can call up some kind of picture of the Phœnician settlers on Motya; we can call up none of the Elymian settlers on Eryx. We can only say that the man of Canaan, whether at Sidon or at Motya, loved to live in the nearest neighbourhood of the waters, while he who, from whatever quarter he came, loved to call himself a man of Troy, even when dwelling near the sea, even when ready to make immediate use of the nearness of the sea, liked better to plant his actual dwelling-place on the highest top of a steep mountain. Whatever were their relative dates, the Phœnician of Motya must have looked up at Eryx with the feeling that he represented a further advance in human progress than his neighbour. The hill city of Eryx, looking down on its haven at Drepana, belongs to the same stage as the elder Corinth looking down from its peak on what were to be the two havens at its feet. When men settled on Akrokorinthos, Corinth was not yet dreamed of as a centre of the world's traffic. Nor did any such dream fill the thoughts of the settlers on Eryx, even if they presently learned, like the settlers of Akrokorinthos, to value Drepana as the outlet to the watery paths. When and under what influences they took that step, we cannot even guess. They may have grown to that stage of themselves; they may have followed Phœnician models; they may have been brought early under Phœnician lordship. We cannot say; we can only say that the two Elymian settlements seem to have lain open to different influences. Segesta practically became

The Elymians begin as a land-folk.

Greater advance of the Phœnicians.

Different influences at Segesta and Eryx.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Greek; we are tempted to believe that Eryx practically became Phœnician. When it did so we cannot say. The great existing monuments of Eryx are Phœnician, but Phœnician of the days of Carthage. They must have been built a good many ages after the time when Drepana first became the haven of Eryx. CHAP. II.

Of these Phœnician remains at Eryx, and of such other notices as we can find of the influence of Phœnicia on the Elymians of Sicily, we may speak elsewhere. It will be well at this stage to look at the various forms of legend which have grown up on the soil of Eryx and elsewhere in Elymian Sicily as to the foundation and early fortunes of the Elymian settlement. The legend of Hêraklês has every sign of being the oldest; but it is not strictly a foundation legend, and it is a local legend of Eryx which in no way touches Segesta. Its value is this, that the story of Dôrieus shows it to have been fully accepted in the sixth century before Christ, and further that it is inconsistent with the Trojan story, which is thereby proved to be a later invention. Hêraklês coming from the West into Sicily with the oxen of Gêryonês is a story which we have come across already. But at Rhêgion, at Syracuse, at Agyrium[1], we meet with mere episodes or additions to the story; at Eryx the story itself is at home. The hero has come back from the isle beyond Ocean[2]; he has passed through the land of Tartêssos and has fought his fight with the Ligurians; the stony plain of La Crau to this day bears witness to the formidable artillery which Zeus

Legend of Eryx.

Legend of Hêraklês; its value.

Hêraklês in Italy;

[1] See above, pp. 77, 122, and Appendix II.

[2] He crosses the Ocean to get to Erytheia in the golden cup (*χρύσεον δέπας, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ὠκεανὸν διεπέρασε*) in Apollodôros, ii. 5. 10. The superior geographical knowledge of Diodôros (iv. 17 et seqq.) hides this in a cloud of words. But a Sicilian voice had already told the story in the Geryoneid of Stêsichoros, of which we have such a precious fragment; Bergk, ii. 209.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

rained down to the help of his son [1]. He has passed through Italy and had cleared the site that was to be Rome from the robber Cacus [2]. At last he reaches the strait of Sicily.

in Sicily.

Then he desires to see the land and swims across, seemingly with the whole herd as his companions [3]. In another tale a single bull escapes and swims across, and the hero follows in some other sort [4]. He goes westward; at different stages of his journey the nymphs of the land throw up the warm waters of Himera and Segesta to refresh him on his journey [5]. His exploit at Eryx is told with some varieties of detail; but in any case he overcomes in wrestling the king or the king's son of the land, who has either given his name to the mountain or has taken his name from it. The former is the earlier and more usual process; Eryx king of the Elymians was surely looked on as a founder and *epônymos*. In one account he is son of Poseidôn; in another he is son of the reigning king Boutas by Aphroditê [6]. Here there is no sign of Troy; but there is much material which a later legend-maker might weave into a Trojan story. There is no hint whence King Boutas or King Eryx came; but they are brought within a mythological range which may easily be Phœnician. In one version Hêraklês and Eryx wrestle on

His wrestling with Eryx.

No sign of Troy.

[1] So said Æschylus in Promêtheus Unbound. Strabo quotes the verses, iv. 1–7; but the bolts of Zeus were sadly misapplied when they were used to pave the streets of Arles.

[2] That is, if we believe Livy's episode in i. 7. But our guide from Agyrium, who ought to know about his own patron, instead of a robber Cacus, has (iv. 21) a worthy patrician called Cæcius, who joins with Pinarius in welcoming the hero. Was Cacus the *epônymos* of a *gens Cacia*?

[3] Diod. iv. 22; *τὰς μὲν βοῦς ἐπεραίωσεν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταύρου κέρας λαβόμενος, διενήξατο τὸν πόρον.*

[4] The story of the escaped *Γίταλος* we have heard already. See Appendix II.

[5] Diod. iv. 23. He goes on to mention those of Himera and Segesta. See above, pp. 76, 77.

[6] See Appendix XII.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the terms, that Hêraklês, if defeated, shall give Eryx the oxen, that Eryx, if defeated, shall give Hêraklês the land of Eryx. The land passes to Hêraklês, who leaves it, as it were on lease, to its own people, who are to give it up whenever a descendant of his comes to claim it [1]. CHAP. II. Treaty between Hêraklês and Eryx.

This tenure sounds very much as if it were devised to serve the purposes of the Spartan Dôrieus in the sixth century [2]. But the story of Dôrieus shows none the less that the legend of Hêraklês at Eryx was by that time fully established; it thereby, as we have said, takes away any claim to antiquity on the part of the Trojan story. That story again we have in several shapes. The oldest, we may be sure, as it is the simplest, is that which we find in Thucydides. Here we have no names; we are merely told that the Elymians who settled Segesta and Eryx were Trojans who came after the taking of Troy. The later and more detailed stories were perhaps devised by men who saw that, if the Elymians did not settle on Eryx till after the fall of Troy, Hêraklês could not have found a king of the Elymians reigning there. We are now told that, before the days of Priam, a leading man in Troy, call him Phoinodamas or anything else [3], drew on himself the wrath of Laomedôn. He is slain; his sons are slain; but the slayer scruples to slay the dead man's maiden daughters, while he fears to give them in marriage to any man in Troy. He hands them over to merchants, bidding them to take them to as far a country as possible. One account says that they were to take them to the land of the Laistrygones—a dark way of naming Sicily—seemingly that they may be eaten, either by the Laistrygones themselves or by some other of the monsters of the unknown

Its origin.

Oldest form of the Trojan story.

Later versions.

[1] This is the version of Diodôros. See Appendix XII, as also the more meagre account of Apollodôros.

[2] See Herod. v. 43. We shall come to him again.

[3] These are the two versions of Lykophrôn and Dionysios, compared in detail in Appendix XII.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

Birth of Aigestos;

land. Of two of the maidens we hear but little, the third becomes, either by an admiring fellow-passenger or by the river-god Krimisos, the mother of a son named Aigestos. Of these two stories of parentage the former has a prosaic and *pragmatizing* sound. But all three sisters seem to join in building a temple to a power who is most darkly described, but in whom we may dimly see Aphroditê, mother of the wrestler Eryx[1]. Eryx himself is not named, neither is Hêraklês; but their story seems taken for granted. Aigestos, brought up in Sicily, learns the tongue and habits of the country, seemingly

his story.

those of the Sikans. But he does not forget his Trojan descent; he goes and bears arms for Ilios in the Achaian siege, and, after the fall of the city, he comes back to Sicily with a comrade named Elymos. Elymos is oddly

Elymos son of Anchisês.

described as a bastard of Anchisês, the son, we are to suppose, of some mother even less lawful than Aphroditê[2]. Aphroditê's own son Aineias is in one version not mentioned at all; in another Aigestos is said to have entertained him on his way to Italy and by his help to have founded the cities of Aigesta (Segesta) and Eryx. The visit of Aineias was also witnessed by his temple at Segesta and by the altar of Aphroditê-Aineias on the height of Eryx[3].

Aphroditê-Aineias.

We may be tempted to guess that it was this altar, whatever meaning we put on the surname of the goddess, which suggested the visit of Aineias to Sicily. One thing is plain; in these tales there is an attempt to reconcile the date given by Thucydides to the Elymian settlement with the earlier date implied in the story of Hêraklês. The beginnings of settlement come before the fall of Ilios;

[1] Μητέρος Ζηρυνθίας σηκὸν μέγαν in Lykophrôn, 958. See Appendix XII.

[2] Πτόρθον Ἀγχίσου νόθον, says Lykophrôn, 965. This must be the same as the Elymos of the other story.

[3] On this epithet of Aphroditê, see Appendix XII.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

but the actual foundation of the Elymian towns, and the Elymian name itself, come after it. That the tale is of Greek devising, and not of native birth at Eryx or elsewhere, appears from the form given to the name of the *epônymos*. He does not reproduce the real name of the Elymian city, namely Segesta, but its Greek shape Aigesta or Egesta. To give that city and its fellow greater dignity, Aineias is brought in in person. An opening was thereby made for many further improvements. Virgil recast the tale at pleasure; or, more truly, he made but few changes in the story itself, but he worked many of its details into his daring conception of a tale which should bring together the beginnings of Carthage and of Rome. In such a tale the geographical position of Sicily made it as impossible to leave it out as in the real story of the Punic wars. But it is worth noticing how little Virgil has to say about the Elymian corner of Sicily, as long as the scene of the story lies at Carthage or under Carthaginian influences. When Aineias tells his story to Dido, he has a good deal to tell about the eastern coast, about the Kyklôpes and the Laistrygones and the fountain of Arethousa[1]. He sees Kamarina and Gela, and Akragas on its height, ages before they came into being, and he supplies Selinous with an epithet of doubtful meaning[2]. He paints the haven of Lilybaion as one who had himself felt a keel scrape on the bottom of its sluggish waters. He brings Anchisês to Drepana to die[3]; we barely hear that he is buried[4]. Of

Evidence of names.

Virgil's story.

[1] Æn. iii. 554-696, with the picture of the strait put into the mouth of Helenos, iii. 414 et seqq.

[2] iii. 705; "Palmosa Selinus."

[3] Ib. 706;

"Et vada dura lego saxis Libybeia cæcis.
Hinc Drepani me portus et inlætabilis ora
Accipit."

[4] Not at all in iii. 710; but in v. 30 Sicily is

"Quæ Dardanium tellus mihi servat Acesten,
Et patris Anchisæ gremio complectitur ossa."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II.

the special attractions of that corner of Sicily, of the countrymen and kinsfolk he is to meet there, we hear nothing from Aineias' own mouth[1] till Carthage is left behind and Dido has perished. Then come the funeral games of Anchisês, and the chief persons of the Elymian legend are gradually brought in. Aigestos is softened into *Acestes*; he becomes the son of the river Krimisos by a Trojan mother, without any mention of the earlier stages of the story[2]. Helymus, so written, suggests a question as to the true form of the national name; but the Helymus of Virgil is a youth, a youth of Trinakria[3], clearly not a son of the deceased hero of the rite. Butas is named as a wrestler, but only as one who had passed away, and who belongs to another part of the world[4]. The *epônymos* Eryx—here not connected with anything as an *epônymos*—and his fight with Héraklês are remembered and referred to, and the brotherhood of Eryx and Aineias, both children of Aphroditê, is not forgotten[5]. In his place as a wrestler has come another *epônymos*, Entellus, clearly meant as the representative of Entella, looked on as an Elymian town[6]. Aineias is in great doubt whether he shall not

Acestes-Aigestos.

Helymus.

Entellus and Entella.

[1] Ilioneus (i. 549) goes more into detail than Aineias himself at this stage of the story;

"Sunt et Siculis regionibus urbes
Arvaque, Trojanoque a sanguine clarus Acestes."

[2] v. 36;

"Occurrit Acestes
Horridus in jaculis et pelle Libystidis ursæ;
Troia Crimiso conceptum flumine mater
Quem genuit."

Why does he get his bear-skin from Libya?

[3] v. 300.

[4] v. 372;

"Victorem Buten immani corpore, qui se
Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat."

This is a Trojan memory, but it has nothing to do with our story.

[5] v. 392 et seqq. In 412 Acestes speaks to Aineias of "germanus Eryx quondam tuus," and in v. 24 he himself speaks of "litora fraterna Erycis." The story was well known, but it was not convenient.

[6] So Holm, G. S. i. 90, 376.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

settle in Sicily with all his comrades as part of the already established Trojan colony. In the end he leaves only the infirm and aged, for whom he joins with his host Acestes in founding the city *Acesta* to bear his name. The two join also together in founding the temple of Aphroditê on the height of Eryx[1]. CHAP. II.

A truly Roman story this is, in which Dido and Carthage are arbitrarily brought in, but where no sign of anything of older Phœnician growth is allowed to be seen in a corner of the world where Phœnician growth was both early and rich. On that point no Roman was likely to enlarge in prose or verse. Next to the question who the Elymians were, or rather in real historic importance before that question, comes the other question, what and how old were their relations to their Phœnician neighbours? We know that Segesta and Eryx were both Elymian settlements; of the history of each with regard to communities of other races we know something; their relation to the early Phœnicians was friendly[2]. But of the relation of the two kindred towns to one another we know next to nothing. We may infer with some confidence that Segesta is the older settlement, and that is all. Whether Eryx was in its beginning strictly a colony of Segesta, or a mere outpost or a dependency, or a fully independent commonwealth, we know not. Of the internal constitution of either town, of its political or social life, so far as it was native and not touched by Greek or Phœnician elements, we know nothing[3]. The Elymian sites are there, plainly to be seen; we have some pages of Elymian history in Sicily; but who the Elymians were, whence they came, what features

Relations between Elymians and Phœnicians.

Relations between Segesta and Eryx.

No certain account of the Elymians.

[1] Æn. v. 759;

"Vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes
Fundatur Veneri Idaliæ."

[2] See above, p. 201.

[3] The only approach to a hint seems to be in Thucydides vi. 46, where the Segestans borrow pots and cups from the temple on Eryx.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. of national character parted them off from Sikans and Sikels, from Greeks and Phœnicians, these are questions to which neither recorded history nor surviving monuments can give an answer.

Sikans, Sikels, and Elymians.

These three nations then, Sikan, Sikel, and Elymian, may pass for the primitive inhabitants of Sicily. They may be called the præ-historic occupants of the island, as distinguished from the Phœnician and Greek colonists. They are the *natives*, as distinguished from the settlements made by the civilized nations of antiquity. Yet they differ widely among themselves. Of the origin of the Sikans, history, strictly so called, can say nothing. They were what the Greeks called *autochthones*; that is to say, there was no known people before them, and nothing was really known as to whence they came. We can only notice that, notwithstanding this, the Greeks did not speak of them as *autochthones*; there is a Greek version of their coming which singularly falls in with what is likely to be the result of scientific examination of other kinds[1]. The Sikels are in another case; they have no claim to be *autochthones*; their coming into the island is all but historic; we need take nothing away from the legend except the somewhat too minute date and the names of the eponymous worthies. If we speak of the Sikels as natives, barbarians, and the like, it is with the feeling that they had the easy making of civilized men in them. They are a fragment of a great race, and a fragment somewhat unfairly dealt with by fortune, constrained to become artificial Greeks instead of native Latins. The Elymians are in a different case again; like the Sikels, they are no *autochthones*; we feel as if we ought to know who they were and whence they came; but we do not. They are perhaps set there to teach us an

[1] See above, p. 109.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

useful lesson, the lesson that, however it may be in other sciences, in history there are many things which we ought to be ready freely to confess that we do not know. CHAP. II.

Monuments of the early race.

The history of these three nations, as long as they were left to themselves, is a history without dates, almost without names[1]. But it is by no means without facts, and assuredly not without monuments. The graves at all events of the primæval inhabitants of Sicily are thick throughout the land. The sides of well nigh every limestone hill are burrowed deep with them. We see them beside the sacred lakes, we see them on the hill of Henna, memorials of men who worshipped the old gods of *Sicilia*, before the Palici had been found out to be sons of Zeus or of Hêphaistos, before the nameless goddesses had put on the Greek garb of Dêmêtêr and her Child. We see them on the hill of Syracuse and on her outpost of Akrai, tombs of the old dwellers of the land, turned often in after days to the use of men of other races and other creeds, Greek and Roman, pagan and Christian. And, most of all, we see them in the chosen cities of the dead, in the deep ravines of Ispica and Pantalica. The presence of these ancient burrowings forms one of the most striking points of difference, among many points of likeness, between the limestone combes of Sicily and the limestone combes of Britain. Caves we have in our own land, caves that have served for places of dwelling or of burial; but the passes of Mendip are not honeycombed with the graves of the Briton or of the men before him as the passes of Sicily are with the graves of the Sikel or of the men before him. For, as it is sometimes hard to say, among many holes pierced deep in the rock, which were the dwelling-places of the living and which were the resting-places of the dead, so it might be vain to try to distinguish the memorials of

Graves.

Graves and dwellings.

[1] Kôkalos and Hyblôn we may accept as traditional, but the names in the Elymian story must go for nothing.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. the Sikan, the Sikel, and the Elymian from one another [1]. It is easy to see that in their works there are many stages, belonging perhaps to dates far apart; but their minute examination belongs to another science than ours.

Paths. But besides their tombs and their dwellings, the earlier races have left us not a few of their paths. In Sicily, as elsewhere, we are often struck by the way in which the Greeks, notwithstanding their high civilization, evidently lagged behind in the arts of making roads and building bridges. In both those works, works which our own forefathers a few centuries back looked on directly as works of piety, the Roman was indeed the teacher of Europe. Perhaps he did less in Sicily than in other lands. None of the great roads of the world could pass through the island, and the streams of Sicily needed not to be spanned by such mighty bridges as the great rivers of the continent. This is a matter in which the latest times have made marked improvements. Not many years back the famous bridge of George the Admiral had no rival, earlier or later, in the island. So many places, the hill-towns especially, which can now be reached by well-engineered roads, were still to be approached only by the primæval paths up which the laden ass—whether laden with gold or with meaner wares—had to plod his way with no small effort. Henna and Menænum have now their zigzag roads, but he who prefers the associations of old times may still go up by stony paths which we may believe to have been trodden by Dionysios and by Ducetius. And the stony path has some merits; it at least gives a safe foothold. The Greek is better traced by his wheel-tracks in the rock, never, it

Roman roads and bridges.

Modern roads.

Sikel paths.

Greek roads.

[1] I do not feel called on to go deeply into these præ-historic matters, though I have seen many of the monuments, often in company with Mr. Evans. He has spoken of them in the Manchester Guardian, April 25, 1889. The objects, skulls, remains of animals, and the like, are largely treated by the Baron Ferdinand von Andrian in his *Prähistorische Studien aus Sicilien*, Berlin, 1878.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

would seem, mended; when the ruts of one path had become too deep, it was forsaken for another. But the paths up to the hill-towns we may fully believe to be older than the Greek, to be the work of Sikan, Sikel, or Elymian, as may happen.

No written records of the older races.

In one point, a negative point, all these races agree. Of not one of them have we a scrap of certified writing. For books we are not to look; but we have nowhere an inscription which we can assign to any of the three. Nor has any coin come down from days when the native races were as yet wholly untouched by the influence of the Greek[1]. At the tongue of the Sikan we can only guess, or feel our way through the dangerous region of nomenclature. Of the tongue of the Elymian we know a single case-ending; of the tongue of the Sikel we have a vocabulary, short indeed, but long enough to tell us without all doubt what manner of tongue it was. What little we can find to say about these three nations has taken up the first stage of our history. Our next stage will be that in which the great civilizing and colonizing nations of the old world step on the scene. They come, each in turn, rival nations, representatives of rival races, rival creeds, rival systems of life. First comes the Phœnician, the representative of the elder culture of the East, the man of Asia, even when settled in Africa or Europe, the worthiest enemy of Europe and the life of Europe, but still their enemy. Strange indeed is the relation of the Phœnician to the Sikel. The highest representative of a lower culture comes in as the temporary superior and teacher of a race destined in two ways to outstrip him. A time was when the Phœnician might seem to the Sikel almost as the

Traces of their languages.

The colonists, Phœnician and Greek.

Position of the Phœnicians;

[1] I must decline to make any theory as to the marks in the underground works at Euryalos, and also on some of the stones in the walls of Ortygia. If we take the whole of the castle of Euryalos for Greek work, we need hardly perplex ourselves.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. II. modern European seems to the dwellers on distant shores and islands. Yet the kinsman of Rome, the aptest pupil of Greece, was to hold the higher place in the long run.

of the Greeks. Next comes the Greek himself, charged, in the freshness of his national being, with the noblest errand of his time, the representative of the younger and more abiding culture of the West, the beginner of that historic life of Europe which we still live. We have now to trace the coming of each in his turn, in the one case dimly, in the other more fully. There is no greater drawback in our whole story than the utter lack of Phœnician records. Yet we must put together the tale of Canaan in Sicily in such sort as we can; it is at least clear compared with the tale of Eryx and Segesta.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER III.

THE PHŒNICIAN SETTLEMENTS IN SICILY[1].

THUS far have we been dealing with those among the inhabitants of Sicily whom we may fairly speak of as the native races of the island. Of the coming

[1] We have still no special authorities for this chapter; our knowledge still comes from sources altogether fragmentary. Indeed we are in some sort worse off than we were when dealing with the earlier time. For the Phœnician settlement we have not even such an approach to a continuous, if largely mythical, narrative as Diodôros gives us of the migrations of Sikans and Sikels. We have no Phœnician history, at all events none that concerns Sicily. I have looked at the remains of the work in which Philôn of Byblos professed to translate Sanchuniathôn (C. Müller, Fragmenta, iii. 561. This is at least Philôn, for the Sanchoniathôn published by Wagenfeld, Bremen, 1837, is a double forgery). To the Western mind it seems a hopeless mixture of every kind of mythology, Greek and barbarian, among which a few genuine Semitic names peep out now and then. But I see that Duncker (Geschichte des Alterthums, i. 323) seems to attribute rather more importance to the forgery than is done by Movers (Phönizier, i. 116 et seqq., cf. 5). He has at least taken the trouble to translate the Greek of Philôn into German. I have had the works of Movers and Duncker, and Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager* (Berlin, 1879), of which one volume only has yet appeared, largely by me while writing this chapter, as well as in other parts of the work. But the more I read of Duncker, as of some other writers who deal with Eastern matters, the more am I amazed at the kind of evidence on which they venture to make the most positive assertions. Any guess, plausible or otherwise, the faintest likeness between a Greek and a barbarian name, seems to be thought enough to prove anything, above all to prove something Greek to be barbarian. It is, for instance, perfectly clear that the Greeks identified the Phœnician Melkart with their own Hêraklês. A story of Hêraklês may therefore always turn out to be a story of Melkart. But it needs some corroborative evidence, it needs at the very least some likelihood in the particular case, to make us assert that it is so with any particular story. Because stories of Melkart have fixed themselves on to Hêraklês, it does not follow that Hêraklês was Melkart and nothing else from the beginning.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. in of Sikans and Elymians we can say nothing; of the Elymians we cannot in strictness say anything at all. At the affinities of the Sikans we can only guess, though the guess is one which carries with it a strong likelihood. With the coming of the Sikels the island has been brought within the range of the European world; we are now dealing with the kinsfolk of the ruling people of all European history. But their coming is part of the Wandering of the Nations, an earlier Wandering of the Nations than that to which the name is commonly given,

Migration and colonization.

but one which is strictly analogous to it. We can talk of Sikel migration, of Sikel settlement; we can hardly talk of Sikel colonization or plantation[1]. The Sikel nation, or the greater part of it, changed its seats; it was not till a far later day that there was such a thing as Sikel colonization in the strict sense. A day came when settled Sikel communities planted other communities of their own people, while they themselves abode on their old sites and kept on their old being. This process, that of colonization in the strict sense, on Sicilian soil, is now to begin on the part of other nations. It is to begin on the part of both the great colonizing nations of the old Mediterranean world.

National migration.

The Sikel migration brought us within the bounds of Europe, of that Aryan Europe that still is. It brought us across its abiding Aryan nations and their abiding Aryan tongues. But it brought us across them only in the shape of national migration. The whole, or the great mass of a people, changes its seats; it makes itself a new national home; it leaves behind it, perhaps an empty land for some other folk to occupy, perhaps a mere survival of its own folk, who die out in their old land, while their

Colonization.

more venturous brethren flourish in a new one. A higher stage than this is marked by colonization in the strict

[1] See above, p. 9.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

sense. Here there is no movement of a nation; a band of men goes forth from an established city or kingdom to seek homes in another land; but the city or kingdom from which they set forth is neither destroyed nor weakened by their going forth. The movement of the Angles in the sixth century to their second home in Britain left their first home on the European mainland empty; no such results followed on the colonization of the third England in the seventeenth century. It is this last stage of the growth of man which we have reached in our Sicilian story. Yet we reach it thus early only by in one sense going back, by going again out of the European range, or rather by bringing men of other races and tongues, of the races and tongues of Asia and Africa, to settle on soil which had already become European. We have to meet the fact that for the moment such settlement was an advance; we have to meet the fact that there was a stage when in all material arts Asia stood before Europe. The next comers, the first colonists in the strict sense in Sicily, perhaps in the world, brought with them much that could enlighten the Sikel, much that could even enlighten the Greek. As far as Sicily is concerned, the Wandering of the Nations is over. From the national migrations of Sikans, Sikels, and Elymians, we have to pass to those settlements from the Phœnician cities which made a new Phœnicia without uprooting the old. In speaking of them we are driven to use such modern-sounding words as *factory*, *plantation*, and *colony*.

Advance marked by Phœnician settlement.

With minute or controversial points of Phœnician history we have here no concern. Whence the men who founded Sidon and Tyre, Gades and Panormos and Carthage, made their way to that strip of the eastern Mediterranean coast on which history first finds them—how they came by the familiar name which, in various shapes, they bore on Greek and Latin lips, so different from the yet more

Origin of the Phœnicians.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

familiar name which they bore on their own lips—these are questions which in no way touch the factory on the island of Ortygia or the colony between the two havens of Panormos. Was there an elder Phœnicia far to the East, by the coasts of the Persian gulf or elsewhere[1]? It matters little to those whose calling lies with that younger Phœnicia which looks up at Eryx and at Herktê, and who have no need to look further back than to the older Phœnicia which looks up at Lebanon. Then again, had the Greek name of the people a meaning in the Greek tongue? Were they the men of blood, perhaps only the blood of the mollusk that gives the purple dye? Were they the men of the land of the palm, the tree barren on Sicilian soil, but fertile on the shores whence men took their voyage to Solous and Motya? Or was the name which with the Greek became *Phoinix* and with the Latin *Pœnus* really a corruption of a name borne by some place or people in the tongue of those whom the strangers so miscalled[2]? Such points may well be left by the historian of Sicily, even by the historian of the Phœnicians in Sicily, to those with whom such questions are a matter of their own special science. From our central point in our central island, we may look eastward and westward as far as the waters of the Great Sea will carry us, but we need look no further. From Sidon to Gades is our range; the Phœnicia at the foot of Lebanon is our starting-point. We need not even search into the

Their oldest seats.

Their name.

Sicily deals only with the Phœnicia of the Mediterranean.

[1] The passage at the very beginning of Herodotus about the Phœnicians coming from the Erythræan Sea is known to every one (cf. vii. 89). Their carrying-trade is well set forth in the words *ἀπαγινέοντας φορτία Αἰγύπτιά τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια* (we are now told that the alphabet was part of the cargo). I need hardly say that Strabo and Dionysios Periêgêtês also have something to say about the matter. The question is discussed by Movers, Phönizier, ii. 1, 38 et seqq.; Meltzer, Karthager, i. 4, 419.

[2] Movers, ii. 3 et seqq.; Meltzer, i. 5, 419. It has been connected with the "holy land of Punt."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

shiftings of power and preeminence among its cities; we need not fix the several days of greatness of Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre. Coming more directly into our immediate range, we may leave it to others to fix the exact order and relation of the Phœnician cities on the coast of Africa. We need not strive to fix the exact birthday of Tyrian Carthage, or take on ourselves to rule whether there was or was not a Sidonian Carthage before it[1]. It is enough for us that the Phœnician settlements in Sicily became in the end subjects of Carthage, but that they were not her children. They were children of the old Phœnicia, the Phœnicia of Sidon and Tyre and Arvad, whom a sister, most likely a younger sister, came in after days to bring under her power.

CHAP. III.

Phœnician settlements in Sicily not Carthaginian.

These two points, which we may assume without question, are of the deepest moment in the history of Sicily and of the world. When we speak of Phœnicians and of Punic wars it is well to remember the true name of the Phœnician people. They were the men of Canaan, the men of the low land by the sea, a fitting name for the old Phœnicia between Lebanon and the Mediterranean, a name no less fitting for that younger Phœnicia which forms the short western side of Sicily. For our part we may accept the genealogy which says that Canaan begat Zidon his first-born[2], without entering on the possible claims of the Giblite of Byblos to dispute his birthright[3]. And we may accept Zidon the first-born as the venerable *epônymos* of a race which has done great things in the world of Europe, while we cheerfully leave his second brother Heth to those with whom the fates of Asia stand foremost. It is well ever to bear in mind that the men of Tyre and Sidon, the men of Gades and

Name of Canaan.

Relation to the Hebrews

[1] Movers, ii. 2, 137 et seqq.; Meltzer, i. 104 et seqq.; Duncker, ii. 209.

[2] Genesis x. 15.

[3] Movers, ii. 107.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. Carthage, the men of Panormos and Motya, came of the stock of the nations against whom the invading Hebrew waged his warfare. Long after Phœnician Carthage had passed away, when a Roman and Christian city stood on its site, the name of Canaan still lived on as the national name of the remnant whose settlement in Africa was older than that of Carthage[1].

The warfare of the Hebrew in Palestine in many things calls up the warfare which settled our own forefathers in the land in which we dwell. But in one point the two invasions were most unlike. By whatever name the Hebrew might choose to brand the nations whom he subdued or failed to subdue, he had at least no temptation to speak of them by whatever Semitic name might best answer to the Teutonic *Welsh*. Invaders and invaded spoke the same tongue in at least as full a sense as when we say that the Dorian and the Ionian Greek spoke the same tongue. In the Hebrew writings the Egyptians are marked as a people of a strange language[2]; the invading Chaldees are held up to terror as a nation whose "language thou knowest not[3];" no such names are ever applied to the nations of that family of which Zidon was the firstborn. Hamilkar and Hannibal and Asdrubal spoke the same tongue as Joshua and David, and Hannibal and Asdrubal need only the name of the patron deity to be changed, and they at once take the shape of the familiar Hananiah and Azariah of the Old Testament. The men of Canaan brought the gods of Canaan with them to Carthage and to Panormos. It was by the grace of Baal that the greatest Hannibal so well kept the oath that he sware in his childhood to the gods of Carthage. It was

Community of language.

The Phœnician names.

[1] Movers, ii. 6.

[2] Psalm cxiv. 1, where for the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον לעז the LXX have βάρβαροι, q. d. *Welsh*; cf. lxxxi. 5; Ezekiel iii. 5; and the same is implied in Daniel i. 4.

[3] Jeremiah v. 15.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Maharbal—the haste of Baal—who longed to press with his Numidian horse from the field of Cannæ to the gates of Rome. It was Asdrubal—the help of Baal—who brought to the banks of Metaurus the help which never reached his brother. And the gods of Canaan were worshipped with the rites of Canaan. It was after heavy blows from the Sikeliot sword that the elders of Carthage awakened to a forgotten duty; they had failed to give their first-born for their transgression, the fruit of their bodies for the sin of their souls[1]. And side by side with the rites of blood stood the rites of lewdness. The most abiding legacy that the men of Canaan left in Sicily was the worship of the goddess of Eryx. The Ashtoreth, the Aphroditê, of that high place was a power of the same type as the Mylitta of Babel, or as the goddess whose rites Dido found already in full force as she halted in Cyprus on her memorable voyage[2]. It was these characteristics of Phœnician religion, characteristics which lingered on in the most brilliant days of Carthaginian civilization, which made the war which Europe and Africa waged in Sicily somewhat of a holy war from the beginning. If we doubt whether a Syracusan prince ever called on defeated Carthage to quench the fires of Moloch, he who devised the story had no mean insight into all that kept Hellas and Canaan poles asunder.

CHAP. III.

Phœnician worship.

Yet none the less it was in the Phœnician, whether in his earliest home or transplanted to the soil of Africa, that

Relations between Phœnicians and Greeks.

[1] Diod. xx. 14.

[2] I am not greatly concerned with the worship of Istar, Ashtoreth, or any other form of the goddess or her name. Something to the purpose will be found in Sayce's Hibbert Lectures, p. 266. The Babylonian story in Herodotus is familiar to all. Strabo (vi. 2. 6) witnesses to the ἱερόδουλοι on Eryx; οἰκεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἔρυξ λόφος ὑψηλὸς, ἱερὸν ἔχων Ἀφροδίτης, τιμώμενον διαφερόντως, ἱεροδούλων γυναικῶν πλῆρες τὸ παλαιόν, ἃς ἀνέθεσαν κατ' εὐχὴν οἵ τ' ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ ἔξωθεν πολλοί. Mylitta herself appears in full force in Cyprus; Justin, xviii. 5. Cf. the strange story of the Lokrians of Italy in xxi. 3.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. the Greek, not yet brought face to face with the kindred barbarian of central Italy, found his worthiest rival. In earlier days indeed he had to acknowledge him, not only as a rival but as a master. The dealings between Greek and Phœnician fall naturally into two great epochs. There are the dealings of the early Greeks with the men of the old Phœnicia, and there are the dealings of the later Greeks, that is in truth of the Sicilian Greeks, with the Phœnicians of the day when, in the general affairs of the world, the only Phœnicia was Carthage. The history of Sicily, as a history, not only of the Greeks of Sicily, but of all the races of the island, has to do with both these stages. Only in the former stage, the Phœnician in Sicily had to deal, not as in Old Greece and its islands with the Greek in his childhood, but with the Sikan and the Sikel. The Phœnician of the first stage is a voyager, certainly a trader, haply a kidnapper; he is a settler, we may add a civilizer; we can hardly anywhere call him a conqueror. He scatters his factories, his plantations, over a large part of the Mediterranean world; he builds cities which win more or less of power and influence over the ruder races around him; but he nowhere founds a great Phœnician dominion. So to do was the mission of Carthage. It is with the advance of Carthage, above all with her advance in Sicily, that the stirring tale of rivalry between Greek and Phœnician really begins.

Two stages; Old-Phœnician;

Carthaginian.

The name of Carthage bespoke her as the New City[1], and the New City she was in truth, as opening an altogether new state of things, of which neither the men of Tyre and Sidon nor the men of Utica and Gades had ever dreamed. It was this youngest and greatest of Phœnician

[1] See Meltzer, i. 90, 450; Solinus, xxvii. 10; "Carthada, quod Phœniceo ore exprimit civitatem novam." It used to be opposed to Utica, Ἰτύκη, עתיקא from עתק, the *Alton* or Παλαίπολις, but Movers (ii. 149, 340, 512) rejects this, and makes Utica עתכה "diversorium." See Meltzer, i. 451.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Polity of Carthage.

cities which, alone of barbarian states, devised forms of political life which Aristotle and Polybios did not scorn to study, and which Polybios thought worthy to compare at length with the polity of Sparta and the polity of Rome[1]. In the elder Phœnician cities, cities still ruled by kings and priests, we see only the beginnings of the life of commonwealths[2]. At Carthage we see all the elements of that life in their full growth, the elective magistrates, the senate, the people; we see every detail of a highly developed system of government, as clearly shown as in any aristocratic or democratic commonwealth of Greece. Even beyond Sparta and Athens and Rome, Carthage was emphatically the ruling city. None was so thoroughly the mistress standing apart from her subjects. We see her, not only ruling, like a Greek or Italian city, over dependent commonwealths of her own race, not only sending forth colonies of her own race as outposts of her power, but holding, here under her dominion, here under her influence, nations of utter strangers, whom she knew how to use to her own ends, and to make them shed their blood to advance her greatness. The advance of Rome was a growth, not only of the Roman power, but of Rome herself; step by step the world was, hardly in a figure, merged, not only in the Roman dominion, but in the Roman city. But while the power of Carthage grows far and wide over land and sea, Carthage herself never grows. She has subjects; she has allies; but she does not train her subjects to grow into allies and her allies to grow into citizens. Nor does she ever fail in men to do her work, as she

Carthage the type of the ruling city.

Comparison with Rome;

[1] See above, p. 12. Arist. Pol. ii. 11. 1; *Πολιτεύεσθαι δὲ δοκοῦσι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καλῶς* [see Arnold's Rome, ii. 546] *καὶ πολλὰ περιττῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, μάλιστα δ' ἔνια παραπλησίως τοῖς Λάκωσιν*, iv. 7. 4; v. 12. 14; vi. 5. 9. The comparison suggested by Aristotle is worked out more fully by the wider experience of Polybios, vi. 47 et seqq.

[2] On the beginnings of republican life in the old Phœnicia and its further growth in the colonies, see Duncker, ii. 212–214.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. deemed her work to be. From age to age she has statesmen, she has captains, who know how to guide her policy, how to lead her motley hosts of subjects and hirelings to victory over men fighting for their homes. And in the end she sends forth sons "above all Greek, above all Roman fame." In her Sons of Thunder, in her greatest Hamilkar and her greatest Hannibal, Africa could for once boast of children whom Europe could not rival. In her own day, through the ages of her being and her power, Carthage had no parallel. Her likeness comes again when the merchant city on the Venetian islands rules at once on the mainland of Italy and over cities, islands, peninsulas, and kingdoms, scattered over every shore of the eastern Mediterranean. And, now that the world has outstripped its old limits, now that the Ocean is what the inland sea once was, now that nations have taken the place of cities and an European island can bear rule over an Asiatic empire, it may be that we should look for a newer likeness of Carthage nearer home.

The House of Barak.

Comparison with Venice.

§ 1. *The Old-Phœnician Colonies in Sicily.*

The Old-Phœnicians.

The most striking and memorable part of the history of Sicily in relation to Phœnician settlers and Phœnician enemies is undoubtedly that abiding struggle between Carthage and the Greeks of Sicily which forms one of the greatest chapters in the long tale of the strife of East and West. But our first business is with those more ancient Phœnician settlers who came straight from the elder Canaan before Carthage was mighty, most likely before Carthage was. And from these early settlements we are almost unavoidably led to earlier settlements still. We are led to a more general glance at that developement of Phœnician activity on the Mediterranean waters of which the first Phœnician dealings with Sicily

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

were only a stage, and seemingly by no means an early stage. CHAP. III.

Historical position of Phœnicia.

The greatest contribution of the Phœnician race to the political history of the world is the position of Carthage as a ruling city. But had Carthage never been founded, had Hannibal never overthrown the legions of Rome, had his native city never ruled in Sicily and Spain, the position of Phœnicia in the world's history would still be a great and an unique one. The men of Canaan were the only men of barbarian stock whom the Greek, at all events the Greek of old Greece, could not refuse to acknowledge as direct teachers. This may be safely said, without venturing either to accept or to deny the results of modern Oriental research. Those results are sometimes a little startling to those who were brought up in an elder time of scholarship. They sometimes break the repose of those who made their first acquaintance with Hellenic studies at the happy moment when the old literal belief in the tales of Pelops and Kadmos had passed away and when those tales had not yet come back again to challenge belief in a more scientific shape. We could then, without dispute or gainsaying, wrap ourselves in the belief that the Aryans of Europe formed a single family, that, of that family, the Greeks, the elder brethren, were the teachers of the rest, and that what they taught their younger kinsfolk, they taught mainly out of their own stores. Another teaching has since arisen, a teaching which it may be wise for the men of my generation to leave to another generation for final judgement. We are now told that much that we had once fondly believed that the Greek devised of his own heart really came to him from lands even further off than Tyre and Sidon. We presume not to deny; but it is hard to keep back the gentle protest that our new

Results of modern research.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

teachers sometimes seem to accept doctrines of great moment on evidence which we ourselves should hardly think enough to prove much smaller points in any Hellenic or Teutonic matter. And we seem still to be allowed to believe that the noblest forms both of our art and our polity are our own. It does not appear either that the temples of Babylon were surrounded by a peristyle of Doric columns or that the tongue of the Hittites contained any formulæ exactly answering to ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ and "omnis liber homo." But even in our earlier stage, before the Hittite was heard of, the Phœnician had his place. At no time did we doubt that it was from him that we learned, seemingly every form of writing, at all events that precious system of letters whose name of *alphabet* proclaims its Semitic birth to all time. Indeed we never doubted that many of the Eastern nations were, in material prosperity, even in material civilization, far ahead of the men of early Hellas. Only we doubted, and we still doubt, whether all the wealth and splendour, even all the art, of a lord of slaves can be put alongside of the higher powers of the mind of man, the powers which were wielded when a free assembly bowed willingly to the magic speech of Periklês or Hermokratês.

The Alphabet.

Eastern and Western civilization.

I have already[1] pointed out the analogy between Cyprus and Sicily, how the history of Cyprus is the history of Sicily in miniature. But it is emphatically in miniature. The same strife is waged between the same disputants in Sicily and in Cyprus. Both were battle-fields of Greek and Phœnician; both were seats of the same eternal strife when in later years it was waged by other champions. But Cyprus, set in a corner of the Mediterranean, could not provide either group of combatants with such a battle-field as was supplied by Sicily set in its very

Cyprus and Sicily.

[1] See above, p. 35.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

midst. The strife in Sicily is waged in the sight of the world, with the full powers of contending nations, races, and creeds; it is a pitched battle for life and death. In Cyprus it is little more than a skirmish in a corner, whose decision either way could not seriously affect the power of Greek and Phœnician, of Christendom and Islam. Each island had its Frank kings; but the house of Lusignan hardly stands on the same historic level as the house of Hauteville, and Katharine, daughter of Saint Mark, hardly sat on so high a throne as the Augusta who gave birth to the Wonder of the World. Add again that the latest strife in Cyprus is waged by new champions on both sides. The main disputants are no longer Greek and Semitic; the strife is waged between the Venetian and the Turk. But geography itself makes an essential difference in the position of the rival elements in Cyprus and in Sicily. Sicily is surely part of Europe; if there be any rival claimant, it is Africa. In Sicily again the Greeks were far from being the first European inhabitants. Earlier men of Europe, men of Aryan stock, were already dwelling there when the Phœnician came. But we can hardly claim Cyprus as geographically part of Europe; it is rather an Asiatic land which has been more than once won for Europe. Its Semitic occupation, both strictly Phœnician and any other, dates from a time before the beginning of anything that we can properly call Phœnician colonization. It is rather part of the Asiatic Wandering of the Nations, part of the same movement which made the Phœnician coast itself Phœnician[1]. In Cyprus, the Greek, the European of any kind, is an invader, a benefactor perhaps, but still an invader. The island did in the end, under Roman rule, become a Greek land; till then, the Greek was a stranger, the barbarian was at home. Without going deeply into the distinctions between one

CHAP. III.

Comparison of the strife in the two islands.

Different position of the disputants.

Early Semitic occupation of Cyprus.

[1] See Duncker, ii. 42; Movers, ii. 2. 203.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. Semitic race and another, to us of the West Cyprus is a Phœnician island, the seat of a renowned Asiatic worship, into which the Greeks made their way and in the end made the land their own. The special characteristics of the Phœnicians as traders and colonizers, founders of factories here and plantations there, could not be shown till they had reached lands less clearly part of their own world than Cyprus.

Early dealings of Greeks and Phœnicians.

It is on the coasts of old Greece and in the islands of the Ægæan sea that we get our first picture of the Phœnician trader from any Greek source. We see him as far back as we can see anything; he appears in the Homeric poems in days when Zidon, at least in the Western mind, still kept his place as firstborn[1]. In Rhodes[2], in Crete[3], we see his settlements without wonder; both lands came in after days under the rule of Semitic masters. Rhodes, like Cyprus, might pass for a piece of Asia won for Europe. Crete seems like a guard-ship moored off the mouth of the sea which might pass for a great Hellenic haven, a guard-ship which, as events showed, might, on some day of ill-luck, be boarded by the enemy. That the Phœnician should trade, that he should settle, that he should found either factories or colonies, on any of the Ægæan islands or even on the eastern coasts of Greece, was in the natural course of things. Thêra, Mêlos[4], assuredly Thasos, received Phœnician settlers; the gold of the last-named island led them to the north in those early days[5], just as the gold of Tharshish led them to the far West when their range was widened. The wealth

Rhodes, Crete,

and other islands.

[1] See Strabo, xvi. 2. 22. He remarks on the rivalry between Tyre and Sidon and the disputes as to antiquity. European feeling comes out in the words, *οἱ μὲν οὖν ποιηταὶ τὴν Σιδόνα τεθρυλήκασι μᾶλλον, Ὅμηρος δὲ οὐδὲ μέμνηται τῆς Τύρου.*

[2] Movers, ii. 2. 246.

[3] Ib. 258.

[4] Herod. iv. 147; Movers, ii. 2. 266, 268.

[5] Herod. vi. 46; Paus. v. 25. 12; Movers, ii. 2. 273.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

too of its mines led them to the neighbouring coast of Thrace [1], and they may be traced on many a site of the Lesser Asia and on the Pontic coast [2]. We can hardly fail to acknowledge the Ashtoreth of Paphos in the Aphroditê of Kythêra, and we may see the Tyrian Melkart, King of the City, in some of the exploits of the wandering Hêraklês [3], and more surely in the name of the baby-god Melikertês [4]. And it was once believed, and we are called on to believe again, that Kadmos, the Man of the East, planted a settlement of Canaan, not only on the shore of Chalkis [5], which we might believe without an effort, but in the inland plain which saw the rise of the Boiotian Thebes [6]. Be these things as they may, one figure in our earliest picture of Greek life is the Phœnician trader. We see him ready on occasion to grow into the kidnapper [7] or the pirate [8], but ready too to keep himself to the gainful trade which the

CHAP. III.

Phœnician gods.

Phœnicians in Boiôtia.

The Phœnicians in early Greek legend.

[1] Movers, ib. 279.

[2] Ib. 286.

[3] See above, p. 221. But may not even the name of Hêraklês be left to us! It is hard to read (Duncker, v. 45; cf. ii. 66), "Herakles ist der Archal, der arbeitende, ringende, kämpfende Baal Melkart der Phoeniker." By this kind of guessing at names anything might be proved. Some passages quoted by Preller, Griechische Mythologie, ii. 122, might suggest quite another line of thought.

[4] Here we do seem to have the name itself; and the sturdiest Hellenists do not refuse it.

[5] See Duncker, v. 50.

[6] Κάδμος may be קדם; yet it is odd if he called himself so. Duncker quotes the *Easterlings* in England; but they did not call themselves so; the *Ostmen* in Ireland would be more to his purpose. See Keightley, Mythology, 327.

Duncker does not require us to accept the barbarian origin of Kekrops and Pelops. Why then may one not use one's reason about Kadmos? Homer clearly knew nothing of any of these stories.

It must always be remembered that, while guessing at names proves nothing, the finding of objects always proves something. But it proves only intercourse, not settlement, and it need not be direct intercourse. English and French wares are found far beyond the range of English and French colonization.

[7] Od. xiii. 272 et seqq.

[8] Thuc. i. 8.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. man of craft and guile[1] knows how to practise. Strange it is when he displays his many and motley gauds before the eyes of men as yet below him in all material crafts, but destined to do greater things for mankind than ever fell to the lot of any son of Asia.

The alphabet now said not to be of Phœnician invention.

It is not altogether pleasing, when we are told that this exceptional people, these men of Asia whom Europe cannot disclaim as masters, these shipmen, these builders, these miners, these makers and sellers of purple, were after all not men of artistic invention, and that even the great gift that they gave us was not their own. One would be well pleased to hold that "the letters Cadmus gave" were the genuine birth of his own Sidon, rather than be taught that *aleph* and *beth*, *alpha* and *beta*, are in truth the invention of Egypt[2]. Yet be it so; we thereby gain another analogy for the cycles of Sicilian history. The Saracen in all his splendour, in all his science, in all the mighty works of his artistic skill, had nothing strictly his own. He became, by a strange calling, the mouthpiece of Greece and Italy to nations by whom the earlier teaching of Greece and Italy, and of Greece and Italy fused into one in the Eastern Rome, had been for a while forgotten. And so it may well have been with his Semitic forerunners in Cyprus and Sicily and Spain. It may be that all that the Phœnicians had themselves, all that they gave to Greece and to the rest of Europe, was largely in the nature of that carrying-trade by which the men of Tyre and Sidon did in truth make great gain. The civilization that he spread may not have been his own; it may all have come from

Analogy with the Saracens.

[1] See above, p. 127.

[2] Yet it is comfortable when Duncker (ii. 221, 222) allows us to believe with Dionysios of Milêtos (fr. 1 C. Müller, ii. 5) ὅτι Φοίνικες μὲν εὗρον τὰ στοιχεῖα, or, as he puts it himself, that Phœnicia was "Vaterland der Buchstabenschrift."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

Egypt or from the further East. Yet to us he is none the less the giver and the teacher. And he none the less stands alone among barbarians as the one rival of the Greek on his own ground, the one who could make the sea his own dominion, the one who could call distant cities into being, and give them forms of political life which the wisest men of Greece should not scorn to study.

Exceptional position of the Phœnicians among barbarians.

From the shores and islands of Greece the Phœnician was driven back early; the Homeric poems know him not as a neighbour; it is straight from Sidon that the Phœnician shipmen bring their goodly wares, sometimes as merchandize, sometimes as costly gifts [1]. The intercourse of traffic went on into the historic age, long after Phœnician fleets had come, at the bidding of a Persian lord, to work the bondage of Hellas [2]. And when that Persian lord needed the sharpened intellect of a skilled engineer, it was with the Phœnician alone that he could find it [3]. But those were days in which the greatness of the old Phœnicia had passed away; Sidon and Tyre still had their kings, but they had sunk to be the counsellors of the Persian [4]. The true life of Phœnicia had moved westward, to the great ruling city which was then fast pushing on to its full might, and to those other western outposts of Canaan, which, if by that time they owned a master, at least owned a master of their own blood.

Intercourse between Phœnicia and Greece.

Phœnicia under Persia.

Carthage the centre of later Phœnician life.

The beginnings of Phœnician history start from a time far earlier than anything to which we are used in our ordinary European studies. It is therefore not wonderful to

Early beginning of Phœnician history.

[1] Il. vi. 290; xxiii. 743; Od. iv. 617.

[2] See specially the description of the Phœnician ship in Xenophôn's Œconomus, viii. 11. It must have outdone anything usual at Athens. Cf. Herod. vii. 96.

[3] Herod. vii. 23.

[4] Ib. viii. 67. Mark that the Sidonian king takes the first place.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

find its second stage at a time when in Greece we are as yet far from dates and when we can dare to guess at an event here and there only with fear and trembling. There is no reason to doubt that, even in the eleventh and twelfth centuries before our æra, the Phœnicians had made their way into the western Mediterranean and into the Ocean itself. Here they set up a factory, there they founded an actual colony, along the African coast and in the Iberian peninsula. Exactly as when, ages after, the Greek set forth on a like errand, the most distant settlement was believed to be the oldest. Gades, Gadeira, was to Canaan what the Campanian Kymê was to Hellas, the most distant outpost of all, founded before the younger fellows that were nearer[1]. For the Phœnician shipman to leave the outer sea, to pass the pillars of his own Melkart, the pillars which fenced in the world of the Greek[2], to face the wonders and the dangers of the mysterious Ocean, was hardly a greater exploit than it was for the Greek to leave his familiar Ægæan and Ionian waters, and to fix himself on the western side of the land which to him was still specially the western, the Hesperian, land. The fate of the two settlements has been widely different. Kymê, after a long history, after being won and lost by many masters, has no longer a place among the cities of the earth. Her hill, so long the western outpost of Hellas, now stands desolate. But Gades, western outpost of Canaan, without even a change of name, has lived on, through all conquests, through all revolutions of race and speech and creed, as a dwelling-place of man and a flourishing seat of commerce[3].

Foundation of Gades, c. B.C. 1100.

Comparison with Kymê.

[1] See Movers, ii. 2. 588 et seqq., specially 619 et seqq ; Meltzer, i. 36 et seqq. ; Duncker, ii. 64. About 1100 B.C. seems to be the received date of foundation. But it is wise not to rule that Gades really was the eldest.

[2] Pindar, Ol. iii. 79; Nem. iii. 35, iv. 112; Isth. iv. 21. The second and third passages are the most emphatic.

[3] גדר, Γάδειρα, Gades, Cadiz. "Wohl die älteste Stadt Europa's, die ihren Namen bewahrt hat," says Duncker (ii. 66). Athens and Argos

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

Colonies in Africa.

On the African shore arose Utica, Hadrumetum, the two cities that on European lips bore the Greek-sounding name of Hippo[1]. Of these the memories of Hadrumetum gather mainly round the name of the greatest Hannibal; its modern name of Susa strangely keeps our thoughts within the Eastern world. But Utica is most famous in European memories as the place of the death of a Roman pagan, and Hippo as the place of the life of a Roman Christian. Thus the Phœnician stock became a ruling stock on both the continents that fence in the western basin of the great inland sea. The land of gold in southern Iberia, the Tharshish of the Hebrew, the Tartêssos of the Greek[2], became a rich field for the settlers from the East. The long voyage to the West set the standard; the ship of Tharshish became the name of any ship destined for a distant and wealth-bearing errand; it was the ship of Tharshish that bore the gold, even when the gold was brought, not from western Tharshish but from far eastern Ophir[3]. Yet Spain, with its southern shore studded with Phœnician settlements, ever remained a mere outpost of the Phœnician stock. It was Africa that became its second home, a wider and mightier, and in some sort a more abiding home, than the older dwelling-place on the Syrian coast. For there grew up the greatest city of the Phœnician name, the city which was to found a dominion forestalling that of Rome herself, a dominion of which Phœnician

Tharshish.

Spain and Africa.

may be as old; but they have had their ups and downs. The special fate of Gades has been to be always a prosperous city without ever being a ruling city. Massalia is younger, and she has been a ruling city.

[1] אדם or אדמה. See Movers, ii. 2. 144.

[2] תרשיש. See Movers, ii. 2. 594 et seqq.; Meltzer, i. 37. On the gold see the well-known stories in Herod. i. 163; iv. 152. Strabo has much to say on this head in iii. 2. 11, and he quotes our Sikeliot Stêsichoros;

> Διότι γεννηθείη σχεδὸν ἀντιπέρας κλεινᾶς Ἐρυθείας
> Ταρτησσοῦ ποταμοῦ παρὰ παγὰς ἀπείρονας ἀργυρορίζους
> ἐν κευθμῶνι πέτρας. (Bergk. iii. 208.)

[3] 1 Kings xxii. 48.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. Africa was to be the centre and seat of rule, as Italy was to be the centre and seat of rule for all Romania.

Carthage not yet. But as yet the New City was not; we are dealing only with her elder sisters.

Settlements on the islands. But while the Phœnicians of the West thus spread themselves over the most tempting spots of a large range of African and European mainland, they were not likely to pass without heed by the islands which met them on their road. The twin islands of Melita and Gaulos and the solitary Kossoura[1] lay immediately in the way of the Phœnician adventurers, while they lay a little out of the way of the Greeks. They became Phœnician settlements; they never became Greek; it was as possessions of Rome that they first entered the European fold. The accidents of a later conquest caused a tongue akin to that of Canaan again to take root in the two chief of them, and that tongue has lived on through union with Sicily and through union with Britain[2]. And these smaller islands might well pass for stepping-stones between Phœnician Africa and the great central island. But Sicily itself lay no less directly in the way of settlers from the old Phœnician land. Of the date and circumstances of the planning of the first Phœnician settlements in the island nothing is recorded. It may well have been that some came straight from the old Phœnicia, that some came from the Phœnician settlements in Africa. The oldest Sicilian homes of the men of Canaan may have been colonies of Tyre and Sidon or they may have been colonies of Utica and Hippo. It is an obvious guess that the settlements in the western part of the island, nearer to Africa,

Melita and Kossoura.

Arabic tongue of Malta.

Settlements in Sicily.

[1] Movers, ii. 2. 347 et seqq. Strabo, vi. 2. 11, defines Μελίτη, ὅθεν τὰ κυνίδια ἃ καλοῦσι Μελιταῖα. See above, p. 86.

[2] But it must be remembered that the present Semitic tongue of Malta is not, as some seem still to fancy, a Phœnician inheritance, but simply a dialect of Arabic.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

were made from the earlier settlements in that land, while those on the eastern coast, looking to Phœnicia as well as to Greece, were made from the old Phœnicia itself. The one point to be insisted on is that their settlement belongs to the earlier period of Phœnician history, that, from whatever havens their founders set forth, it was at least not from the perhaps still unoccupied haven of Carthage. CHAP. III.

Sicily and Sardinia.

In all this we cannot help again pointing the contrast between Sicily and Sardinia [1], the contrast which necessarily follows from the geographical position of the two islands. Sardinia lies just out of the way of greatness. Sicily blocks the road. The historic insignificance of an island greater than Sicily may largely be owing to the air which was trusted to carry off the Jew [2], and which was hardly more healthful to the Greek or to the Roman. But it is mainly owing to the fact that Sicily stood in its way, inviting both Phœnician and Hellenic settlement. Sardô, greatest of islands, was often going to be colonized by the Greeks; but it never was colonized. It became a possession of the Carthaginian; it seems to have received earlier settlements from the African or even from the Asiatic Phœnicia [3]. But it contains no spots which call up such memories as Panormos, Motya, and Lilybaion. That its people fought stoutly against Rome we infer from the time which it took Rome to get full possession, and from the repeated triumphs celebrated over the same enemies. As a Roman province, there is even less to tell of Sardinia than there is to tell of provinces in general. From the Roman it passed to the Saracen, from the Saracen to the Pisan; but no tale of either process rivals the tale of the conquest and of the deliverance of Sicily. It was a poor exchange indeed when Victor Amadeus sank from a Sicilian to a Sardinian throne, and it was by a bitter irony that the Sardinian name, as that of an European power, came some-

[1] See above, p. 3. [2] Tac. Ann. ii. 85. [3] Movers, ii. 2. 556.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. times to supplant the names of Piedmont, Savoy, and Genoa.

The nearest approach to a date that can be anywhere found for the beginning of Phœnician settlement in Sicily is that Thucydides believed the Sikels to have crossed from Italy in the eleventh century before Christ, and that he clearly looked on the coming of the Phœnicians as later than the coming of the Sikels [1]. We have other hints that the settlements in Sicily were later than the settlements in Spain [2], as is indeed implied in the belief that Gades was the oldest of all. The land of gold was the first and great object; other places were sought for, besides such advantages as they might have in themselves, as houses of call on the way to the richest of all goals. The settlements in Sicily seem specially to have borne this character; those on the east coast at least were factories rather than colonies. The description of them given by our chief guide sets them forth in that light; their object was that of trade with the Sikels. This of course specially applies to the eastern part of the island; it may not shut out settlements of other kinds in other parts. On the Sikel coast at least the Phœnicians seem not to have founded cities or occupied territories; they sat down, likely enough with the good will of the earlier inhabitants, on the promontories and small islands lying off the coast [3]. In neither of these is Sicily so rich as old Greece; and

Objects of Phœnician settlement.

Factories and colonies.

[1] Thuc. vi. 2. The Phœnicians come to trade with the Sikels; therefore the Sikels were there first.

[2] Movers, ii. 2. 309 et seqq. (but why does he call Agyrium a *Sikanerstadt*?); Duncker, ii. 61. In the next page we have the astounding assertion that Phœnicians founded Eryx. Not a scrap of evidence is given for this direct contradiction of Thucydides.

[3] Thuc. vi. 2; *ᾤκουν δὲ καὶ Φοίνικες περὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν ἄκρας τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἀπολαβόντες καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα νησίδια ἐμπορίας ἕνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Σικελούς.* This is the whole matter, all that is wanted and not too much.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the seas which water it are specially lacking in islands answering to so many in the Ægæan, islands of some size, fit for the foundation of a single town, lying near, but not close, both to one another and to the mainland. Except perhaps Aigousa and its fellows, the islands spoken of must be very small islands, like Ortygia on one side and Motya on the other. Melita, Gaulos, and Kossoura, are too far off to come into the reckoning. Those at least were sites, not of mere factories but of independent Phœnician communities. In promontories and small peninsulas Sicily is richer, and we may take for granted, without further evidence—and direct evidence we shall find none—that any tempting site of this kind along the whole Sicilian coast was once occupied by the busy traffickers of Canaan. Their settlements had more in common with the first settlements of European nations in the Eastern seas of Asia, than with the true colonies of Greece in Sicily, of England in America, of Phœnicia herself in Africa and Spain. Some of those far-eastern outposts of Europe have grown into colonies, dominions, empires; they were in their beginning simple factories for commerce. So in Sicily the Phœnician traffickers most likely in no way disturbed the Sikel inhabitants in the sovereignty or in the possession of the soil. This accounts for the way in which, all along the eastern coast, the Phœnician settlers vanish before the Greeks. There were no Phœnician cities to take, no Phœnician territories to conquer. In the north-west corner things may well have been otherwise; to that point we shall come presently.

CHAP. III.

Melita and Kossoura.

Comparison with European settlements.

There is no direct evidence to show with absolute certainty that any one site in Sicily, out of the actual barbarian corner, was ever held by a Phœnician settlement. This is carefully to be borne in mind; yet, besides the statement of Thucydides as to the promontories and islands in general, there is the strongest measure of mere likelihood

No direct evidence for particular settlements.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. that not a few famous spots were once seats of at least Phœnician factories. It is prudent to keep the temptation to both etymological and mythological guessing in good order; but it would be unreasonable to doubt that along the Sicilian coast some Semitic names may be traced even in modern nomenclature, and that some of the local legends may be fairly referred to Semitic gods and heroes. From both sides of the hill of Syracuse we look down on sites which we may well believe once held Phœnician factories, and where it might be unsafe to deny that names for which we can supply no Greek explanation may be in truth a legacy of the Phœnician. Yet the possible claims of the Sikel and the earlier Sikan must not be put out of sight; and we must remember that those are nations which appear *in forma pauperis*, who have never engaged such learned and zealous counsel as have been instructed on the side of both Greek and Phœnician. The island of Ortygia itself, the opposite point of Plêmmyrion, the peninsulas of Thapsos and Xiphonia, are all points which well answer the description of Thucydides as likely places for Phœnician settlement. And Semitic scholars have not failed to find a Phœnician origin for the names of more than one among them. A Semitic root has been found for the name of Syracuse itself, a root which strangely enough connects the name of the Sicilian city with the name of the Semitic masters who were ages afterwards to reign in it[1]. In our peninsula of Thapsos we are asked to see a fellow to Tiphsach or Thapsakos on the Euphrates; Pachynos is the point of watching; Makara keeps the name of a Semitic deity; Katanê and Kamarina too bear names of Canaan, and Selinous is called from *Sela*, the rock of its akropolis, not from the herb that grows in the space between its hills. The like ingenuity has been employed on the names of the inland towns of the Sikel. We are

Phœnician names.

[1] See Appendix XIII.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

bidden to see the traces of Ashtoreth at Mytistratus, and we must confess that the obvious Greek word which suggests itself is the less likely of the two. Rude hands have even been laid on the most cherished relic of the Latin-speaking Sikel, and we are told that Gela, stream and city, was called from some other cause than the coldness of its waters. CHAP. III.

The decision of points like these may be left to scholars whose first business lies with language. There can be no reasonable doubt that many of these points did receive Phœnician settlers. And these settlers may well have given them names which took root both among the Sikels among whom they settled and among the Greeks to whom they gave way. For the next fact in the history of Phœnician dealings with Sicily is that from the more part of the spots which they had occupied in Sicily they did give way before the Greeks. The details of Greek settlement in the island will come in another chapter; we have now to deal only with the general fact that the Phœnicians withdrew from these various points along different parts of the coast, from the promontories and islands where, according to the distinct witness of Thucydides, they had planted their factories. They withdrew to form three more considerable settlements in the north-western part of Sicily[1]. The date of this change can only be vaguely guessed at. The retreat would doubtless be gradual; as the Greek came on, the Phœnician fell back; the resolution to forsake all the smaller posts, and to gather together the whole Phœnician power in a few strong places in one corner, must have been the completion of a process which had been long going on. It must

The Phœnicians give way to the Greeks.

The three settlements in the North-West.

[1] Thuc. vi. 2; ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες πολλοὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπεσέπλεων, ἐκλιπόντες τὰ πλείω Μοτύην καὶ Σολόεντα καὶ Πάνορμον ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἐλύμων ξυνοικίσαντες ἐνέμοντο. I take ξυνοικίσαντες to imply that these points were already occupied.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. Relations towards Carthage.

have taken place at a time when the Greek had decidedly got the upper hand in eastern Sicily, and before Carthage had begun to exercise the supremacy which she held in later times over the other Phœnician colonies of the western seas. Carthage was in being before Greek settlement in Sicily began, and nearness to her is spoken of as one of the advantages offered by these north-western posts[1]. But there is no reason to understand anything more by this than that the neighbourhood of a kindred and powerful city was an attraction. It was well for the Phœnicians of Sicily, if they did not choose altogether to forsake Sicily, to strengthen themselves in those parts of the island which lay nearest to the settlements of their kinsfolk in Africa.

The change completed in the seventh century B.C.

If we ask for the date of this change, we may perhaps draw some help from the fact that they did not occupy one particular site most convenient for traffic with Africa. The final withdrawal from east, north, and south, the final establishment in the north-west only, can hardly have been accomplished till late in the second half of the seventh century before Christ. It was in that half-century that the Greeks founded those two of their settlements in Sicily which most directly threatened Phœnician interests. First came Himera, the one Greek city on the north coast of the island, an intrusion of the Greek into a region which the Phœnician had hitherto either made his own or left to the native races of whom he stood in no fear[2]. Himera lay within sight of Solous; but the foundation of Himera was presently to be followed by the foundation of a Greek settlement in a yet more dangerous position. Selinous arose at one of the turning-points of

Effect of the foundation of Himera; B.C. 648;

of Selinous; B.C. 628.

[1] Thuc. vi. 2; ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν ἐλάχιστον πλοῦν Καρχηδὼν Σικελίας ἀπέχει.

[2] We get the date of the foundation only from the reckoning of Diodôros (xiii. 62) that at its destruction in 408 B.C. it was πόλις οἰκισθεῖσα ἔτη διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the island, on a spot chosen as it were to watch the path across the sea between Sicily and Africa. A spot so singularly suited for Phœnician settlement must surely have been already in the hands of Greek settlers who were not likely to be easily dislodged. Otherwise Phœnicians retreating from eastern to western Sicily could hardly have failed to choose its site as one of the posts which they kept and strengthened. It may be that Selinous was actually won from Phœnicians and not from Sikans[1]; and we might expect that such a site would have received, if not a Phœnician colony, at least a Phœnician factory. In any case, if Selinous had been, at the time of the Phœnician retreat, either unoccupied or in any kind of Phœnician occupation, it would surely have been kept as a barrier against Greek advance along the southern coast. The inference is that it was already in Greek hands; and, if it was already in Greek hands, it was assuredly time for the Phœnician to strengthen himself in the posts which he had left, if he would not be driven out of the island altogether.

CHAP. III.

Himera and Selinous Greek before the final retreat.

It must be remembered that the change which now took place was simply a change from one existing seat of Phœnician settlement to another. There was a surrender of Phœnician possessions at one end of Sicily; but there was no foundation of new ones at the other. No one can suppose that the three points to which the Phœnicians of western Sicily withdrew, Motya, Panormos, and Solous, now passed for the first time into Phœnician occupation. At their exact age we cannot even guess; we have seen reason to think that the Sicilian settlements in general belong to the elder Phœnician time; we may, if we will, believe that the All-haven dates from an elder day than the New City. Still, if any of the Sicilian settlements were planted, not from the old Phœnicia but from the

The three posts not newly founded.

Their date unknown.

[1] Benndorf, die Metopen von Selinunt, p. 6.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

Phœnician colonies in Africa, these are they. And it may be that, while the settlements on the eastern promontories and islands were merely factories, these western settlements were true cities and colonies from the beginning.

Their strengthening by the surrender of the eastern posts.

But the three posts which it was now resolved to keep and strengthen and defend must have put on a new life and strength when the whole Phœnician population of Sicily was gathered within them. Panormos, above all, was no mere factory on an islet off the shore; it was—it surely was from the beginning—a city on a spot where a city once planted could not fail to rise to greatness.

Panormos.

With this second colonization begins the history of the head of Semitic Sicily, for a thousand years past the head of all Sicily, a city which has ever held a chief place among the cities and havens of the Mediterranean, and which has won for itself a place in history which is unique. It has been in two distant ages the centre of the warfare waged to determine whether the island of which it was the head should be reckoned, in the eternal strife, on the side of Africa or on the side of Europe.

Asia in Africa.

Of Africa we must say here, not of Asia. This is the marked peculiarity of the history of Sicily, as of Spain, that the powers of Asia are transferred to Africa, and do their work from an African starting-point. The Phœnicia and the Arabia with which those lands have to deal are not the old Phœnicia and the old Arabia far to the East, but a new Phœnicia, a new Arabia, destined to spring up, each in its turn, on the western shores of the Mediterranean.

The East in the West.

The East in short, the better to carry on its strife with the West, transfers itself to the further West. In Sicily, above all, the geographical relations of creeds, tongues, and races, seem to be turned about in both the times of strife with the Semitic enemy. The East has become the West and the West the East. The Phœnician in one age,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the Saracen in the other, holds western Sicily as his sure home, and thence marches to the conquest or attempted conquest of the eastern parts of the island. In truth, even before the first great strife in Sicily began, the Phœnician power had become wholly a power in the western seas. The elder Canaan was in subjection to foreign masters. Her life had passed away to the West, to Utica and Panormos and more distant Gades; it had passed to the youngest and greatest of them all, to the New City, proclaiming in her name her abiding youth, and marching fast to become lady and mistress over all her elder fellows[1]. CHAP. III.

In the long strife of which Sicily was the centre, the strife, to put it geographically, between Africa and Europe, Panormos had her special calling. As an independent Phœnician city, neither Panormos nor any of her fellows seems to have taken up the mission which fell to their lot under Carthaginian dominion. Under that dominion she was to become, what she so long remained, the head of African, of Semitic, power in Sicily, whenever any African, any Semitic, power existed there. She was the head of Phœnician Sicily; she was the head of Saracen Sicily. Thrice won for Europe by Greek, Roman, and Norman arms, she never became the head of an European Sicily till after the last of those three conquests. When Panormos, under an European and Christian ruler, could call herself the First of Seats, the Crown of the King and the Head of the Kingdom[2], it was a sign that a Semitic capital was never again to be needed for the island which Europe now claimed as her own for ever.

Panormos the Semitic head.

The three conquests of Panormos.

A city with such a destiny as this was fittingly Semitic, African, Oriental, whatever the word is to be, from its historic birth. I have assumed throughout that Panormos,

Panormos originally Phœnician.

[1] See above, p. 16.

[2] "Prima sedes, corona regis, et regni caput."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. the Panormos of history, was in its beginnings a settlement strictly Phœnician. I see no reason to accept the suggestion of a modern scholar that Panormos was of Greek origin or had a Greek element among its people[1]. For such a belief there does not seem to be a scrap of direct evidence, and it is surely in no way proved or suggested by the fact that we know the city only by the name which it bore on Greek lips. Its Greek name is one shared by not a few other havens in many parts of the Greek seas; but it was never more worthily applied than to this, so truly and specially the *All-haven*, which the native historian of the island ruled to be the fairest haven of all Sicily[2]. For a town to bear different names on the lips of its own people and on the lips of strangers is nothing wonderful. It was easier to give such a spot a descriptive Greek name than to adapt its Semitic name to Hellenic ears. For the name *Panormos* seems to have been a perfectly independent Greek name of the town; it is certainly not a translation of any of the Punic names by which Panormos has been said to have been called. When Greek influences spread themselves over the Phœnicians of Sicily, when the coinage of Panormos was wrought in a high style of Greek art and Greek became the language of its legends, the Greek name of the town was adopted, and *Panormos* appears freely on the moneys of the

The Greek name.

Greek coins at Panormos.

[1] On this view, suggested by Holm, *Studii di Storia Palermitana*, in the Archivio Storico-Siciliano, Anno iv., Palermo, 1880, I shall say something in Appendix XIX.

[2] Diod. xxii. 14; ἦκεν [ὁ Πύρρος] ἐπὶ τῶν Πανορμιτῶν πόλιν, ἔχουσαν λιμένα κάλλιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν συμβέβηκε ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας. In the Odyssey (xiii. 195) λιμένες πάνορμοι appear as a class, happily in Ithakê itself, or we might have got another piece of haphazard Sicilian geography. Eustathios makes his comment; «πάνορμοι δὲ λιμένες οἱ ἀγχιβαθεῖς, εἰς οὓς διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσα ναῦς καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἀνέμῳ ὁρμίζεται. Some harbours, he tells us most truly, are not πάνορμοι, according to this definition. Can it be our Panormos of which Sapphô speaks as a home of Aphroditê? fr. 6; ἥ σε Κύπρος καὶ Πάφος ἢ Πάνορμος. We shall come to her again.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Phœnician city [1]. The fact is not wonderful; wherever, from whatever cause, two languages are in use, a place very commonly has two names, names which sometimes translate one another and sometimes not. In such cases which name is to be used depends upon the language which is spoken. When Panormos was fully established as the Greek name of the city, even a Phœnician in speaking Greek would not think of calling it by any other. But it is a singular chance that the true Phœnician name of Panormos is still uncertain. Semitic scholars were formerly divided between two names. There was *Machoshbim*, the camp of the Workers in Colour, and *Machanat*, more directly proclaiming its kinship to the *Mahanaim* of the Old Testament. Then the name was said to be *Ziz*; it seems now to be left an open question among those who should best know [2]. The remarkable thing is that neither of *Machoshbim*, of *Machanat*, or of *Ziz*, is *Panormos* in any sort a rendering. It may be that some day a Semitic name for the All-haven may be brought to light. Till then we must believe that Greek visitors, Greek enemies, strangers who wished that such a site was a possession of their own people, looked at it wistfully and named it for themselves.

CHAP. III.

The Phœnician name uncertain.

But they would hardly have so named it if what they looked at had been the Palermo of the present day. A visitor

Changes in the coast.

[1] Coins of Sicily, 121. There are some of the "Period of Transition," with Greek letters from right to left.

[2] See Movers, ii. 2. 335; Holm, i. 84, 372; Schubring, Historische Topographie von Panormos, p. 9. But it is now held that the coins with the names מחנת and מחשבם do not belong to Panormos. See Coins of Sicily, 246. Yet one is a little sorry to lose the מחנת coins, as they have on the reverse קרת חדשת, that is *Carthage*, which so well fits to the Νεάπολις, the *Khalesa*, of Panormos. *Ziz*, צין, as a name of the place, I have heard first suggested and then withdrawn by an eminent eastern scholar. Something will be found about it in Head, 151. But it is enough for me to leave the matter as Meltzer leaves it (i. 483): "Die Frage nach dem phœnikischen Namen der Stadt Panormus muss auch zur Zeit noch, soweit wir sehen, in jeder Richtung als eine offene bezeichnet werden."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. who had no other guide than his own first glimpses of the three, might, after seeing the Great Harbour of Syracuse and the Zanklon of Messana, be inclined to wonder at the judgement of the native historian which placed the haven of Panormos first of all[1]. But the Panormos of which we have to speak, the Panormos of Phœnician, Roman, Arab, and even Norman, guarded by the same mountains, washed by the same waves, fanned by the same breezes, was, as regards the relations of land and water in the city itself, something wholly unlike the Palermo of our own time. Those relations had greatly changed before man walked the earth, and they went on changing down to a time when the main interest of Sicilian history has passed away. Yet after all, Palermo has changed less than Narbonne and Arles, than Pisa and Ravenna. She still remains a royal city and no small haven of the sea. But she is no longer the All-haven, with the waters enfolding the land and the land enfolding the waters. It was on a spot wholly unlike the present Palermo that the Phœnician first bade a city of men arise, that the Arab in after days took the place of the Phœnician, and that the Epeirot, the Roman, and the Norman, each in his day, won or won back the precious spoil for Europe.

The "Golden Shell."

Land and water around Panormos have won for themselves picturesque and sacred names in the modern tongue of the land. The plain of Palermo is the Golden Shell; the sea that washes it is the Gulf of Angels; the height that keeps watch over land and sea is the Mount of Pilgrims. What devotional names the worshippers of Baalim and Ashtaroth gave either to the sea or to the high places of their gods we know not. But the Golden Shell, the plain of Palermo, the rich garden of nature[2] with its crops and fruits—fruits both inborn and welcomed from other lands—the plain fenced in by its bold arc of moun-

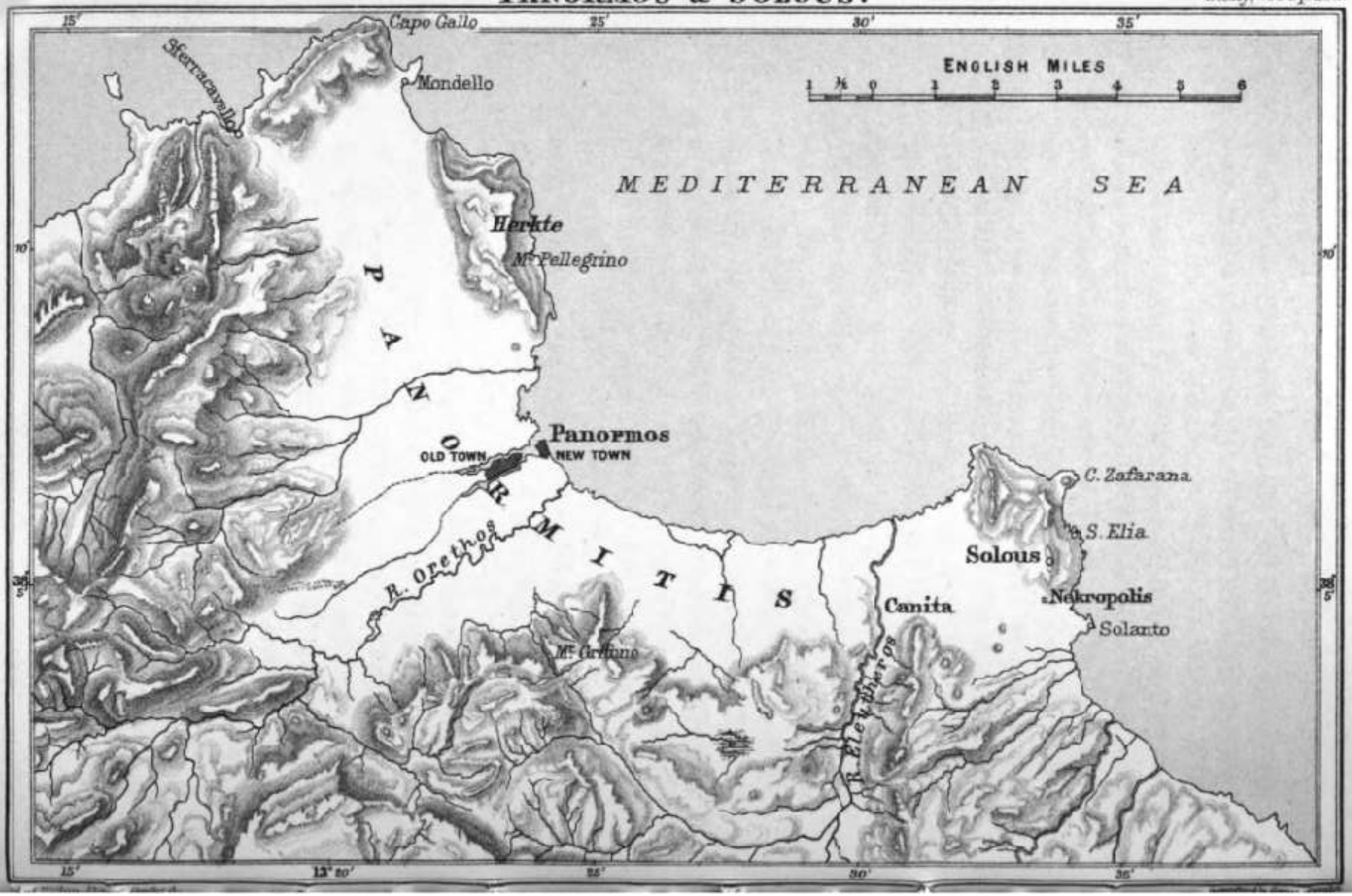
[1] See p. 250, note 2.

[2] See above, p. 59.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PANORMOS & SOLOUS.



Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

tains, like a theatre looking down on the broad Mediterranean as its stage—all this ranks among those marked facts of physical geography which rule the destinies of cities and nations. The exact geography needs a little pains thoroughly to master it. Panormos stands in such a marked way on the north coast of Sicily that we carry thither a kind of feeling that the city itself looks northward. But Panormos stands at a point of the coast where the land turns northward to form the gulf from which the city itself looks forth, not towards the north, but towards the morning-land. Looking straight from Palermo, the eye ranges far away along the broken masses of mountains which guard the northern coast of Sicily. Ætna himself, in favourable moments, raises his snowy tore above his lowlier fellows, and now and then, on the bosom of the Tyrrhenian waters, may be seen the most western of the fiery isles of Aiolos. The spot looks east, as if to invite the men of Canaan and the men of Hellas, each in their turn. But it looks not straight towards the land of either folk. Its true look-out is towards the lands which bar the path to both, the lands from which, not the Phœnician, the Greek, or the Arab, but the Roman and the Norman were to come.

CHAP. III.

Panormos looks east.

The immediate bay of Panormos is fenced in by two marked bulwarks, both of them islands in an earlier state of the world's being, now isolated masses of hill, standing in advance of the mountain range, like strong outposts in advance of a long rampart of town or castle. Of these bold promontories, the isolated mass of hills to the south-east, throwing out its bold spurs into the Mediterranean waters, bore the sister city of Solous on a lower level of one of the hills which form it. At the northern end, far nearer to the city, the gulf is bounded by a more famous isolated rock, known in one age as Herktê, the stronghold of Hamilkar, in another age as Monte Pellegrino, the holy

The bay and its boundaries.

The northern horn, Herktê or Pellegrino.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

place of the virgin Rosalia. This is a steep mass of limestone, rising sheer from the sea on one side and from the plain on the other, a mighty mass, reckoning, as Polybios, somewhat overstripping the truth, recorded, a hundred *stadia* in its girth [1]. Seen from below, its summit seems to be made up of small peaks thrown fantastically towards the sky; in truth those peaks shelter ground which is nearly level, ground which could serve for the encampment of armies, and even, we are told, for the nourishment of the armies which were there encamped [2]. Had it stood but a little nearer to the haven of Panormos, the height of Herktê might have become the akropolis of the city. But for men who, if they came to dwell and to rule, came before all things to traffic, no site could have such charms as that which they actually chose. Herktê could not—unless by long walls like those of Themistoklês—have been yoked into actual unity with the city which was to arise among the waters. The guardian rock remained an outpost, an outpost of all importance whether it were in the hands of friends or enemies, but which has never to this day become part of the city itself. Herktê, looking down on Panormos, has in no age been to Panormos as the heights which look down on later Corinth and Athens have been to those cities. For those heights were themselves the oldest Corinth and the oldest Athens. Panormos belongs to a later stage, the stage which the Phœnician reached sooner than the Greek, the stage when men no longer dreaded the sea, but learned to find themselves close on its shore and sometimes on its very waters.

Never the akropolis of Panormos.

Contrast with Corinth and Athens.

Of the bay of Panormos Herktê at the one end, the hills of Solous at the other, may be fairly set down as the boundaries. But neither of them is a boundary of the land,

The horns bound the bay, but not the *Campagna*.

[1] Polybios, i. 56; *τούτου δ' ἡ περίμετρος τῆς ἄνω στεφάνης οὐ λείπει τῶν ἑκατὸν σταδίων.*

[2] Ib.; *ἐφ' ἧς ὁ περιεχόμενος τόπος εὔβοτος ὑπάρχει καὶ γεωργήσιμος.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the plain, the garden, of Panormos. The hill of Solous stands from all points of view palpably isolated, parted from the main line of mountains by a considerable stretch of low ground. But besides this, the *Campagna di Palermo* has several outlets, both landwards and seawards. The *Montagna di Palermo* seems to sweep round as a mighty wall; but it is a wall pierced with several breaches. To the south-west of the city, the plain sends a branch inland, where the vale of the Oreto[1] or Ammiraglio makes a gap in the mountain range. Overlooking the mouth of this gap, in front of the loftier heights, rises the hill which was crowned in later days by the renowned church of Monreale and the town which grew up around it. From thence the mountains stretch northwards to the point where they reach the sea; but that point is nowhere in the bay of Palermo, but on the actual northern coast of Sicily. The Golden Shell has, north of the city, two openings to the sea, besides the bay itself. It opens to the northern sea at a point which bears the strange name, not unknown elsewhere, of *Sferracavallo*. In front of it is the small island which bears the no less strange name of *Isola delle Femmine*[2]. To the left of this opening is the actual ending of the mountain-range. To its right stands another huge isolated rock, now known as *Capo Gallo*. This is parted from Herktê or Pellegrino by a smaller opening to the sea, looking eastward like the bay itself, and again parted by Pellegrino from the bay. Capo Gallo is very prominent from the sea, as the most northern point of this part of Sicily, very nearly the most northern point of the whole island. As we draw near to Palermo from Trapani, both hills distinctly stand out as islands

The *Montagna di Palermo*.

Other openings to the sea.

Capo Gallo.

[1] The name Orethus comes only from Vibius Sequester, p. 14; "Orethus Panormi Siciliæ." See above, p. 83. Polybios (i. 40) has simply ὁ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ποταμός.

[2] See Smyth, p. 70, and above, p. 86. It is odd that anybody should have taken it for Motya; see below, p. 272.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. with branches of the plain reaching to the sea on each side of them. Looked at from the land, in the shifting view from various points of the hills, sometimes one opening is seen, sometimes the other; sometimes the isolation of Capo Gallo is most prominent, sometimes that of Pellegrino.

But it is the opening between Capo Gallo and Pellegrino, not that between Capo Gallo and the main line of mountains, which plays its part in history. It in truth gives the plain a lesser haven besides the All-haven itself.

Haven of Mondello.

It now bears the name of Mondello, from a small village, with two small military towers, nestling at the end of Capo Gallo which looks towards Pellegrino. Like the All-haven itself, it has been affected by the changes of land and water. The side of it lying under Capo Gallo once formed a deep bay, where the waves swept over ground which has changed from sea to marsh and from marsh to dry land. The land is still unhealthy and uninhabited, and it has undergone large artificial works of draining. The hill above it must in past times, in not very distant times, have come much nearer to the nature of a real island than it does now. On the side of Herktê the withdrawal of the sea has not been so great; still it has gone back on this side also[1]. This haven is still in actual use; but it is now small and unimportant. But had a city ever arisen on the top of Herktê, Mondello, and not the All-haven, would have been its natural harbour. And when the height was occupied in the wars of Hamilkar, while Panormos was in the hands of his enemies, this lesser opening actually served as the haven, if not of a city, at least of the Punic camp on the mountain.

The *Montagna di Palermo.*

The great inland range of heights to the west, and again to the south on the right bank of the Oreto, is

[1] See Amari, Musulmani in Sicilia, i. 318, and Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula, cap. xxxv. p. 31 (i. 376 oct. ed.).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

far higher than any of the isolated outposts. Yet the whole system of mountains is of only moderate height. The loftiest point of the mountains of Palermo throws up its sharply marked peak to a height which, after all, hardly outtops the Snowdon of Gwynedd[1]. Other points range northward and southward. On the south side the most marked feature is the heavy mass of Monte Grifone, sheltering in its side a deep hole, the Giants' Cave, once set thick with remains which were doubtless as truly things of the past when the Phœnician first landed as they are now. Relics they were of days when Europe and Africa had not yet been rent asunder, days when the elephant of the southern continent stalked at his free will amid the woods of what should be Sicily, and needed not the sails of Carthage to bring him thither as an invader. And, nearer to the sea, as if to bring together all the epochs of Sicilian history, a sinking in the heights, overlooked by peaks of wildly fantastic outline, whose name of *Gibelrosso*, like not a few other names among these hills, suggests the second Semitic masters of the land, marks the spot which in our own days beheld the crossing of Garibaldi and his Thousand.

CHAP. III.

The Giants' Cave.

The plain is well watered by springs and streams, a feature on which all descriptions of the land, specially those of the Arabian writers, do not fail to enlarge. The chief among the streams, the Oreto, plays its part in one of the great moments of Panormitan history. Its bed, even at a small distance from the sea, is deep and reedy, and its banks are steep. In some parts they are, like so many of the hills of Sicily, burrowed into by caves, at one stage perhaps the dwelling-places, at another the burial-places, of unrecorded occupants. Nearer to the city, rain easily changes the stream into a rushing torrent, of a hue rivalling that of the yellow Tiber. But

The river Oreto.

[1] See p. 69.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

much tampering with the course of the river has made the bed at ordinary times wide and shallow. It is but a feeble stream that trickles into the Mediterranean, and the famous bridge of George of Antioch stands almost dry, with water running under one only of its twelve arches. If Oreto had not once had a richer supply of water, we should hardly have heard of it in the fight of Metellus and Asdrubal.

Site of Panormos.

Between the stream of Oreto and the rock of Herktê lay the site so specially made to draw to itself the eyes and the hearts of the men of Tyre and Sidon, the site of the All-haven itself. Its look now is far different from what it was when the glance of the first Phœnician shipman marked it as formed by the hand of nature for the great purpose of his being. His ships could then anchor in waters which have since changed into the streets of a great and busy city. An inlet of the sea, making its way inland by a narrow mouth, presently parted off into two branches, and left a tongue of land between them. Of these branches, each of which had a stream running into it, the northern one ran much further inland than the other, and with a more direct course to the west. The southern arm, going far less deep into the land, took a turn to the south, leaving a small peninsula between itself and the outer sea. There was thus an inner peninsula and an outer. The inner one, between the two inlets, ran east and west; the outer one, guarding the approach to the inner, ran more nearly north and south. Such a site as this, a little inland sea, with the land sheltering the water and the water sheltering the land, was indeed a haven of rest for the wearied merchantman of Phœnicia, seeking a safe harbour for his ships and their burthens. The spot was seized on; the well-placed piece of land, with water on both sides of it, became the site of the oldest Phœnician settlement. Ships sailed and rode in safety in both branches of the truly

Changes of land and water.

The two peninsulas.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

called All-haven. The elder city was wholly confined to the tongue of land; but the peninsula between the southern arm of the haven and the main sea must have been early occupied and fortified. Suburbs grew up, in this case not only beyond the walls, but beyond the waters. The peninsula became the New City, on Greek lips Neapolis, an elder Naples, on Phœnician lips no doubt a lesser Carthage[1]. Our history leads us to believe that, even in Phœnician times, not only the peninsula but a considerable extent of ground south of the haven was already fenced in, walled and ditched to withstand an enemy. How far this fortified suburb stretched to the south, whether to the full extent of the modern walls, it is vain to guess. It is enough that there was a fortified suburb beyond the mere peninsula, that there was, at least when Carthage ruled over Panormos, a southern wall ready to meet an enemy advancing from the side of the Oreto. Of the northern side of the double haven we can in these days say nothing[2].

CHAP. III.

The elder city.

The New City.

Fortified suburbs.

The main thing to be borne in mind, when we get our first picture of Phœnician Panormos at the time of its taking by the Romans, is that it had already become,

[1] See above, p. 218.

[2] Since this was written, a work has appeared, *La Topografia Antica di Palermo, dal Secolo X al XV*, by Professor Vincenzo di Giovanni (Palermo, 1889). The writer's attention is chiefly given to later times, but he could not help saying something about the earlier times also. Most of the points raised in the book will concern me in future volumes; but it is of importance here to note that, as Schubring gave the waters a less extent inland than Morso and the older writers, Di Giovanni gives them an extent still less than Schubring. But it is not denied that the sea came in much further than it does now, and that the tongue of land was divided from the land on which the suburbs arose by some water, more or less, whether merely a stream or something entitled to be called part of the haven. I have in my plan provisionally followed Schubring; absolute certainty as to the earliest times cannot be had, and the details of Saracen and Norman times will be discussed elsewhere. As far as I can judge at present, Professor di Giovanni seems stronger in the later times than in the earlier. It is very odd in the year 1889 to quote Polybios and Procopius in Latin cribs, and very strange cribs too.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. in all essential features, the same as it remained under the Roman, the Arab, and even the Norman. The old central city was still, long after it had been won back for Christendom, planted on its tongue of land between the two inlets, with suburbs gradually growing up on the northern and southern shores of the haven. Since the fourteenth century of our æra the two branches of the haven have been gradually filled up, and have become dry land[1]; a small survival only of the All-haven abides in the little port called the Cala. And we may be sure that the changes which have gone on so actively in these later centuries had begun much earlier. The relations of land and water in the days of the Arab and the Norman are fairly well ascertained. The chances are that even then a good deal of change had happened since the days of early Phœnician settlement. We are tempted to think that Atilius found a greater *All-haven* than Belisarius, and Belisarius a greater one than Roger. And one point must be specially marked. The long straight street running east and west, the *Casr* of the Arab, the *Via Marmorea* of the Norman, the heirloom, we may well deem, not only of Roman but of Phœnician times, the street which once traversed the whole length of the older city on the tongue of land, has been carried far eastward, over what was haven, over what was peninsula. It now opens, by an outlet of Spanish times, to the wide Mediterranean itself.

Modern change in the havens.

The great street.

This is indeed a change to have come upon a great city. The All-haven is no more; beyond the little Cala, the modern port of Palermo stretches along the coast in the direction of Pellegrino, and has caused a great extension of suburb on that side. This change must always be borne in mind; for throughout our story, unless it be prolonged till almost modern times, we shall be

[1] Fazello, who had seen the later stages of the process, describes it in i. 339.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

speaking of the physical features, not of Palermo that is, but of Panormos that was. It was in ancient Panormos, not in modern Palermo, that Frederick the Emperor reigned and left his dust. An observant eye might well find out the change without being told of it. The fall from the central ridge to those parts which once were covered with water is strongly marked on both sides of the great central street. The parts of the town which cover the bed of the northern arm lie in a deep hollow, and the fall is no less marked on the south side in the steep sides of what once was the bed of the stream that ran into the southern arm. It also soon strikes the inquirer that in these lower parts of the city there is an utter lack of ancient buildings. Only the question might be raised whether in the Palermo that now is we have any right to speak of ancient buildings at all. The oldest that now are, with all their surpassing historic and artistic value, do not go further back than the Norman reigns. A few fragments only proclaim the former dwelling of the Saracen and the Roman. Of the Phœnician nothing certain seems to be left beyond what is sheltered within the walls of the Museum alongside of the earliest efforts of Greek art from Selinous. There at least are the tombs and the graven forms of two of the daughters of Canaan, sisters alike of Sophonisba and of Jezebel, dwellers in the Panormitan land, though not within the Panormitan city. But of Phœnician buildings, even of Roman or Saracen buildings, such as are at Arles and Nîmes, at Cordova and Granada, standing where their builders planted them, modern Palermo can show none. Yet ever and anon, among her streets and walls and palaces, above all in the long-enduring wall which fences in the inner city, the eye lights on mighty stones which have, we are tempted to think, known some earlier resting-place. Is it too fond a dream that some of them may have been once piled by

Signs of the change.

Lack of ancient remains.

No certain Phœnician traces.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. the kinsmen of the sons of Anak, to make towers and temples fated to become the quarry of the Roman in his day and of the Norman in his[1]?

The territory of Panormos.

Such was the head of Phœnician Sicily, the chief among the three cities of refuge of the Phœnician fleeing before the Greek. In Sicily, as in Greece, the territories of the several cities are well marked out by the hand of nature. At all points save one, the immediate land of Panormos, notwithstanding the gaps in its mountain wall, is almost as clearly defined as the immediate land of Athens. West and north, and south-west also, it is well fenced in. The dweller in the Golden Shell could know no more of aught beyond the hills than the dweller in Athens could know of the Thriasian plain or the Tetrapolis of Marathôn. Even where the plain of Palermo opens to the further plain to the south-east, there is still practically a barrier, though a barrier which suggests what it hides. Yet no marked feature parts off the territory of Panormos from that of the sister city, the most eastern stronghold of Canaan on the north coast of Sicily. Its later names, Solous and Soluntum, are said to be forms of the descriptive Semitic name, *Sela*, the city of the rock[2]. With the rock, but not the city on it, before our eyes, we pass through the garden which still lies between the mountains and the sea. A garden it was in the days of the Phœnician, and a garden it still remains. Between the two cities lay a smaller

Sela, Solous, Soluntum.

[1] On the other hand, speculations of this kind are dangerous, because of the later Palermitan fashion of building with large stones which anywhere else would be thought to be ancient. I have seen some fresh-hewn stones, not yet set in the wall, which looked as if they were of the days of Eth-baal.

[2] סלע, the true name of Petra; 2 Kings xiv. 7; Isaiah xvi. 1; Movers, ii. 2. 337. But see Holm, i. 373, for another name כזרא. So Coins of Sicily, 242; Head, 149. The earliest coins have Greek legends. There was another Soloeis or Solous, Σολόεις ἄκρη, τῇ τελευτῇ τὰ τῆς Λιβύης (Herod. ii. 32), τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Λιβύης, τῷ οὔνομα Σολόεις (iv. 43). Hanno, Periplus, 3; Skylax, 112.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

home of the men of the East, whose remains still crown the bold isolated rock of Cannita. Thence, from the foot of the hill, came the tombs of the two Phœnician women in the Palermitan Museum, and there the later Semitic comers kept an abiding home after the Norman had made his way into the land. CHAP. III. Cannita.

No two sites can be conceived more unlike each other than the sites of the two kindred and neighbouring cities of Panormos and Solous. Panormos reposes luxuriously on her rich plain, with her guardian rock rising above her. She had no temptation to fix even her akropolis on the height of Herktê. But what did not happen at Panormos did happen at Solous. The city sits on the height, a height doubtless won from earlier possessors. Solous can never have begun its career as a mere factory. It must have been a military outpost from the beginning. Holes in the hill-side, tombs most likely of the Sikan, bespeak the presence of more ancient dwellers; for the later dead the plain was left. The traveller now finds himself within the *nekropolis* of Solous, and thence looks up to the city of the living far above him. Yet, if Solous sits on her height, she does not sit proudly on its summit; she seems rather as if engaged in an endless struggle, ever climbing up the sloping side, even putting forth all her strength to keep the vantage-ground which she has gained. For while Panormos, self-contained in her Golden Shell, was the centre of Phœnician power, less open than her fellows to the attacks of enemies, Solous was the most exposed of outposts in the teeth of the Hellenic foe. Yet the city arose on a spot which might in some sort be called sheltered. The immediate site of Solous is altogether cut off from the northern waters. The city looks east, west, south; to the north a loftier height soars above it. The isolated mass of which the hill of Solous forms a part rises to its greatest height by the name of Mount Catalfano, a hybrid name, half Sites of Panormos and Solous. The town on the side of the hill. Catalfano.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. Arabic, half Greek, which may show that the Saracen conquerors found it the seat of a watch-tower and beacon. This central height throws out two bold promontories into the Tyrrhenian waters. On the western side, the headland now known as Mongerbino, the immediate rival or fellow of Pelligrino, the horn that guards the south-eastern end of the bay of Palermo naturally looks slightly to the westward. The eastern headland, known as Cape Zaffarana, hardly seen from Palermo itself, is clearly seen from Pellegrino as a bold and isolated rock, joined to the mountain mass by a low isthmus. A deep and narrow chasm parts these natural outposts from the actual hill of Solous. They shelter it from the direct assaults of the open sea, and leave it as a barrier, though an isolated one, between the low land on each side and the gulfs which wash it, the bay of Palermo to the north-west and what was once the bay of Himera to the east.

Mongerbino.

Zaffarana.

The town of Solous.

The city itself sat on the south-eastern slope of the hill, a city most unlike either those towns which have struggled up a hill from a site at the foot, and no less unlike those towns which have struggled down a hill from a site at the top. Walls there must surely have been, at least on the lower side; the great chasm and the steep rocks which part the hill of Solous from the mass of the mountain may have made them needless on that side. But all walls have vanished. After no slight climb from the foot of the hill, the traveller knows that he is entering the city. The ancient path by which he has made his way up gradually changes into the main street of Solous. That is, the foundations and ruins of the buildings lie on each side of it. The street runs horizontally across the hill, with smaller streets sloping upwards and downwards from it. The streets largely keep their pavements; on such a slope the High Street alone would be available for carriages; the side-streets are often simple flights of steps. One of them

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

however was carried on over a separate spur of the hill at a height rather below the High Street and nearly at right angles to it. No greater contrast can be conceived to the great street of Panormos, with the waters of the twofold haven close beneath it on each side. CHAP. III.

The outlook from Solous.

Panormos and Solous stand so near to each other as to be ever aware each other's being and nearness; but they stand so that each seems purposely to avoid the direct sight of the other. Solous seems designedly to turn her back on her sister; or rather the outpost of the race of which both were members was bound to keep her face towards the enemies of both. Panormos may be seen from some points of the higher ground of Solous; but the true view from the Soluntine hill is eastward, along the northern coast of Sicily, as far as the headland which shuts out the further view, the height of Sikel Cephalœdium with Norman Cefalù at its foot. Thus, from the border fortress of the Phœnician against the Greek we look out on spots that are memorable indeed in the long tale of Greek and Phœnician warfare. The eye first lights on a monument of Phœnician victory. There stands the promontory crowned by the modern Termini, the *Thermai* of Himera[1]. That we look on the Thermai of Himera while we cannot look on Himera itself, shows how well the Phœnician knew both how to sweep away and how to call into being. But as the eye ranges one step further, we look forth from Phœnician Solous on the spot where once was Greek Himera, a name that calls up one of the brightest and one of the saddest days in the long tale of the Eternal Strife. There, as it were before our eyes, as we gaze from the stronghold of the enemy, was fought the fight fellow to Salamis, fought, as men believed, on the day of Salamis. And from the darker and grimmer Semitic side, few acts even in the drama of Sicilian story can outdo the gloomy

Termini and the site of Himera.

[1] See above, p. 77.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. interest of the offering and the end of the earlier and lesser Hamilkar, of the fearful vengeance of the earlier and lesser Hannibal.

No Phœnician traces.

It is from the site of Phœnician Solous that we look out on these memories of alternate Greek and Phœnician victory; but it is not from Phœnician Solous that we look on them. We tread the pavement of ancient streets; we walk with ancient houses on each side of us; the eye rests, here on a column, there on a statue, relics of a city from which every living habitation of man has passed away for ages. But the city whose streets we walk is not the Phœnician *Sela*, not the Greek *Solous*, but the Roman *Soluntum*, into which the Phœnician city changed. Greek, save for one moment [1], it never was, except in that wider sense in which, under Roman, specially under East-Roman rule, all things in Sicily at last became Greek. A Greek column alongside of a Roman fellow proves only Hellenic influence of this kind. On this hill did Japheth, in a marked way, dwell in the tents of Shem, but it was in his Italian, not in his Greek form, that he settled there.

Roman Soluntum.

Its modern representatives.

There is no modern town of Soluntum, nor is there anything that can be called a haven. Yet ships must have anchored there in Phœnician times, and several fishing villages are still scattered along the shore. One of them, which has some fame in mediæval story, is known as *Sólanto*, keeping the ancient name in a corrupted shape, and with an accent which is neither Greek nor Latin [2]. Another, at the base of the hill, bears a Semitic name which was not brought thither by men of Canaan, but

[1] It is said to have been once betrayed to Dionysios; Diod. xiv. 78.

[2] In some names in Sicily and southern Italy there seems a tendency to throw back the accent in an almost English fashion. *Táranto*, one would say, follows Greek Τάραντα, but *Otranto* cannot be got out of either Ὑδροῦντα or *Hydruntum*. So with *Sólanto*. And while the Latin *Lucía* of Naples and Syracuse is accented as if she were a Greek Λευκία, the modern forms of Σικελία and Ἰταλία always follow the Latin rule.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

which, in the days of East-Roman power, should rather have wandered from the base to the summit. It bears the name of the awful saint of the old law, Elias, prophet of Carmel and of countless heights besides. Here it seems as if the prophets of Baal had kept the high place in spite of him. To the hill itself, even before aught of the remains of Soluntum had been brought to light, the name of *La Città* clave by a long and true tradition, which the researches of learned inquirers did but confirm. CHAP. III. Saint Elias.

As we have seen, we are altogether without records as to the date and circumstances of the first Phœnician occupation of the sites of Panormos and Solous. The striking difference between the two spots naturally sets us thinking as to the state of each when the old colonists from Tyre or Sidon, or from Hippo or Utica, took possession. Some people doubtless already held the soil, and it is Sikans for whom we should most naturally look in this corner of Sicily. We are tempted to think that Solous may have been at the beginning, as we know that it became afterwards, an outpost of race against race. It may well be that on its site the Phœnician settlers thought it wise to occupy a Sikan stronghold, while at Panormos, sheltered by Solous and with the All-haven offering so tempting a site, there was no thought of planting the city on Herktê. That Herktê was occupied before the Phœnicians came can be distinctly proved; only who would have doubted it? The cave-dwellings or cave-tombs—the two run easily into each other—of some primitive folk look out from the hill over the sea, and the skulls, the weapons, the food, of unrecorded times, have all been preserved[1]. But with savages like these our story has slight concern; we may feel sure that they had either vanished from the earth or had been improved into quite another people before the Origin of Solous and Panormos. Prehistoric remains on Pellegrino.

[1] Many such things may be seen in the University Museum at Palermo.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. days of Phœnician settlement. It would be dangerous to rule whether they were undeveloped Sikans or some yet earlier people whom the Sikans found in possession. And for the political history of Sicily the question matters not.

Skulls. But when we are told that the prevalent type of skull even in modern Palermo agrees with what we should expect the Sikan skull to be[1], the fact or conjecture, as it may be, has all historical likelihood on its side. The Phœnicians, we may be sure, never wholly displaced the earlier inhabitants; they rather sat down, as did Romans, Arabs, and Normans in later times, as a ruling race among them. We may conceive Panormos, as we please, either as a factory growing into a ruling city or as a ruling city from its foundation. In the former case Sikans may have gone on dwelling on Herktê long after the Phœnician had seated himself between the two branches of the All-haven. But at questions like these we can only guess; that the Phœnicians ruled over subject Sikans we may take for granted.

Solous then may, from its very beginning, have stood as a frontier stronghold against independent Sikans or whatever other people held the coast to the east of it.

Solous a border post against the Greeks. It is certain that, from the time when the Phœnicians of Sicily gathered themselves up into their three north-western settlements, it became one of the bulwarks of the western Canaan against Hellas. The point that it immediately sheltered was Panormos. To the immediate west of that central settlement no such bulwark was needed. To the north-western corner of Sicily no Greek adventurer had made his way. There Elymians and Sikans only had to be dealt with. The territory of those nations, the friendly Elymians, the most commonly hostile Sikans, completely shut out the Phœnician settlements on the

[1] So I have been told by one practised in measuring skulls; but I do not commit myself to the fact.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

north coast of Sicily from those on the west. Neither Panormos nor Solous looks directly northward; yet the position of both is northward; they are altogether cut off from Africa; they do not point towards Spain. They look rather to Italy and Sardinia; they are parts of that wider Phœnician extension to the north which no doubt began at an early stage of Phœnician settlement, but which reached a far higher measure of importance as Carthage rose to dominion. Then the Phœnician growth northwards took the shape of the Carthaginian occupation of Sardinia and Corsica, and was marked by the treaties of Carthage with the Etruscan and the Roman. But, long before that day, Phœnicians had made their way, in whatever character, to the Gaulish coast of Massalia, and their first settlement on the northern coast of Sicily, the choice of posts on that coast among those which were specially to be kept, all point to views in a northern direction at both dates. Panormos and Solous do both in some sort look out towards Europe with a defiant air. It may well have been on the height of Herktê that Hamilkar Barak learned what he and his son could do in Spain and Gaul and Italy.

CHAP. III.

Panormos and Solous look towards Europe.

Wholly unlike the position of Panormos and Solous was the position of the third point which it was determined to keep as a Phœnician possession in Sicily. It was altogether cut off from the other two by Elymian and Sikan territory. But its connexion with Africa was far closer than that of Panormos and Solous. Motya lay off Lilybaion, the supposed western promontory of Trinakria, and in sober truth the most western point of the Sicilian mainland. We have seen that, if it does not look towards Libya, Libya certainly looks towards it[1]. Following the coast line to the west, the Phœnician seaman, making his way between the northern and

Motya.

Voyage from Panormos to Motya.

[1] See above, p. 61. Cf. Diod. xiii. 54; *τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἀντέκουσι τῆς Λιβύης, καλουμένην Λιλύβαιον.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. the western settlements of his race in Sicily, would first pass the shallow bay of Sikan Hykkara, and then find himself off the Elymian land which occupies the north-west corner of the island. Passing the deep gulf, deep for Sicily, where Elymian Segesta had her haven, doubling the most northern cape of Sicily, turning to the south by the jagged rock which forms the most northern buttress of the island against the western waves, passing on by lofty Eryx and by the future haven of Eryx at lowly Drepana, leaving Aigousa and her fellows out in the western sea, he would, between Drepana and Lilybaion, come to a region in which land and water have largely changed places. They have changed places, not only since the first settlements of the free Phœnician, but since those settlements, changed into dependencies of Carthage, had to bear the assaults, first of the Greek and then of the Roman. Off that coast the change is easy. The land is low; the water is shallow. We there find a group of islands, some of which were not always islands. The central one among them, now bearing the name of the Nikomedeian Saint Pantaleôn, was in those days Motya, the isle of the Weavers, the chosen seat of Phœnician power on the fourth side of Sicily[1]. It was that one of the three which was best fitted for communication with the Phœnician settlements in Africa, with Utica, never more than its sister, with Carthage presently to grow from sister into mistress.

Changes of the coast.

Position of Motya.

This western outpost of Phœnician life in Sicily was placed in a very different region from the northern coast of Panormos or Solous. Save only the vast mass of Eryx, the

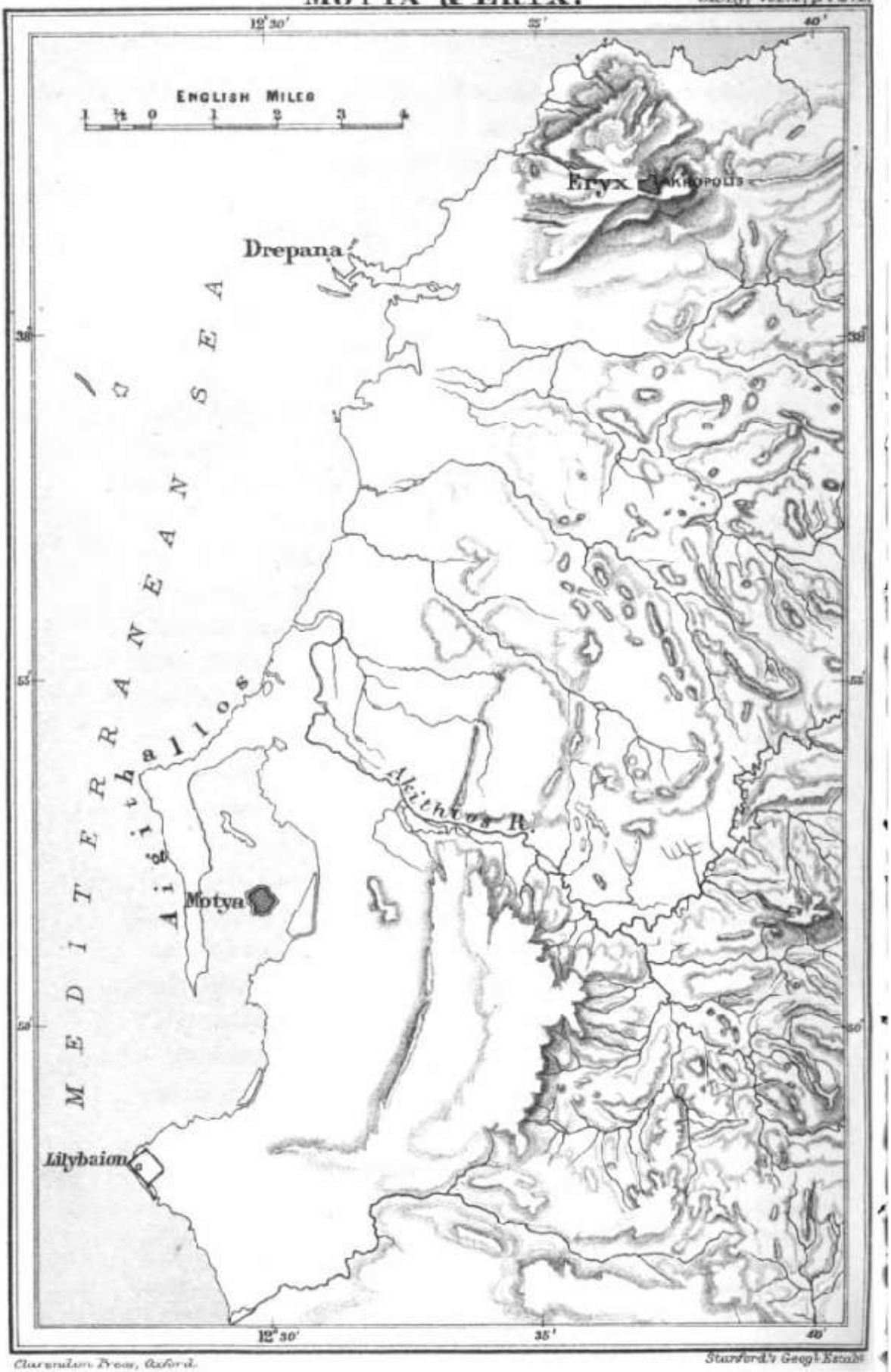
[1] Motya, מטיא, as it appears on the coins (Coins of Sicily, 243; Head, 138), is explained by Movers (ii. 2. 334) "Spinnerei." Many of its Phœnician coins have the Akragantine crab, of which we may have to speak again, as also the hound. Of its Greek coins (115) there are some old enough to read NOIAVTOM, Eastern fashion.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

MOTYA & ERYX.

Sicily, Vol. I, p. 271.



Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

mountains do not come so near to the shore as those which fence in the land of Palermo. And Eryx itself, though on one side almost washed by the waves, is not so directly a headland in the waters as the hill of Solous or even as Herktê. Instead of the Golden Shell, we have on this side of Sicily a true Canaan, a long low land by the sea, looking up to distant heights. For neighbouring heights with really bold and mountainous outlines we must look to the sea itself; we shall not find them in the western headlands of Sicily. Lilybaion itself, with its holy spring of the Sibyl [1], renowned as the headland which divides the Libyan and the Sardinian seas [2], is somewhat higher than the long natural mole at Drepana; but it would be an abuse of language to speak of it as a hill. That point became at a later time the stronghold of Phœnician power in Sicily, and the spot must from the beginning have been occupied as an outpost for the defence of the *Peraia* which the Phœnicians of Motya cannot fail to have had on the Sicilian mainland. But there was as yet no town of Lilybaion; the later city of that name did not arise till the Carthaginian dominion had long been established in Sicily. The centre of elder settlement on this side of Sicily was the island of Motya itself [3]. Phœnician Motya

CHAP. III. The west coast. Lilybaion.

[1] Diod. xiii. 54; ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος, ὃ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς ἀνομάζετο Λιλύβαιον.

[2] Polybios, i. 42, brings in the supposed promontory (ἀκρωτήριον) as one of the three; τὸ δὲ τρίτον τέτραπται μὲν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν Λιβύην, ἐπίκειται δὲ τοῖς προκειμένοις τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀκρωτηρίοις εὐκαίρως (see above, p. 61). He adds; νεύει εἰς χειμερινὰς δύσεις, διαιρεῖ δὲ τὸ Λιβυκὸν καὶ τὸ Σαρδῷον πέλαγος. In all these cases where ἄκρα and ἀκρωτήριον are used, there seems a lurking confusion between the senses of "promontory" and that of a mere extremity of the supposed triangle. He makes the distance 1000 stadia only.

Greek fancy, embodied in Hekataios (Steph. Byz. in Μοτύη), made Motya a woman who showed Hêraklês the thieves who had driven off his cows. One would be better pleased to have the piece of Philistos where Motya is spoken of as φρούριον παραθαλάττιον.

[3] Fazello (i. 222, 317) believed in three places called Motya. Misled by a passage of Pausanias (v. 25. 2), in which Motya—perhaps through

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

The mole of Motya.

The islands.

on this side in some sort balanced Greek Ortygia on the other; but it was much further from the coast. Even at a distance of six stadia it could, like Ortygia, be joined to the mainland by a mole; but it could not, like Ortygia, become practically part of the mainland. It now lies between the mainland of Sicily and a group of islands which shelter it from the open sea which again lies between them and the greater group of Aigousa to the west. Itself low and round, it makes little show in the general view, but it at least rises above its protectors. Of these the two chief, known as *Isola Lunga* and Borrome, are parted on the north side by a narrow channel from the point of the mainland called Saint Theodore, and to the south by a wider channel from the point which now bears the name of Palermo. Another channel to the west now parts the islands from a point which is most likely of later growth, the *Punta d'Alga*, the Point of Seaweed, which projects northwards from the promontory of Lilybaion. In earlier times one point of the mainland faced another, and fenced in the shallow inland sea, the *Stagnone*, still more fully than now from the outward waters.

Older state of the coast.

In the recess of that inlet lay the isle of Motya, and one or two smaller islands. To this day the outer range of islands seem set there to shelter it, and still more might it have seemed so in the earlier state of the coast. The sheltering islands then formed part of the mainland. They formed a long narrow peninsula, like the *Drepana* of Eryx or of Zankli on a greater scale, sheltering the gulf in which Motya lies to the north and to the west.

confusion with Motyca—is placed on Pachynos, he went on further to read Motya into a passage of Macrobius (i. 17. 24, referred to above, p. 65), who says nothing about Motya at all. He has another Motya, that spoken of by Thucydides, in the *Isola delle Femmine*. For all this he is set right by his editor Amico, 227, 291. So Smyth (235) and Bunbury (Motya). But it is in Schubring's "Motya-Lilybæum" (Philologus, xxiv. 63, Göttingen, 1866) that the changes of the coast were first fully set forth, with a clear map.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

But the low ground has given way to the force of the waves, which have broken over it in two places, bringing it to its present state of two islands. Motya thus lay in a gulf, or rather nook, of the sea, between the peninsula and the mainland. The city, parted from the coast by narrow straits on every side, was, as it were, surrounded by its own haven. The mouth of that haven lay to the south; the inner haven of Motya lay to the north between the island and the isthmus. One is tempted to fancy that, among the other changes which the coast has undergone, the waters around Motya must once have been deeper than they are now. The island is now accessible only by very small craft along certain known channels. Indeed to the north-east the water is so shallow that, at some times of the year, it is fordable from the mainland. Here was the mole by which the island was joined to the mainland, the line of which may clearly be seen. But the mole was a mere road; it does not appear that the city ever spread to the mainland. Motya remained an island city in the truest sense. It lay in the sea, surrounded by the sea, and the buildings of the town covered the whole space of the small island.

The haven of Motya.

The modern San Pantaleo contains only one or two houses in which traces of the stones of Motya have been seen. For that very reason we are better able at Motya than anywhere else in Europe to track out the whole line of defence of an ancient Phœnician city. The line of the wall may still be traced all round the coast, following the course of the low cliff. Its masonry is to be seen in many places, suggesting that we have here the work of more than one period. Everywhere the uncemented stones affect more or less of a rectangular shape; but in some parts the masonry is far ruder than in others. Several towers may be traced, and two gates, north and south. Of these the northern one, the best preserved piece of the whole wall, belongs to the ruder

The wall of Motya.

The gates.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

work. Neither the jambs of the gate nor the neighbouring corner show any trace of the smoothing tool. Unluckily the jambs of the gate only are left; we have to guess at what they supported, whether the mere lintel, like the Greek *propylaia*, or the apparent arch on a great scale[1]. The fragment has a bold and stately air; it is doubtless a memorial of the free Phœnician city, before Motya became a dependency of her younger sister. Within the walls cisterns are to be seen, and some foundations of buildings. The gods of Canaan doubtless had their temples at Motya as well as elsewhere. We try to call up the effect of the whole island when it was covered with the public and private buildings of a thickly peopled city, a city remarkable, as we shall hereafter see, for the towering height of its houses[2]. Floating on its own sheltered sea, like the monster vessels of modern naval warfare, it rose high above the waters, high above the low ground of the guardian peninsula, while further off the craggy outlines of Aigousa and its fellows on one side and the mighty mass of Eryx on the other seemed to fence in all with bulwarks that might defy all attack.

Phœnician Motya.

Such was the western stronghold of Phœnician power in Sicily. Its fate and the fates of its two sisters form a group of singular contrasts. Panormos lived on through all changes to become the abiding head of Sicily. Solous passed from Phœnician to Roman hands, to be forsaken no man can say when. Motya, after passing for a moment into Greek hands, was forsaken while the Phœnician power was at its height. The post on the island was exchanged for one hard by on the mainland, and the life of Motya was continued in Lilybaion, so far as the life of a free

Fate of the three Phœnician towns.

Motya continued in Lilybaion.

[1] See Schubring, p. 61.

[2] See the siege of Motya by Dionysios, Diod. xiv. 47–51. The same cause had the same effect in other Phœnician cities. See Duncker, ii. 215, 216.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Phœnician community could be continued in the life of a dependency of Carthage. CHAP. III.

Thucydides gives two reasons for the choice of these particular settlements in the west to be kept on when the Phœnician settlements in eastern Sicily were forsaken. One was the ease of communication between this end of Sicily and Carthage. It is possible that Thucydides or Antiochos was here led to use the word Carthage through looking at things with the eyes of the fifth century before Christ rather than with those of the eighth and seventh. For Carthage we might perhaps substitute the Phœnician settlements in Africa generally. Yet Carthage was already in being, and by this time, though not yet a mistress, she must have been a sister of high importance. The other motive, we are told, was the alliance between the Phœnicians and the Elymians [1]. Of the relations between Phœnicians and Elymians I have said somewhat already [2]; this passage of Thucydides shows that the friendly connexion between the two nations was of old date, that it grew up during the first period of Phœnician presence in Sicily, before the Phœnician power was gathered together in the three north-western settlements. In that corner of the island the Phœnicians had already friends at Segesta and at Eryx. Still we do not know the exact political relations between the Elymian and the Phœnician towns; we do not even know what were the exact political relations between the Phœnician towns themselves. The three settlements may have been absolutely independent of one another, or they may have been bound together by some kind of federal tie. The words of Thucydides, which would seem to imply an alliance between the Phœnicians as a body and the Elymians as a body, tell so far in favour of federal union, or

Reasons for the keeping up the three posts.

Relation to Carthage.

Relation of the Phœnician towns to the Elymians.

[1] See above, p. 201.

[2] See above, p. 208.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. at least of very close alliance; but his necessarily somewhat vague language is hardly enough to lead us to any certain conclusion. It may be that the Phœnician settlements were as distinct as the Greek settlements, and that war between Panormos and Motya was as possible as war between Syracuse and Akragas. But we may say for certain that it was not so likely; in the presence of the still advancing Greek, the Phœnician cities had every motive to keep on friendly terms with one another and with their Elymian neighbours. And in the few notices which we have of any of them, we find them acting as ready allies of each other. The north-western corner of Sicily was, long before Carthaginian dominion began, well welded together as a barbarian corner, where all attempts at Greek settlement were doomed to failure.

and to one another.

The barbarian corner.

We have already noticed that there is a difference to be marked between Segesta and Eryx in regard to Phœnician and Greek influence[1]. There was a Greek influence at work in both; it was at work, as the coinage shows, in the Phœnician cities themselves; but everything looks as if Greek influence was stronger at Segesta than Phœnician influence. The truth is that an influence merely artistic proves nothing as to the political relations between cities and nations. The temple of Segesta is thoroughly Greek; the temple of Eryx is not standing to speak for itself, but the signs of Phœnician influence on the walls of Eryx are plain enough. But the style of the Segestan temple proves less for the real hellenization of Segesta than the kind of position which Segesta seems throughout the story to hold towards the Greek cities. For Eryx we have no such witnesses; everything there looks as if the Phœnician influence was by far the stronger of the two.

Phœnician influence stronger at Eryx than at Segesta.

Till we reach the last days of anything that we can call either Elymian or Phœnician Eryx, the main interest of

The temple.

[1] See above, p. 209.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the city gathers round its famous temple. Of its foundation we can say nothing; of Elymian religion we can say nothing. In any case, it came early under Phœnician influence; the temple of Eryx that we know in history was, when we get our first sight of it, a sanctuary of the worship of Canaan or of Babylon. To its goddess the Greek was content to transfer the name of his own graceful Aphroditê and the Latin that of his own harmless Venus. But it was assuredly a Phœnician Ashtoreth who yearly left her temple of Eryx for a journey to Africa and took her doves with her[1]. The fate of the temple has been widely different from that of Segesta, standing as perfect as it ever was on its lonely hill. Of the house of Aphroditê, standing within a still inhabited town, a small, some might say a doubtful, fragment is all that is left. The vast hill is less striking from its mere height, which after all is nothing wonderful, than from the wide space of ground covered by its isolated bulk. On its west side, the side of Drepana, it rises by a long and gradual slope, with a marked sinking in the middle of its height. To the south, and still more to the east, the hill rises sheer, steep and rocky; to the sea on the north-western side the descent is less sudden. At the eastern end of the hill, the highest and steepest point of all, rose the akropolis of Eryx, a strongly defended post, which could be held against an enemy after the city itself was taken. And within the akropolis rose the crown of the whole city, the house of the protecting goddess, so strangely contrasted with the House of the Virgin which rose as the crown of the akropolis of Athens. Elsewhere, even when the temple perished, the head church commonly rose on its site; but

CHAP. III.

The hill.

The akropolis.

Contrast with Athênê of Athens and Syracuse.

[1] Ath. ix. 51; *τῆς δὲ Σικελίας ἐν Ἔρυκι καιρός τις ἐστὶν ὃν καλοῦσιν ἀναγώγια, ἐν ᾧ φασὶ τὴν θεὸν εἰς Λιβύην ἀνάγεσθαι. τότ' οὖν αἱ περὶ τὸν τόπον περιστεραὶ ἀφανεῖς γίνονται ὡς δὴ τῇ θεῷ συναποδημοῦσαι.* So Ælian, Hist. Anim. iv. 2.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. the house and *temenos* of Ashtoreth seem to have been looked on as unworthy of dedication to a purer worship. Not a church, but a castle, arose on the polluted spot; the head church of the Christian town stands far away from the site, hard by the western gate that looks over Drepana. But in its wall a late inscription attached to early relics records the victory of the Faith over the loathsome rites of the pagan goddess. But the goddess, at least under her Latin name, is not forgotten on her own height. There may be seen the underground storehouse which passes for the Well of Venus, and, as if to suggest the true nationality of the deity of the spot, hard by it was found a scarab bearing the likeness of Phœnician Melkart. And one fragment of her house still survives. Among the walls and towers of the castle, rising straight above a deep chasm of the mountain, we see a piece of ancient uncemented masonry, which is assuredly not the work of Norman king or Saracen emir, and which is held, with all likelihood, to be part of the substructure of Aphroditê of Eryx. The bold way in which the walls of the temple rose from the rock, and even overhung the rock, so impressed men's minds in earlier days that a legend arose which attributed this feat of engineering skill, like so many others of the wonders of Sicily, to the skill of Daidalos himself[1]. His name is still applied—by those who have not supplanted it by the name of the power of evil of later days—to an arch of far later date hard by. It is indifferently *arco di Dedalo* and *arco del Diavolo*; those two were the only architects deemed skilful enough to work under such difficulties. And assuredly, though not the arch itself, yet the piece of substructure hard by, may be so far rightly called the work of Daidalos that it must be the work of days before Junius and Hamilkar. It may be the work either of the independent Elymian or of the

Fragment of the temple.

Arch of Daidalos.

Ancient substructure.

[1] See above, p. 114.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Elymian brought under the influence of neighbouring Motya or of distant Carthage. It is enough that it is part of the house which became the house of the goddess of the Zidonians, the goddess who numbered alike Solomon and Hannibal among her worshippers. Yet even after she had put on the attributes, first of a Babylonian Mylitta and then of a Hellenic Aphroditê, she still in some of her forms kept the crescent moon on her brow, the badge of the earlier and sterner Ashtoreth, the badge which to Greek eyes might have suggested the nightly queen of Latmos or the huntress maid of Dêlos and Taygetos. But the hound on her coins is hardly the companion of the sports of Artemis; it belongs rather to the same range of thought as the isle of her own doves, floating, small and low, in front of the haven of Drepana. CHAP. III. Badges of Aphroditê.

This fragment is all that Eryx even professes to show of her renowned temple. The somewhat uncertain evidence of a coin of Roman date may perhaps give us some faint notion of the building. It was seemingly a temple of the ancient pattern with four columns in front, more like to those of Jupiter of the Capitol than to either the older Doric of Poseidônia or the later of Segesta[1]. The same coin too does its best to show a work of which we can still see more than of the temple, the famous wall of Eryx. It may be that, on all sides save the west and north, nature was held to have done enough for the defence of the mountain. And truly, as we climb the zig-zig road on the south side—itself, so legend said, the work of the same hand that reared the temple—not a few points of the rock might well be mistaken for walls and towers raised by the hand of human Anakim. It may be that they trusted to such defences only; it is certain that, outside the akropolis, no walls of any date can be traced on the south side of the mountain. On the north side, the Form of the temple. The wall of Eryx.

[1] See Dict. Biog., art. Nonianus Considius, where the coin is figured.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

more accessible side towards the sea, the wall of Eryx runs along the face of the hill, fencing in the modern town which occupies its summit. Town and mountain have changed their ancient name for one that had many saintly bearers. A legend of the days of Saracen warfare, to which we may some day come in the course of our long journey, has given to Eryx its present name of Saint Julian's Mount. In such a position few dwellings were likely to spring up outside the wall. The old rampart can be followed, like those of the hill towns of Latins, Volscians, and Hernicans. But at Eryx the oldest parts of the wall belong to a later stage than that piling of vast blocks which forms the defence of those primæval sites. The wall throughout is clearly of several dates; the upper part has been destroyed and rebuilt in comparatively recent times. But in the lower stages again two dates may be distinctly seen. In some parts, without coming at all near to the rudeness of Cora, Norba, and Signia, the blocks plainly belong to another and an earlier time from the rectangular stones, not finely wrought, not fitting with perfect regularity, yet put together with no small skill, which may be followed through the greater part of the line of defence. These later parts of the wall may be safely set down to the time of Carthaginian rule; the earlier may surely, without any unpardonable stretch of guess-work, be looked on as a relic of days when the teachers of Elymian Eryx were at least no further off than Motya. The presence of the Phœnician is witnessed by letters of his alphabet, mainly his second letter *beth*, carved on some of the stones. Some of them are turned the wrong way upwards, showing that they were carved before the stones were built into the wall. Still they show that, when they were carved, Eryx was, if not under Phœnician rule, at least under Phœnician influence. But in answer to the darker question, as to the origin, the speech, the

Character of the wall;

different dates.

Carthaginian work and older.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

life, of its first Elymian founders, the wall of Eryx tells us nothing. CHAP. III.

Drepanon.

Whether the first Elymian settlers on Eryx made Drepana their haven from the beginning, or whether this extension of their relations with the sea was the afterthought of some later time, is, as we have seen [1], hopeless to guess. A day came when Drepana in some sort supplanted Eryx, and, as an outpost of Carthage, she played her part in the War for Sicily. It is wholly in that character that Drepana has a history; of a purely Elymian Drepana—or whatever name the sickle-shaped haven may have borne in the unknown speech—we have no tale to tell. Yet in the walls of modern Trapani, walls now fast perishing, amid a series of patchings of all ages which may rival those of the walls of Rome herself, we may see the jambs of ancient gates, bearing arches of far later date, jambs whose sloping sides seem to carry us to days which we may hope were older than Hamilkar Barak. On these sites it is hard to keep fancy within bounds; we snatch so instinctively at the faintest chance of any relics of the inhabitants of Sicily, other than the familiar Greek and the yet more familiar Italian. A memorial of the Phœnician is ever welcome; a memorial of the Elymian would be more welcome still.

Walls of Trapani.

Barbarian character of North-West Sicily.

The Phœnicians then withdrew from their settlements in the rest of Sicily to a corner which they made thoroughly their own. They gathered themselves together at three points which, whatever they were before, now grew into large and prosperous Phœnician colonies, friendly to one another, and in close relations with the neighbouring Elymians. Still, it should be noticed, they did not occupy every point of their own corner. Sikan Hykkara still lay between Segesta and Panormos, a separate community

Phœnician possession not continuous.

[1] See above, p. 207.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. Sikan Hykkara.

and hostile to Segesta[1]. As to the way in which so small an outpost of a decaying people contrived to defend itself or to establish itself on a site which one would have thought that either of its neighbours would have been glad to lay hold of, it is again vain to guess. But this Sikan remnant had the effect of making this end of Sicily more conspicuously the barbarian corner, where all races save the Greek and his pupil the Sikel might find shelter. From the mouth of the Mazaros the boundary between Greek Selinous and Phœnician Motya, to the boundary on the north coast between Phœnician Solous and Greek Himera, no Greek haven could be found on the coast, no Sikel stronghold could be found in the inland parts. A line was drawn, and the two races seem to have silently acquiesced in it. Our knowledge of these times is so scanty that it is dangerous to assert a negative about anything; but, except in the case of the resistance to the attempt of Pentathlos to plant a Greek colony on the soil of the Elymian, we see few or no signs of warfare or emnity between the Greeks of Sicily and their neighbours to the north-west. The independent Phœnician seems hardly to have been an enemy of the Greek. It was when the several Phœnician communities in Sicily all passed into the relation of dependence on one more powerful city of their own race that the contribution of Sicily to the Eternal Strife really began.

Little enmity between Greeks and independent Phœnicians.

§ 2. *The Establishment of the Carthaginian Power in Sicily.* B.C. *c.* 540.

It has been impossible to say what little there is to be said about the independent Phœnician settlements in Sicily without forestalling somewhat of the history of the kindred city which was to become mistress over all of them.

[1] See above, p. 119. Thucydides (vi. 62) specially notes; Ὕκκαρα, πόλισμα Σικανικὸν μέν, Ἐγεσταίοις δὲ πολέμιον. He does not mean, as has seemingly been thought, that Sikans, as such, would necessarily love Segesta.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

Position of Carthage; comparison with Rome and Athens.

Of the great and unique position of Carthage in the world's history I have already said a few words. Carthage stands forth among the Phœnician cities as Rome does among the Italian cities, as no one city does among the Greek cities. Athens, one may say, made great strivings after a like position among them, but never reached it. With Carthage Phœnician dominion begins, both the dominion of the Phœnician over non-Phœnician lands and the dominion of the greatest of Phœnician cities over her fellows.

Date of the foundation of Carthage. B. C. 826 or 814.

The date of the foundation of the New City may be looked on as fixed with as near an approach to certainty as can be hoped for when our dates have to be got at third or fourth hand through a series of lost Phœnician and Greek writers. The Western scholar need not decide whether Dido should be resolved into a goddess and her migration into a legend. The story was in every case sure to draw to itself plenty of mythical details; but there seems no sound reason to doubt the general fact of the foundation of Carthage by settlers from Tyre in the course of the ninth century before Christ.

Story of Dido.

The story and its date were set down in Phœnician annals; for to the Phœnician, as to the Hebrew, the ninth century before Christ was a chronicled time. To choose between contending dates within the century hardly concerns us; but the fact that Carthage was founded at a time not very distant from that which the common story has handed down is of real importance for Sicilian history[1].

Relation of the date to Sicilian history.

It is a point that Phœnician settlement in Sicily, as in Africa and Spain, began before Carthage was; it is equally a point that Carthage was already in being, important but not dominant, at the time when the Phœnicians of Sicily

[1] Meltzer has gone into all these questions at great length, 102 et seqq., 458 et seqq. We are by no means called on to dispute between 826 or 814 before Christ, either of which would serve our purpose; but the earlier date given by Philistos (Fr. 50; C. Müller, i. 190) would not do at all.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. finally withdrew to their three north-western posts[1]. A foundation in the ninth century gives us all that we need; points of detail may be left to those with whom Carthage is the primary object of research. It matters little to us whether it was Virgil or Nævius who first carried Aineias, at the cost of all mythical chronology, to Carthage in the time of its foundress. Aineias, or the legend which he represents, concerns us greatly, as we have seen, at the foot of Eryx. It may well be that the relations between Phœnicians and self-styled Trojans in that corner of Sicily first suggested the poetic relations between the Trojan wanderer and the Phœnician queen. But our tale of the relations of Carthage to her Sicilian sisters is the same in either case.

The Trojan story.

Site of Carthage.

The site of Carthage is one so well fitted for the objects of a trading city, a city whose citizens were to be as much at home on the waves as on the land, that we are tempted to wonder that it was not occupied by any of the earlier Phœnician settlers on the African coast. As land and sea then stood, a peninsula with the open sea on one side had a deep bay to the north of its isthmus, and water to the south of it which could almost become a bay or a lake at pleasure. That water again was fenced by a long and narrow spit of land, the more than fellow of the *Danklon* at Messana, not quite the fellow of the long strip of low ground that once guarded Motya. It seemed as if it could be cut through and pieced together again, as easily as Ortygia could be made into a peninsula and brought back again to its former state of an island. That is to say, the northern lake, *Sakra*, now parted from the sea by its own narrow spit of land, was then an arm of the sea, while the other narrow rim which fences in the lake of Tunis from the outer bay was already formed[2]. The hill

Changes in the coast.

[1] See above, p. 246.

[2] The peninsular site of Carthage is strongly marked by Polybios, i. 73,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The *Bozrah.*

of the citadel, *Bozrah* in the tongue of Carthage, softened into *Byrsa* by the Greek, no very threatening height, looks down on the artificial havens, naval and mercantile, as well as on the open gulf and on the inner lake[1]. Tombs in the hill-side alone remind us of the city reared by Dido and defended by the last Asdrubal. But the ruins shown as the dwelling of the Roman proconsul would doubtless be also the dwelling of the Vandal king, where Belisarius, lieutenant of the Roman Augustus, after his voyage from still Gothic Sicily, seated himself in the royal seat of Gelimer[2]. From the haven by which Belisarius sailed in Heraclius sailed forth to rid the world of Phocas, and to dream for a moment of making Carthage the head of all Romania. And now, in the strange turns of fortune, the seat of the Phœnician, the Roman, the Vandal, and the Arab, is crowned by two houses of Christian worship where men of Latin speech cherish the memory of a holy king of France. To the fitness of the site to be the seat of

History of Carthage.

75. Besides the word χερρονίζουσα, he speaks in both places of the αὐχήν or ἰσθμός, συνάπτων αὐτὴν τῇ Λιβύῃ. (Cf. the words of Skylax quoted in p. 1.) Appian too (Pun. 95) marks the site as χερρονήσῳ μάλιστα προσεοικυῖα. It lay ἐν μυχῷ κόλπου μεγίστου (Polybios says simply ἐν κόλπῳ), that is, the *gulf* of Tunis. Both go on to speak of the λίμνη, the *lake*. The ταινία στενὴ καὶ ἠπιμήκης, μέση λίμνης τε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, of which Appian speaks, is clearly the long strip of land pierced by the *Goletta*, the entrance into the lake. The other lake to the north must then have been an inlet of the sea. The peninsular shape of the site is undoubted; but it is not so striking as one would have expected from these descriptions.

[1] I am not called on to go minutely into the topography of Carthage, as I am into the topography of Panormos and Syracuse. But it is clear that the hill of Saint Lewis must be, as is now generally held, the *Byrsa* (בּוֹצְרָה, cf. Isaiah lxiii. 1). No other site would answer the description of Strabo (xvii. 3. 14), ὑποκεῖνται τῇ ἀκροπόλει οἵ τε λιμένες καὶ ὁ Κάθων. But I greatly doubt whether the hill marked as "Catacomb Hill" in Mr. R. B. Smith's map (Carthage and the Carthaginians, p. 471), or even the hill called Sidi Bou Said, could ever have been within the strict fortifications of the city. They were doubtless parts of Carthage in the wide sense, taking in city, suburbs, *nekropolis* and so forth.

[2] Procop. Bell. Vand. i. 20 (i. 303 ed. Bonn).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

a dominion of the seas no witness is so strong as the fact that when Roman Africa again became a kingdom, Teutonic Carthage sprang at one bound to the old position of Phœnician Carthage[1]. Yet Carthage was, as we have seen, emphatically the New City. Hippo, Utica, perhaps Tunis in the recess of her lake, with her steep isthmus parting her from her other lake, were there before her[2]. Why was so commanding a site not seized by the very earliest settlers? The key perhaps lies in the fact that Carthage had to provide herself with artificial havens. On the open sea at least there was nothing like the sheltered inlets of Panormos and Motya, and the fact that artificial havens had to be made shows that the waters of the lakes, even if deeper than they now are, were not deemed enough for the naval and mercantile purposes of the city. At all events, whatever was the cause, the fact was so. And the fact that Carthage was the New City, that her foundation led to a wholly new state of things in the Phœnician world, and thereby among all who had any dealings with the Phœnician world, is a primary fact in Sicilian history.

Carthage the New City.

Relations of Carthage to the neighbouring Africans;

How thoroughly Carthage was, in her beginning, the colony—one is tempted to say, the factory—planted by strangers on a foreign soil, is shown by the relation in which the city stood for some ages to the native tribes in its neighbourhood. Long after Carthage had become great, wealthy, and powerful—after she had brought her elder sisters under her supremacy and had won a wide territorial dominion in other lands—she was so far from having any territorial dominions in her own continent that she continued to pay to an African prince a stipulated rent for the occupation of the soil on which the city itself was

[1] See above, p. 30.

[2] I do not undertake to determine anything as to the origin of Tunis. But I conceive that it has seen Carthage twice founded and twice destroyed.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

built[1]. Exactly as in the case of Venice, dominion over her own mainland was the last form of dominion that she sought. Tributary to a barbarian neighbour in her own continent, she never forgot the duty of a daughter-city to her metropolis in the old Phœnicia. The relations between Carthage and Tyre, like the relations between Syracuse and Carthage, were model relations, according to the colonial notions of the elder day. When Tyre was the vassal of Persia and Carthage the peer of Persia, the daughter in her pride never forgot her due reverence to the mother in her lowlier estate. Year by year the sacred envoys went with offerings for Melkart King of the City, whose holiest home was in the island of Old Tyre. He had his share in the spoils of Carthaginian victories, when Carthage was the only city of the Phœnician name that had the hope or the means of winning victories.

CHAP. III.

to her metropolis Tyre.

The tale of the founding of Carthage came in the Tyrian annals in the course of a kingly pedigree which contained the names of Hirom the friend of Solomon and Eth-baal the father of Jezebel. A hundred and fifty-five years parted Hirom from the sister of Pygmalion who fled to Libya and built the city of Carthage[2]. It is then not only in the verse of Latin poets that Carthage appears as the work of a woman, daughter of kings in the old Phœnicia and herself a queen in the new. The question of a female leader does not concern us; it is of more importance that Carthage was founded by a royal leader. The Old-Phœnician cities were ruled by kings long before this time and long after. The king of a city can never be so uncontrolled a despot as the king of a large country, and the kingship of Tyre was at least tempered by frequent revolutions. In Tyre, the double city, on the main-

The founding of Carthage.

Question of a female and a royal leader.

Kingship in the Phœnician cities.

[1] Justin, xviii. 5; "Statuto annuo vectigali pro solo urbis." Cf. xix. 1, 3 for the Punic Anti-Rent Movement.

[2] Joseph. c. Ap. i. 18, where he copies Menandros.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

Kings and Judges.

land and on the island, we sometimes hear of two kings at once; sometimes one is distinctly spoken of as a head king[1]. Sometimes kingly rule is said to have been exchanged for that of Judges, who after a while again give way to kings[2]. But the change from kings to Judges seems to have been made permanently at a very early time both in Carthage and in other Tyrian colonies. The Greek writers indeed constantly speak of the two chief magistrates of Carthage by the name of kings. The name was perhaps suggested by the analogy of the Lacedæmonian kings, with whom it was natural to compare them[3]. The Latin writers found a closer analogy in their own consuls[4]. For it does not appear that the leaders of Carthage in their day were even nominal kings, like those by whom the title continued to be borne down to late times in not a few Greek cities. The Latin writers too have preserved to us, in a shape which we can hardly call corrupted, the true title of the Carthaginian chief magistrates. In their *Suffetes* it is easy to see the *Shophetim*, the *Judges*, familiar to us in Hebrew story. These were a magistracy not unknown, as we have seen, to Tyre itself; we find them at Gades as well as at Carthage, and they seem to have been the general rule among the Phœnician cities of the West[5].

The *Shophetim*.

[1] Movers, ii. 1. 533–535. מֹלֶךְ ראשׁ. [2] Movers, ii. 1. 465.

[3] Arist. Pol. ii. 11; *ἔχει δὲ παραπλήσια τῇ Λακωνικῇ τολιτείᾳ . . . . τὴν τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ τεττάρων ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἐφόροις . . . . τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἀνάλογον ταῖς ἐκεῖ βασιλεῦσι καὶ γέρουσιν.* Polybios, vi. 51, is less distinct; *καὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἦσαν παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ γερόντιον εἶχε τὴν ἀριστοκρατικὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν κύριον τῶν καθηκόντων αὐτῷ· καθόλου δὲ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἁρμογὴν εἶχε παραπλησίαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων.* This implies an analogy between *βασιλεῖς* and consuls. *Βασιλεύς* is the common word in the Greek writers from Herodotus (vii. 165) onwards.

[4] Livy, xxx. 7; "Senatum itaque suffetes (quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat) vocaverunt." Cf. xxxiv. 61. Festus (309) supplies another Italian analogy; "Sufes dictus Pœnorum magistratus, erat Oscorum Meddixtuticus."

[5] For Gades, see Livy, xxviii. 37; "Suffetes eorum, qui summus Pœnis est magistratus." That is, among Phœnicians everywhere. See more in

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The change from the king to the judge, alderman, duke, whatever his title may be, is familiar in the constitutional history of many lands, nor is the return from the lower chief to the higher without its precedents[1]. But at Carthage this last change never happened. Aristotle perhaps went too far when he said that Carthage had never seen any civil strife of importance. But he said truly that Carthage had never seen a tyrant; still less did she see a return from the rule of her *Shophetim* to that of a lawful king[2]. CHAP. III. No tyrants at Carthage.

The first great master of political science compared the systems of Carthage, Sparta, and Crete[3]. The wider and sadder experience of a later age enabled Polybios to compare the system of Carthage, Sparta, and Rome[4]. Aristotle compares the Carthaginian *Shophetim* and the Spartan kings, and points out the advantages of a magistracy whose holders were elected, and that seemingly not for life, over one which was condemned to the accidents of hereditary succession[5]. He compares the senates of Carthage and Sparta[6]; he compares the magistracy of the hundred and four to the five ephors[7]. These hundred and four were a Aristotle on the Carthaginian constitution:

Movers, ii. 1. 533–535. In Festus (154) under "Meritavere," not under "Mansues," as Movers says, we seem to hear of four *Shophetim* at once. "Pœnorum IIII revocaverunt omnis cohortis, omnis etiam qui stipendia meritaverat statim." The Semitic שפט, instead of the king, is like the *Judices* among the Goths.

[1] See Norman Conquest, i. 589.

[2] Arist. Pol. ii. 11. 1; *μήτε στάσιν, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, γεγενῆσθαι μήτε τύραννον*. See Mr. W. L. Newman's note. It is hard to make out the very slight reference to a Carthaginian tyranny in v. (now called ix.) 12. 3.

[3] Arist., ib. See Mr. Newman's Dissertation, ii. 401. Sicilian history calls for a general picture of the great enemy; but it does not call for any plunging into doubtful disputations. Mr. Newman's Dissertation is extremely valuable. See also a paper "de la Constitution Carthaginienne" in the Revue Historique, ix. 327 (1882).

[4] Pol. vi. 51.

[5] Arist. Pol. ii. 11. 2.

[6] Ib.

[7] Ib. See more on this body in Newman, ii. 405.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

its mixed nature.

power which was not in being when Carthage had her first dealings with Sicily, and they seem to have been designed, like their Lacedæmonian parallel, to act as a check on the *Shopketim* and the Senate[1]. Aristotle notices the constitution as mainly aristocratic, but with tendencies towards both oligarchy and democracy[2]. Wealth was the ruling power, perhaps going even so far as the sale of offices[3]; many offices were gathered together in the same hands[4]; wide distinctions were drawn between nobles and commons[5]. Yet the commons were not oppressed; they had their voice in the commonwealth, at least when the higher powers were not of the same mind[6]. They were humoured in various ways, and were sent forth, perhaps to be themselves the favoured class, in the various colonies and dependencies of the ruling city[7].

Cato.

A lost picture of the polity of Carthage from the pen or the mouth of the man who most hated Carthage spoke yet more distinctly of the Carthaginian constitution as uniting the three elements of kingly, aristocratic, and

[1] Justin, xix. 2. 6.

[2] Arist. Pol. iii. 11. 3, 5. Cf. v. 12. 4, where Carthage is spoken of as *δημοκρατουμένη*.

[3] Ib. 6; *τὰς μεγίστας ἀνητὰς εἶναι τῶν ἀρχῶν, τήν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν*. But surely he does not mean that they were actually put up to auction, like the *vogtships* in the Forest Cantons, but only that great wealth was necessary for their attainment. I am not sure that even the words of Polybios (vi. 56), *παρὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίοις δῶρα φανερῶς διδόντες λαμβάνουσι τὰς ἀρχάς*, need imply more than recognized bribery, and the description of course refers to a later time than that spoken of by Aristotle.

[4] Arist. Pol. ii. 11. 13.

[5] Aristotle does not enlarge on this point; but such facts as those spoken of by Valerius Maximus (ix. 4. 4) seem needful to complete his picture.

[6] Arist. Pol. ii. 11. 3. See Newman, ii. 364. 403. Powers like this, and something more, are what Polybios (vi. 51) meant when he said *τὸ πλῆθος ἦν κύριον τῶν καθηκόντων αὐτῷ*. But by that day the democratic element was greatly strengthened; *τὴν πλείστην δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς διαβουλίοις παρὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίοις ὁ δῆμος ἤδη μετειλήφει*.

[7] Arist. Pol. vi. 5. 5.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

popular government[1]. And the calm surveyor of all time, who stood by and saw what Cato longed for, draws his picture also of the mixture of the three elements, though in changed proportions, down to the last days of the city. But the picture of Polybios is that of a declining commonwealth, a commonwealth weakened by the surpassing victories won for it by two generations of a single house[2]. The historian of Sicily has to deal with Carthage in the days of her first youth and her full aggressive vigour. But nations and cities of the Semitic stock change less in the course of ages than Greeks and Teutons, and in any age of Carthaginian history there was doubtless some measure of truth in the character which a clearly hostile critic drew of the Carthaginian people in some unknown time. They are set before us as bitter, gloomy, obedient to rulers, harsh to subjects, most ignoble in their panic fears, most savage in their anger, abiding in their purpose, taking no pleasure in joy or grace[3]. We thus see in them the Semitic nature in all its fulness, the nature which never puts forth its full strength till the strength of any other people would have given way. Such a temper well suited the calling which Carthage had taken to herself, as well in Sicily as in other parts of the world. That calling was to win wealth and dominion at the cost of all other nations and cities, whether kinsfolk or utter

CHAP. III.

Polybios.

Character of the Carthaginians.

The dominion of Carthage.

[1] Servius ad Æn. iv. 628; "Quidam hoc loco volunt tres partes politiæ comprehensas, populi, optimatium, regiæ potestatis. Cato enim ait de tribus istis partibus ordinatam fuisse Carthaginem."

[2] vi. 51; *καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἡ Καρχηδονίων πρότερον ἴσχυε καὶ πρότερον εὐτύχει τῆς Ῥωμαίων, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἡ μὲν Καρχηδὼν ἤδη τότε παρήκμαζεν.*

[3] Plut. Rep. Ger. Præc. 3; *ἦθος τοῦ Καρχηδονίων δήμου, πικρὸν, σκυθρωπὸν, ὑπήκοον τοῖς ἄρχουσι, βαρὺ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ἀγεννέστατον ἐν φόβοις, ἀγριώτατον ἐν ὀργαῖς, ἐπίμονον τοῖς γνωσθεῖσι, πρὸς παιδιὰν καὶ χάριν ἀνήδυντον καὶ σκληρόν.* I do not think with Mr. Newman (ii. 361) that the description belongs to the Carthaginian *δῆμος* in the political sense; it is surely a general national picture, as contrasted with the Athenians.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. strangers. Her policy was to save the blood of her citizens as no other state ever did, and to fight her wars by the arms of men hired to risk their lives for the sole interest of their paymistress. Here no doubt lay the weakness of the Carthaginian state. Her mercenaries at last gave way to the stronger endurance of the Roman people[1]; so they had given way when any Greek state or gathering of states could put forth its full and undivided power at Himera or at Krimisos. Yet in the employment of mercenaries lay the strength of Carthage as well as her weakness. Such a dominion as hers could never have been won by the arms of her own citizens. And it shows the wonderful wisdom of her rulers from age to age that she could for so many generations continue to wield so dangerous a weapon, and could live through that frightful revolt of her own mercenaries which has no parallel in history unless we are allowed to seek one in the history of our own day.

Her mercenaries.

In one point the Carthage which we have to deal with in the early days of her Sicilian wars shows a sign of youth which passes away at no late time of our own story. The chiefs of the state still lead the armies of the state. It was a *Shophet* in his own person who led the mingled hosts of Carthage on the day of Himera. In later wars the practice seems to be different; the civil and military authority is kept apart. This is the kind of change which sooner or later takes place in most states. At Carthage the change seems to have come early, and we shall perhaps see that the time of its coming was not without bearing on the fortunes of Sicily. As yet the *Shophetim* still keep their place as captains alongside of Spartan kings and Roman

In the Sicilian wars the *Shopheis* led the armies.

[1] Pol. vi. 52; Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τῶν μὲν πεζικῶν εἰς τέλος ὀλιγωροῦσι, τῶν δ' ἱππικῶν βραχείᾳ τινα ποιοῦνται πρόνοιαν. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ὅτι ξενικαῖς καὶ μισθοφόροις χρῶνται δυνάμεσι, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐγχωρίοις καὶ πολιτικαῖς.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

consuls. The difference lay in the contrast between the motley hosts which the chiefs of Carthage led, hired from all lands to shed their blood in a cause for which they recked not, and the armies of citizens that marched forth to obey the laws of Sparta and of Rome. It marks the importance which was attached to some stages of Sicilian warfare that in more than one expedition we see Carthaginians, and Carthaginians of rank and wealth, serving in considerable numbers[1]. But the men of Carthage, like the men of every Semitic state, kept their full strength for the hour when strength of heart and hand was most needed. When destruction seemed drawing near on her own soil, the Sacred Band of Carthage could march forth to do like the Sacred Band of Thebes. When destruction was doing its full work within her own walls, her sons could strive to the last gasp as none have striven since save her own kinsfolk of Jerusalem[2].

CHAP. III.

Service of Carthaginian citizens.

At one important point in the Carthaginian constitution we are left to guess. What was the origin of her *Dêmos*, her commons, so broadly distinguished from the ruling order, and yet not wholly in subjection to them? We can hardly fancy that the commons of Carthage were of the same strictly Tyrian blood as the great houses of the city.

The Carthaginian commons.

[1] Preeminently at the Krimisos (Diod. xvi. 80; Plut. Tim. 27), when the Sacred Band itself was sent into Sicily; so to a less extent in other invasions.

[2] Polybios (vi. 52) seems to make the opposite remark; *κἂν ποτε τταίσωσι κατὰ τὰς ἀρχάς, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀναμάχονται τοῖς ὅλοις, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τοὐναντίον. ὑπὲρ πατρίδος ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ τέκνων οὐδέποτε δύνανται λῆξαι τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ μένουσι ψυχομαχοῦντες, ἕως ἂν περιγένωνται τῶν ἐχθρῶν.* This is perfectly true of the Romans, both as regards particular battles, and still more as regards the policy of a war, preeminently that of the War for Sicily. But we have nothing in Aryan Europe—nothing, that is, out of Spain—like the fighting to the death of Phœnicians and Jews at Motya, at Carthage, and at Jerusalem. But such fighting brought them no nearer to the object spoken of by Polybios, *περιγενέσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν*. The Greek, in the like case, at Eira, at Plataia, or at Mesolongi, cuts his way out, which may help towards that end.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. In some Phœnician settlements there seems to have been a distinction from the first between those leading colonists who came of the stock of one of the ancient cities, and others, not widely differing, if at all, in race or speech, who either came with them as their following, or whom they found encamped in Africa before them[1]. It hardly seems like the stern and jealous Semitic temper to allow, like so many Greek and Italian cities, a commons of later settlement to grow even to such a narrowly defined share of political power as was allowed to the *Dêmos* of Carthage. But the popular side of Carthaginian polity chiefly concerns the professed Phœnician student. Sicily knew little of the people of Carthage save when they came forth in numbers numberless to meet the one Syracusan leader who measured himself with them on their own ground. Agathoklês had a nearer view of what Carthage really was than Gelôn or even Timoleôn. They knew Carthage as a power, not as a people. They knew her as a power which ransacked the ends of the earth to find warriors of other races to do work in Sicily, but who might wage a whole campaign without shedding a drop of native blood, save haply that with which a defeated general might stain the cross of torment.

Decline of the old Phœnicia.

When Carthage was first founded, the Old-Phœnician cities were still free, and, unless we accept the traditional date of solitary Kymê, the settlements of the Greeks in the West had not yet begun. The Assyrian and Babylonian invasions of Phœnicia, above all the great siege by Nebuchadnezzar, as they had the effect of lessening the greatness of the elder cities, may well have sent many new settlers to strengthen the Phœnician cities of the West. It was plain that it was in the further and not in the

Phœnician power in the West.

[1] Cf. Movers, ii. 2. 420 et seqq., with Meltzer, i. 54 et seqq. It is not for me to decide. Skymnos (196) quarters Λιβυφοίνικες as Carthaginian colonists in Spain.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

hither bason of the Great Sea that the game of Phœnician life and Phœnician greatness was now to be played. And almost at the same time the Phœnician possession of the West was threatened. The Greeks who had driven the Phœnicians out of the Ægæan islands and had disputed Phœnician ascendency in Cyprus were now step by step supplanting the Phœnicians in Sicily. They planted Massalia to become well-nigh a Greek Carthage on the northern coast. They strove after Corsica and Sardinia; they won a hold on Libya itself by the foundation of Kyrênê and her fellows. They were invited by a friendly king to take up their abode in the golden land of Tharshish [1]. To stem the advance of the European enemy was, as the case of Sicily showed, beyond the power of the isolated Phœnician settlements settled here and there along the coasts and islands. A single great power, capable of great efforts, was needed. Carthage saw and used her opportunity; she stood forth as the champion of the whole race, but as one who held that the championship of the race implied the headship of the race. She was a leader who by the same efforts guarded all Phœnician soil against the Greek and brought the soil that she guarded into her own subjection or dependence.

CHAP. III.

Advance of the Greeks.

Carthage needed to withstand them.

When Carthage, in the course of the seventh century before our æra, set forth on this errand of combined deliverance and conquest among her kinsfolk, she was still an isolated city on the African coast, holding no African possessions, and paying a rent for the soil of her own city. Her strength was in her ships; her first possessions were on the islands. The beginning of her dominion is said to have been the settlement of the island of Ebusus, now known as Iviça, the chief of the group known as the Pityussæ or *Pine-islands*, so distinguished from the neighbouring and more famous Baleares [2]. Thence her citizens

Carthage in the seventh century B.C.

First Carthaginian settlements.

Ebusus. B.C. 654–653.

[1] Herod. i. 163.

[2] Diod. v. 16; Movers, ii. 2. 585; Meltzer, i. 154, 482.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

went on before many years to occupy greater islands. The next land in which we can distinctly see the progress of Carthaginian dominion is in our own Sicily. An event to which it has been impossible to keep out all reference at this and earlier stages, but which we shall have to deal with in its fulness in our next chapter, may well have drawn their thoughts specially to that region. A Greek attempt on Eryx, supported by the still young Sikeliot city of Selinous, had been beaten back by the Elymians and Phœnicians of the island. But the enterprise had not wholly failed; if no ground had been won on the mainland of Sicily, a new Greek colony had been planted directly within the sea at whose dominion Carthage was aiming. The remnant of the followers of Pentathlos had founded their new town of Lipara in the realm of Aiolos[1]. This is the last, it is also the first, action of any kind which we can distinctly affirm on the part of the independent Phœnicians of Sicily. When Greek and Phœnician next meet in Sicily, Phœnicia is represented by Carthage.

Attempt of Pentathlos. B.C. 580.

Failure in Sicily.

Settlement of Lipara.

The advancing city is not likely to have remained idle ever since the occupation of Ebusus, and an event like the expedition of Pentathlos, which showed how Phœnician lands and Phœnician waters lay open to Greek aggression, would be interesting to her in more ways than one. Greek advance had to be checked in those regions; but the very energy and success of the independent Phœnicians of Sicily might suggest to the Carthaginian mind that the defence of the barbarian corner of the island would be safest in Carthaginian hands. Our notices are scanty, but we can see that in the course of the sixth century before Christ, and seemingly in its first half, Panormos, Solous, and Motya passed from the state of independent commonwealths of the Phœnician name, colonies of the cities of the old Phœnicia, into dependencies of their younger and faster-growing

Carthaginian supremacy over the Phœnician towns.

[1] See Appendix XXI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

sister in Africa. At the beginning of the century Pentathlos is beaten back by independent Phœnicians. Towards its end, when another Greek adventurer, Dôrieus, comes on the same errand, it is by the power of Carthage that he is beaten back. So in the famous treaty between Carthage and Rome under her first consuls, a treaty which we are now happily again allowed to believe in, we read of those parts of Sicily which were under Carthaginian dominion [1]. Nor are we altogether without hints as to both the time and the way in which this extension of Carthaginian power was brought, and as to the man by whose agency it was done. One of those revolutions at Carthage of which Aristotle may seem to speak too slightingly, was the work of a leader who used to appear by the very plain Semitic name of Malchus, but whom modern criticism has changed into Mazeus [2]. He had, we are told, not only done great deeds in Africa, but had brought a large part of Sicily under the dominion of Carthage [3]. His son Karthalo, the priest of Melkart, was sent to Tyre to dedicate, in the most ancient temple of his god in the Tyrian island, that tithe of the Sicilian spoil which the victorious colony owed to the holy places of her metropolis [4]. This may well take in spoils won from enemies, Greek or barbarian, of every form

CHAP. III.

Expedition of Dôrieus. B. C. 510.

Treaty with Rome. B. C. 509.

Conquests of Malchus. B. C. 540.

[1] I have never doubted as to the genuineness and the true date of the treaty between Rome and Carthage in B.C. 509. See Pol. iii. 22. It is a case of "Credo, quia impossibile." The names of the consuls, differing from all legends, show the genuineness of the document. But it is a great comfort to find "the last German book," instead of upsetting one's conservative belief, strengthening it. See Meltzer, i. 174. 487.

[2] See his exploits in Justin, xviii. 7. The very Semitic name Malchus in the old editions is changed in that of Rühl into Mazeus. Meltzer, i. 160, keeps to Malchus. The approximate date, which may pass provisionally, comes from Orosius, iv. 6, who places the exploits of Malchus in the time of Cyrus.

[3] Just., u. s.; "Dux suus Malchus cujus auspiciis et Siciliæ partem domuerant et adversus Afros magnas res gesserant."

[4] Ib.; "Tyro, quo decimas Herculi ferre ex præda Siciliensi quam pater ejus ceperat, a Carthaginiensibus missus fuerat [Karthalo]."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III.

of the Phœnician name. And we are tempted to ask whether Melkart, rejoiced as he would doubtless be to receive the spoils of Sikans, Sikels, and above all Sikeliots, would have looked with equal favour on offerings made to him at the cost of worshippers of his own, of kindred blood with their conquerors. Still we are here face to face with facts which we cannot help putting together. We have a record of Sicilian conquest on the part of Carthage. We presently find the Phœnician towns of Sicily, once independent, standing in a relation of dependence on Carthage. It is hard to avoid the inference that Panormos, Solous, and Motya were brought under the power of Carthage by the arms of Malchus.

Relations between Carthage and the dependent cities.

Of the exact relation in which these cities now stood to Carthage we have no account. But, according to the analogy of the usual relations between city and city, we may safely set it down as being a relation of dependence. That is to say, Panormos, Solous, and Motya, continued to exist as separate commonwealths; they were not merged in the commonwealth of Carthage. According to the political notions alike of Phœnicians, Greeks, and Italians, no other relation was possible, unless Panormos had been directly occupied by Carthage, like a Greek *klérouchia* or a Roman *colonia*. There would still be a Senate and People of Panormos; there would still be *Shophetim* of Panormos at their head. But the commonwealth of Panormos would be unable to undertake wars and negotiations without the consent of Carthage, and its forces would be bound to march and sail whithersoever Carthage might bid them. This definition would cover all the various degrees of dependence to be traced among the allies of Athens in the days of her power. Mytilênê sent her contingent of ships, and had no further burthen[1]. Chalkis gave up to Athens the management of a large

Dependence on Carthage.

[1] Thuc. ii. 9; iii. 11. 39.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

part of her internal affairs; even private causes of any moment were tried in Athenian courts[1]. Yet both Mytilênê and Chalkis kept the forms of a separate commonwealth; so did Potidaia in her twofold dependence, when she at once paid tribute to Athens and received magistrates from Corinth[2]. We have no distinct signs to which extreme, that of Mytilênê or that of Chalkis, the relation of Panormos and her fellows to Carthage came nearest. It seems most likely that their dependence advanced as time passed on. That in the ancient treaty with Rome, Carthage speaks of her relations towards Sicily as a dominion, does not prove much. As far as Rome or any other foreign power was concerned, it was a dominion. Carthage, in all foreign relations, spoke for Panormos, Solous, and Motya, as well as for herself. The course of the later history seems to set those cities before us as simple subjects of Carthage. So they were, as far as those deeds of warfare were concerned, of which the later history has most to tell us. But it is seldom the policy of ruling cities altogether to wipe out the forms of free civic life in their dependent cities. Panormos passed under the dominion of Rome as a free city; her freedom in those days was not inconsistent with the presence of officials of the ruling city doing their duty in the surrounding province. She kept her *Boulé* and *Démos*, and her *Shophetim* passed into *Archontes*[3]. Even when Panormos had received a Roman colony, there was still a *Respublica Panhormitanorum* to grave inscriptions in honour of the Antonines[4]. The Phœnicians in Sicily are not likely, in the days of their first connexion with Carthage, to have kept up less of the show of freedom

Greek analogies.

Subjection increases.

Panormos under Rome.

[1] The ὁμολογία of the Chalkidians and other Euboians is recorded by Thucydides, i. 114. The text is printed in Hicks, Greek Historical Inscriptions, 33.

[2] Thuc. i. 56.

[3] C. I. G. No. 5551, iii. 606.

[4] C. I. L. x. 754, 755, No. 7270 et seqq.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. than Rome let them keep in after days. For a while they are likely to have kept more of its substance. But the tendency in all such cases is to a downward progress.

The Carthaginian and Roman province in Sicily.

As the Sicilian province of Rome was the first that she held, so the Sicilian province of Carthage was, if not the first that she held, yet one of her earliest, and certainly her first on any great scale. She had as yet no African dominion; but she had reached the stage of fighting her African landlords when they came to demand their rent[1]. The possession of north-western Sicily was to Carthage a gain beyond words. She won at least a share in the command of the great central island; she gained a starting-point for her conquests in Sardinia, for her warfare with Massalia, for her treaties with the Etruscan and the Roman. How precious her possessions in Sicily were to Carthage we see most of all in her first great struggle with Rome, so emphatically the War for Sicily. When Sicily was lost, Carthage at once sank from her position as a ruling city beyond her own African soil. On the loss of Sicily speedily followed the loss of Sardinia. And if for a few wonderful years she rose again to greater glory than ever, it was only because, in her last age of might, she had sons who could win for her a new dominion to make up in some measure for that which she had lost. But what would Hannibal have given could he but have exchanged his starting-point in Spain for a starting-point in Sicily?

Value of Sicily to Carthage.

Thus, after European man, in the form of the Sikel, had begun to make good his claim to the soil of Sicily, but when Europe had not yet begun to be planted there in her nobler form of Hellas, Canaan for a while stepped in before her. Shem, if we keep the received name of the speech of Canaan, but Ham, if we follow ancient genea-

[1] See above, p. 287.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

logies, had already so far enlarged himself as to win for himself no mean dwelling-place in the tents of Japheth. The Phœnician had begun his settlements in Spain and in Africa before he had made himself a home in the central land of all. And he had made his settlements in Sicily before he rose to his full power in the western seas and lands. A time came when it could be said that the fairest parts of Europe were in Phœnician hands [1], a saying which suggests the doctrine of those geographers who reckoned Africa as part of Europe [2]. But this was only after Carthage had come into being and risen to power. The great advance of Phœnician power in the West came at much the same time, largely, as we have seen, through the decline of the elder Phœnicia in the East. While the Phœnician of Carthage was waxing mightier and mightier, the Phœnician of Tyre and Sidon was passing more and more fully under the supremacy of the great powers of Asia, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian. That turning about of East and West in Sicily itself of which we have already had to speak, thus becomes a mere part of the greater change by which we may say that Phœnicia passed away into the West. The ancestral and religious headship of the race might be disputed between Sidon and Tyre, but its political centre was at Carthage. The translated Oriental had geographically become the mightiest of Western powers.

Stages of Phœnician advance.

Effect of the fall of the old Phœnicia.

Phœnicia now is the West.

In looking at this strange turning about of things, we cannot help seeing that this translation of the Phœnician

[1] Strabo, xvii. 3. 15; *ὥστε καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἔτι νῦν τὴν ἀρίστην νέμονται Φοίνικες κατὰ τὴν ἤπειρον καὶ τὰς προσεχεῖς νήσους.*

[2] Sall., Bell. Jug. 17; "In divisione orbis terræ plerique in parte tertia Africam posuere; pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse, sed Africam in Europa." Nothing could be more true of the Africa whose boundaries he goes on to define; "Ea fines habet ab occidente fretum nostri maris et Oceani, ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolæ appellant."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. did something for him. It made him in some sort European as compared with every other barbarian power; but he still remained barbarian. At the time when the Phœnician settlements in Sicily and in other parts of Europe were made, they were undoubtedly steps in the path of progress. Without admitting even that Sikels, much less that Greeks, stood to the Asiatic settlers as the natives of America stood to the European settlers of later times [1], we must allow that, in the way of all material arts, the Phœnician had much to teach which it was well for the Sikel, and even for the Greek, to learn. But even in these matters, the superiority of the Asiatic was only for a while; the barbarian sowed on a soil which brought forth an hundredfold, and which he was able to reap after a sort on which he had not reckoned. Even the precious gift of the alphabet was repaid with more than Semitic interest when all the nations of Sicily, the Phœnicians among them, nay Carthage herself in all her pride, came to sit at the feet of the Greek teacher. They came to learn his tongue and the arts which he had made his own; they came to build temples after the models of Hellenic architects, to strike coins with Hellenic legends and Hellenic forms, to wrap the mantle of Hellas so closely around the frame of Canaan that we know not the Semitic name of the greatest Semitic city on Sicilian soil [2]. The Doric columns of Segesta, the Greek-speaking moneys of Panormos, are among the choicest tributes that the barbarian ever paid to his true master. But if progress was quickened for a while by Phœnician settlement, it was thrown

Greek influence on the Phœnicians.

[1] Duncker, ii. 69; "Im Besitz der alten Bildung des Orients standen ihre Seefahrer und Kaufleute den Stämmen der Thraker und Hellenen, den Sikelern, Libyern, und Iberern kaum anders gegenüber als die Portugiesen und Spanier, 2500 Jahre später den Stämmen Americas." So Guizot once likened the Teutonic invaders of Gaul to Red Indians. Yet Aryans can at least be taught.

[2] See above, p. 250.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

back in the long run. Western Sicily was cut off from the European world, and was fully won for it only by the pilum and broadsword of Rome. CHAP. III.

And great as Carthage was, much as she learned from Hellas, there was one side of her character which must not be forgotten. With the gradual growth of the Carthaginian power came the darkest of all days for Sicily, darker almost than the days of the second Semitic conquest. The Saracen himself is hardly charged with such designed and merciless havoc as the Carthaginian wrought at Selinous, at Himera, and at Akragas. We look with admiration on the last days of Carthage in Sicily, on the deeds of Hamilkar Barak on Herktê and on Eryx; but we cannot forget how, whatever it was elsewhere, the power of Carthage was, towards Greek Sicily, a power of simple destruction. The most speaking symbol of her presence in the island is the fallen Olympieion of Akragas. It is significant that the brightest time in Sicilian history, the time of prosperity and freedom and comparative peace, is marked as the seventy years when Carthage keeps idle, when the Phœnician in any shape is hardly heard of, the happy years between the day when the Carthaginian was driven back from Himera and the day when he again marched on Selinous. It was by a strange irony of fortune that a time did come when Sicily became wholly European, that in a later time she became in one sense wholly Greek, but that it was not till days when, if we may fairly speak of Greek, we can no longer speak of Hellenic. That Sicily failed to become Greek when that name still had its full meaning, that Panormos never was as Syracuse once was, was the fruit of one cause only. Whatever the skill of Greece built up, the wealth of Carthage, the tribute of conquered lands, could at any moment hire countless barbarians to overthrow.

Destruction wrought by the Carthaginians.

Rest from Carthaginian invasions. B. C. 480–409.

It is wonderful how little the independent Phœnician,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. III. how little even the dominant Carthaginian, has left behind him in Sicily. Here and there are primitive ruins in which some have seen Phœnician work, but in which it may be allowed rather to trace the hand of the Sikel. The walls of Motya, of Lilybaion, and of Eryx speak for themselves; but the wall of Motya is the only whole that can belong to the days before Carthaginian dominion. The Phœnician may be said to have vanished from Sicily, as his later kinsman the Saracen has vanished. The Sikel has left his tombs; the Greek has left his temples; the memorials of both stand plain to be seen of all men. For Phœnician, as for Saracen, remains we have to search, and it is only here and there that we find them. Gozo contains a Phœnician temple[1]; Sicily has none. We have but few specimens of the art of the Phœnician beyond the sepulchral figures of Canita[2], and the coins which he struck before he went to school to Greek artists. But we do not take in the full significance of Sicilian history if he do not always bear about with us the memory that the men of Canaan once dwelled in the land, and that they brought the gods of Canaan with them. The Western mind is sometimes perplexed with the wonderful shiftings by which a Phœnician deity seems to have been able to put on, not only any physical shape, but any moral character. It is easy to stumble between the good and the evil, the clean and the unclean, the male and the female, forms of the same power. We are puzzled at the alternation, in the worship of powers bearing the same name, of the sternest asceticism and the foulest voluptuousness. But the aspects of Canaanite worship which most strongly impress those who approach the matter from the Western side are precisely those which most deeply impressed the Hebrew prophets who had come face to face with the worship and the worshippers. Those who judge matters by Western laws of evidence may think

Small Phœnician remains in Sicily.

Phœnician religion.

[1] Movers, ii. 2. 359; Holm, i. 98. [2] See above, pp. 261, 263.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

it rash to infer from the tale of Phalaris that Zeus Atabyrios, in the form of a brazen bull, was worshipped with human sacrifices on the height of Akragas[1]. History knows only of the sacrifice done by Himilkôn in the Punic camp without the wall[2]. But the most exacting in matters of testimony will hardly doubt that at Panormos and Motya, no less than at Tyre and Carthage, a brazen Moloch sat with outstretched arms to receive the victims that fell into the fire beneath. We may be a little startled at an Ashtoreth who seems to answer to every Hellenic goddess in turn; but it was assuredly not in the character either of the matron Hêrê or the virgin Artemis that she took possession of the height of Eryx, as of the height of Akrokorinthos, and there set up the worship which Gaius Verres found so greatly to his liking. The Greek fell away before the snares of Ashtoreth[3]; but he at least fought well against Moloch. The tale of Gelôn's humane treaty, if only a happy invention, is ever before our eyes, for it sums up the whole spirit of that part of the Eternal Strife which was waged between Hellas and Canaan on the soil of Sicily. We have said, and we may have to say again, that the warfare of Gelôn and Timoleôn was essentially a crusade. In our next chapter we have to record the coming of the crusaders. CHAP. III.

[1] So Duncker ventures to say, ii. 48; "Zeus Atabyrios wurde stadthütender Gott von Akragas, dessen ehernem Stierbild auf der Burg von Akragas noch um die Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts [B.C. one may guess] Menschenopfer fielen." As no reference is given, one is driven to suppose that an inference from the bull of Phalaris is here turned into a fact that may be taken for granted.

[2] Diod. xiii. 86.

[3] Yet in a Segestan inscription, C. I. G., No. 5543 iii. 604, she appears as Ἀφροδίτα Οὐρανία. She is Ἐρυκίνα in one of Eryx, No. 5498 iii. 598. See Pausanias, viii. 24. 6.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREEK SETTLEMENTS IN SICILY [1].

B.C. 735–580.

CHAP. IV.

Greeks and barbarians.

WE have thus gone through the list of those settlers in Sicily whom Thucydides, according to the common use of the Greek tongue, marks off as barbarians. Familiar as is the Greek use of that word, it is one which always needs a commentator; the tendency towards an unwitting misconstruction of its meaning is so strong. The point with which we are concerned is that in its first use it simply means that those to whom it is applied spoke a tongue which a Greek could not understand. As to the degree of difference by which the people spoken of were parted from the Greeks it proves nothing [2]. It is applied to nations whose languages must have been, in the eyes of

Use of the name *barbarian*.

[1] We are still, and shall be for a long time to come, without anything that can be called a continuous narrative. But we have, in the Introduction to the sixth book of Thucydides, something nearer to it than we have hitherto had. (On Thucydides as a historian of Sicily and on his probable relation to Antiochos of Syracuse, see Appendix I.) Thus, while our authorities have hitherto been altogether fragmentary, while we have gathered our straw and stubble where we could, we have now a centre round which everything gathers. We have a text to follow, of which we can treat everything else as illustrations. Among other writers, Strabo's account of Sicily (vi. 2) stands out foremost; but a vast deal is to be picked up here and there in various places. Of later writers, besides works on Sicily in general, we have the advantage of many valuable monographs, which may be best spoken of when we come to the particular cities to which they refer. The work of Brunet de Presle, Recherches sur les Établissements des Grecs en Sicile, takes in the subject of my present chapter, but also a great deal before and after it.

[2] See Grote, ii. 351–353.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

a philologer, very nearly akin to that of Greece. It was applied to those nations on the northern border of Greece whose position may be best described by saying that they were Greeks but not Hellênes. Nothing can be more instructive than the fact that Thucydides classes certain Epeirot tribes among barbarians, while Herodotus admits them as Hellenic [1]. That is to say, Thucydides uses the manner of speech of the ordinary practical Athenian of his day; Herodotus speaks as the travelled enquirer who had thought about the relations of nations and languages. The Thesprotians and Molottians spoke a tongue which did not admit of ordinary conversation between him and a Greek; it passed the bounds of merely dialectic difference, the bounds which parted Doric from Ionic and both from the uncouth speech of the Aitolian Eurytanes [2]. But they spoke a tongue so nearly allied to Greek that to one who knew how much further removed was the speech of the Persian, the Phœnician, and the Egyptian, it seemed entitled to be called Greek [3]. So in Sicily, Sikans, Sikels, Elymians, and Phœnicians, are all set down by Thucydides as barbarians, without making any distinctions among them. Whether Herodotus would have drawn any we cannot tell. There would not have been the same ground for it as in the Epeirot case; yet he might have marked that some of the inhabitants of Sicily had a gift for speedily adopting Greek ways which was refused to others.

Different use by Herodotus and Thucydides.

[1] Compare Herodotus, ii. 52, 56, vi. 127, where these nations count as Greek, with Thucydides, ii. 80, where they appear among barbarians. The difference is wholly in the point of view. Yet more important is the fact that the Thessalians were Thesprotian settlers, and yet always count as Hellênes. Herod. vii. 176; Thuc. i. 12.

[2] Thuc. iii. 94.

[3] I do not commit myself to the assertion that Herodotus could really speak or understand any other tongue than Greek. But a great deal may be found out about languages without really speaking or understanding them.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

For our purposes we have no doubt at what point to draw the line of distinction. We know the language of the Greeks and the language of the Phœnicians; of the language of the Sikels we have some, though slight traces; at the language of Sikans and Elymians we can only guess. It might have amazed Thucydides if he had seen any of these races put into the same class, however wide that class, with the Greeks. Yet for our purposes we must put Greeks and Sikels together as sharers in the common heritage of Aryan Europe, however much the one people may have outstripped the other. The Sikels admitted of full hellenization; they could be made into artificial Greeks. We cannot affirm this so positively of Sikans and Elymians; but we may safely say that they were not inherent enemies of Greek life and culture. They represented no rival system. They gave way to Greek life, how far strictly by assimilation, it might be hard to guess. None of these nations in short was advanced enough to offer any serious opposition to either of the great colonizing nations. Their clear destiny was either to be assimilated by one of them or to give way before them. The question was, by which they should be assimilated or before which they should give way, whether, in short, their life should be the life of Hellas or the life of Canaan.

Kindred of Greeks and Sikels.

Relation of Sikans and Elymians.

In the end—the end that is of the first strife—the Greek got the better; but he got the better by Roman help. The Greek assimilated the Sikel; that he did by his own efforts, or more truly by the attraction which his civilization exercised on the race which had lagged behind him. But, though the Phœnicians in Sicily were deeply affected by Greek influences from an early time, we can hardly believe that the Phœnician element would have so utterly vanished before the Greek, that Sicily could have become the purely Greek land which it appears in the days of Cicero, if the Greek

Sicily hellenized by Roman help.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

had not had the Roman to help him. The Greek, as we all know, led captive his conqueror, and the captive conqueror became the missionary of the speech and culture of the conquered. Wherever the Roman conquered, he dwelled, and wherever he dwelled, he carried with him some measure of Greek speech and culture. What he did in other lands he did in Sicily also. Alike in Greece and in Sicily, his own colonies became Greek. Lilybaion, seat of one Roman quæstor while Syracuse was the seat of another, was brought under Greek influences in a way that it had not been as long as Lilybaion was a dependency of Carthage and Syracuse still a colony of Corinth only.

Migration and colonization.

We have already drawn the distinction between national migration, the change of seats on the part of a whole people or the chief part of them, and colonization, settlement, plantation, in the later sense, where the settlers go forth from an established city or kingdom, which lives on as the metropolis or mother-colony of the new settlement. We have pointed out that colonization, in this strict sense, began with the Phœnicians[1]. We come now to its beginning among the Greeks. The Greek settlements in Asia are older than those in the West, but they still keep up much of the character of national migrations; they are hardly colonies in the strict sense. It is still a Wandering of the Nations. Dorians make their way into Peloponnêsos, and drive out Achaians; Achaians move from a more southern part of Peloponnêsos to a more northern; Ionians, driven out of Peloponnêsos, seek shelter in Attica, and thence move to Asia. This is hardly colonization in the strict sense. Except in the last stage, no metropolis is left behind, and that only by what we might almost call a legal fiction[2]. Such settlements had more in

Greek settlements in Asia.

[1] See above, p. 223.

[2] Cf. Herod. i. 147. Sparta did in some sort count the old Doris as a metropolis, but hardly as Syracuse counted Corinth.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. common with the Phœnician occupation of Cyprus than with the Phœnician colonization of Panormos and Carthage. Presently a time came when Greece, as well as Phœnicia, began the work of colonization in this stricter sense. The days of wandering were over. Greek settlers now set forth from Greek cities; they built them new cities to dwell in, and left the elder ones behind to be honoured with all the reverence due to a parent. That Greek colonization in this sense first began in Sicily we can hardly venture to say; but it undoubtedly began in those western regions of the Mediterranean of which, for this purpose, we may fairly count Sicily as a part.

Greek colonization begins in the West.

Colonization in Sicily begins in the eighth century.

The beginning of Greek settlement in Sicily is placed by Thucydides, following perhaps Antiochos of Syracuse, in the eighth century before Christ. That date in no wise implies that Sicily was, up to that time, a land altogether unknown to the Greeks; it does not imply that it was a land just heard of for the first time of which men at once rushed to take possession. Some knowledge of Sicily is, as we have seen, implied both in the Homeric and in the Hesiodic poems[1]. But it is the knowledge that comes of distant report, not at all necessarily the knowledge of direct intercourse. The land *Sikania* was known; the people of the Sikels was known, whether actually in Sicily or as yet only in Southern Italy. But, so far as we can say anything of the order of events in such times, there is every likelihood that some at least of our notices belong to times later, perhaps a good deal later, than the migration of the Sikels. Still the kind of intercourse that the poems imply is not of a kind that proves that Greeks and Sikels had really much to do with one another. There was a trade in slaves between Ithaca and the Sikels. But the two ends of a coasting trade need not know much

Nature of early Greek knowledge of Sicily.

[1] See above, p. 107.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

about one another, especially when there is a people adventurous before all others, and ready to undertake a carrying-trade between any point of coast or any other. Whatever passed between Ithaca and the Sikels, the aged nurse of Laertês among them, no doubt sailed in Phœnician bottoms. It is to be noticed that the little that looks like even a mythical expression of real knowledge comes from one corner of the island. While we must, with Thucydides, forbear to say anything about Kyklôpes and Laistrygones, we have already seen that the mythical wonders of Skylla and Charybdis do really come from the Sicilian strait[1]. They are the real wonders of the strait tricked out in a mythical garb. In the like sort the Hesiodic notice that points to an actual spot in Sicily, points to one in the same region. Ôriôn does his work, not at Pachynos or Lilybaion, but at Pelôris[2]. It was naturally the east coast, it was specially the north-east corner, of which the Greeks first learned a dim notion.

CHAP. IV.

The eastern corner first known.

This fact at once connects itself with the general belief of Greece that the oldest of the Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily was the most distant of all, one which could hardly have been founded without passing through the strait. The belief that the western Kymê was the oldest of Greek colonies is singularly of a piece with the belief that Gadês was the oldest of Phœnician colonies. In both cases there was a strait to be passed, and a wholly new world to be explored. The received belief would make Kymê not much younger than Gadês; it would place its settlement before the Sikel migration; it would place it three hundred years before the beginning of Greek colonization in Sicily[3]. That one solitary Greek

Foundation of Kymê. B.C. 1050?

Question as to the date.

[1] See above, p. 77.

[2] See above, p. 58.

[3] The attempt at an exact date for the Campanian Kymê comes from the professed chronologers. See Bunbury, Dict. Geog., art. Cumæ. Whatever one says to their reckonings, Velleius (i. 4) at least is wrong in making the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

settlement should have thus maintained itself for ages on a distant coast is a statement so amazing that we can hardly accept it without evidence of a kind which even in the age of the foundation of Naxos and Syracuse is not to be had. But it does not follow that the story was wholly without a kernel of truth. We may believe that Kymê was the first Greek settlement in the West without giving it this prodigious antiquity. Kymê always stands quite apart from the other Greek colonies in Italy. In truth, in the language even of a much later time, it was not in Italy at all; it was founded in the Opican land far north of Italy, that earliest Italy whose name did not go beyond the bounds of the newest Calabria [1]. Kymê stands at the head of a body of Greek settlements on its own coast which have very little to do with the Greek settlements in the land specially known as Italy. But to reach the site of Kymê men must have passed by Charybdis and Pelôris. That one corner of Sicily may therefore have been heard of in Greece while the Great Harbour of Syracuse and the peninsula of Naxos were yet unknown. Some enterprising shipman may have been led by accident to the Campanian coast before the general colonization of Sicily and Southern Italy began. But it need not have been three hundred years before. It is enough if we suppose that Kymê was planted only so long before the other Western colonies as to suggest their plantation.

Special position of Kymê.

Kymê most likely the oldest, but not so old as the story.

Ingenious attempts have been made, by arguments drawn from names, legends and forms of worship, to prove the existence of Greek settlements in Sicily earlier than the date which, on the authority of Thucydides, has been

Questions of earlier Greek settlements in Sicily.

Campanian Kymê older than the Aiolian. But we need not cast aside the sober statement of Strabo (v. 4. 4); Κύμη, Χαλκιδέων καὶ Κυμαίων παλαιότατον κτίσμα· πασῶν γάρ ἐστι πρεσβυτάτη τῶν τε Σικελικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτίδων.

[1] See Dionysios, i. 73 (see above, p. 125); Strabo, vi. 1. 4; v. 1. 1; Thuc. vii. 33; Arist. Pol. vii. 10. 2. Cf. Skymnos, 300.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

commonly received as their beginning [1]. I confess that I see nothing in the arguments by which those views are supported to awaken any distrust in the received belief. It seems to me that all the points that are alleged may be fully accounted for by the local developement of legend after Greek settlement had begun. I have no hesitation in accepting the main inference from the account in Thucydides, namely that Greek colonization in Sicily did not begin till the middle of the eighth century before Christ. We may indeed be tempted to wonder at the minuteness of the dates which he gives for the foundation of the several cities. We may be sure that neither Thucydides nor Antiochos had before him any trustworthy written narrative of such early times. But we have seen that chronology is older than narrative history [2], and primitive ways of reckoning may have handed down the exact year of many events whose details, left to mere tradition, had, long before the days of Antiochos, fought their way into the region of things passing belief [3]. And it is something in favour of the dates that are given that in some cases we find no date at all [4], as if for those cities no such notices were to be had as were at hand in the case of the others. There is really no presumption against the dates, either from any unlikelihood in themselves or from any impossibility of handing them down. The story hangs well together, and, though we see from other authors that other versions were current, the differences are not of a kind which need seriously disturb our acceptance of the facts and the dates which are given us by the great master.

CHAP. IV.

Dates of the settlements.

[1] Holm, i. 108. See Appendix XIV.

[2] See above, p. 128, and Dion. Halik., i. 22.

[3] Thuc. i. 21; *ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστων ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα.*

[4] Thucydides (vi. 4, 5) records the foundations of Zanklê and Himera without any date.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

§ 1. *The Foundation of Naxos.*

B.C. 735.

Accidental beginning of settlement.

The Greek colonization of Sicily began, we are told, by accident. Whatever measure of intercourse had existed between Sicily and Greece in the state of things represented by the Homeric poems had come to an end. The slave-trade itself would seem to have ceased. Men dreaded the Tyrrhenian pirates; they dreaded the fierceness and power of the barbarians of the island [1]. We may here safely see tales spread abroad by Phœnician cunning to hinder other nations from making their way into a land which was meant to be a special preserve of Phœnician trade. But, after the colonization of Kymê, the thought of settlement in Sicily and in the Italy of those days was one which could not fail to come into men's minds. Still the actual beginning may likely enough have been the result of accident [2]. As the story goes, the spell was broken by such a chance as at a later time revealed to Greece the existence of the golden land of Tartéssos [3], such a chance as we have just supposed may have led to the settlement of less distant Kymê. The ship of one Theoklês was driven by adverse winds to the shores of Sicily. He marked the goodness of the land, and he found out that the barbarians who had been painted in such terrible colours were a folk whom it would be easy to subdue [4]. He came back and told his tale in Greece, in the ears of the men of his own

Voyage of Theoklês.

[1] Strabo, vi. 2. 2; *τοὺς γὰρ πρότερον δεδιέναι τὰ λῃστήρια τῶν Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τὴν ὠμότητα τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων, ὥστε μηδὲ κατ' ἐμπορίαν πλεῖν.* He quotes Ephoros, who placed the first settlements fifteen generations after the Trojan war.

[2] It would only be an application of the great law laid down by Aristotle. Pol. v. 3. 16.

[3] Herod. iv. 152. See above, p. 239.

[4] Strabo, vi. 2. 2; *Θεοκλέα δ' Ἀθηναῖον παρενεχθέναι ἀνέμοις εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, καταναῦσαι τήν τε εὐδένειαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς γῆς.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

city. There can be no reasonable doubt that that city was the Euboian Chalkis. That Chalkis was the first city that answered to his call is allowed; but one version described Theoklês as an Athenian, who turned to Chalkis only when he could not convince his own citizens of the advantages of a Sicilian settlement[1]. This tale is clearly an invention of Athenian vanity in later times. It is one of a crowd of stories devised to claim for Athens in early times a position in Greece like that which she won only long after. When Athens held Chalkis as a dependency, when the thoughts of Athens were largely turned towards influence and dominion in Sicily, it was needful that the name of Athens should find a place in the earliest dealings between Sicily and Hellas. And as all men knew that Athens had no share in the settlement of Sicily, nothing was left but to say that she had been asked to take the first part in it and had refused.

CHAP. IV.

Alleged Athenian birth of Theoklês.

Worthlessness of the story.

It was Chalkis then, in those early times one of the chief colonizing cities in Greece, whose men began the work of Greek settlement in Sicily. Nor is there any reason to doubt that Theoklês, who went forth as founder of the first Greek city that arose on Sicilian soil, was himself a Chalkidian citizen. Of his voyage, of his landing, of the circumstances of his settlement, how the first Greek settlers had to bear themselves in the face of the Sikels on whose land they were intruding and of the Phœnicians whose cherished monopoly of trade and settlement they were breaking down—how the houses and walls and temples of the new city arose—what relations its citizens established among themselves and towards their neighbours—of all this we know nothing. It is merely by chance, at secondhand, that we get any clew to the remarkable name of the new settlement. The colony of Chalkis neither

The foundation Chalkidian.

No details of the settlement.

[1] See Appendix XVI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. Its name; Naxos.

took the name of its parent nor adopted a native or descriptive name; it took the name of the Ægæan island of Naxos. It was not indeed the first time that a newly founded city had taken the name of an elder one. How often that may have happened in the many cases where we find two cities bearing the same name it were vain to guess; it is enough that it had already happened once at least in the case of Kymê. But Kymê bore the name of one of the cities which divided the rank of its metropolis between them[1], and the transfer of the name of the city was less strange. There a city of one mainland gave its name to a city of another; here the name of an island was transferred to a city which, though strictly founded on island soil, might by the side of the elder Naxos seem a city of the mainland. More than one version implies that the Chalkidians of Euboia were not the only people who had a share in the first Sikeliot settlement. We may safely set aside a tale which represents Theoklês as setting forth at the head of a mixed company, Ionian and Dorian, of whom the Ionians settled Naxos and the Dorians Megara[2]. It is another matter when the Chalkidians are given Ionian comrades in the settlement of Naxos, and when, among those Ionians, colonists from the elder Naxos are specially mentioned[3]. Here is the key to the name and the relation of the new city. We may safely presume some such agreement as took place in the case of Kymê. Naxos gave the name, while Chalkis took the honours of the metropolis.

partial analogy with Kymê.

Settlement not purely Chalkidian.

Sicily and Britain.

In the view of Sicilian history with which we started,

[1] Strabo, v. 44; *οἱ δὲ τὸν στόλον ἄγοντες, Ἱπποκλῆς ὁ Κυμαῖος καὶ Μεγασθένης ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, διωμολογήσαντο πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, τῶν μὲν ἀποικίαν εἶναι, τῶν δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν· ὅθεν νῦν μὲν προσαγορεύεται Κύμη, κτίσαι δ' αὐτὴν Χαλκιδεῖς δοκοῦσι.*

[2] See Strabo, vi. 22, and Appendix XVI.

[3] See Stephen of Byzantium in Chalkis, and Appendix XV.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the analogies between the great island of the Mediterranean and the great island of the Ocean had their place. We have now, in the story of one of them, reached the great settlement from other lands which gave the island its historic fame. And that stage of the one tale cannot but suggest the like event in the case of the other, and the points of likeness and unlikeness between the two. The spot which beheld the first beginnings of Greek settlement in the isle of Sicily can hardly fail to call up the thought of the spot which beheld the first recorded beginning of English settlement in the isle of Britain. Naxos is the Ebbsfleet of Sicily. On those two spots severally began the highest life which either island has yet seen, the life which has given to Sicily and to Britain the place which those islands severally hold in the history of mankind. On those two spots began the two most illustrious examples of settlement, as distinguished from ordinary conquest or annexation, which men of Europe have ever made within the bounds of Europe. Yet the result in each case was widely different. The landing at Ebbsfleet created an English nation, we may say the earliest English nation, the parent of other English nations in days to come. The landing at Naxos did not create a Sicilian nation. Never was the difference more fully felt than when the Norman came to find an English nation in England and no Sicilian nation in Sicily [1].

CHAP. IV.

Greek and English settlement.

With all the close analogy between the two, the points of unlikeness between English settlement in Britain and Greek settlement in Sicily are obvious enough. Each gave the land its truest life; each began the main history of the island in which the settlement was made. Yet the settlements themselves were wholly different in kind; they belong to different stages of settlement, and the later in date belongs to the earlier stage. The settlement of the English who

Points of unlikeness;

[1] See above, p. 38.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

the English settlement still a *Wandering.*

Difference of migration and colonization.

gave their name to England in itself more truly answers to the settlement of the Sikels who gave their name to Sicily. It is only in its results that the settlement of the English answers to the settlement of the Greeks. The English settlement, like the Sikel settlement, belongs to the stage of national migration, not to that of colonization in the true sense [1]. Now the settlement of a nation, or even of a tribe, is necessarily far more thorough than the settlements of detached cities. The English might leave an independent Britain to the West; none such could be left in the heart of Teutonic England. But the Greeks, settling city by city, might do their work in Sicily, as they did it in other lands. It was enough if only they held the coasts as their own, and left the elder folk to keep the inland centre of the island as an independent people. It mattered little to Syracuse, to Akragas, and to Himera, that Henna remained Sikel. It would have mattered indeed alike to Wessex, to East-Anglia, and to Northumberland, if central Mercia had remained British.

Differences in the past of each island.

The Roman past;

the Phœnician present.

But besides these differences in the condition of the settlers, there were differences of equal moment arising from the past history, or lack of history, of the lands in which they settled. There was nothing in the past of Sicily when the first Greek landed to answer to the days when Rome held sway in Britain. And there was nothing in the past or present of Britain when the first Englishman landed to answer to the abiding fact of Phœnician settlement in Sicily. The Sikel could not deem himself, as the Briton could, the heir of a dominion and a civilization that had passed away. If the Greek came to the Sikel, commonly as a conqueror, often as a destroyer, he came too, whenever circumstances allowed, as a teacher and civilizer. No such character could the heathen Angle or Saxon put on in the eyes of the Christian Briton who had

[1] See above, p. 223.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

not forgotten that his fathers had been Romans. On the other hand, if the Teutonic invaders made their way at the cost of the Britons as the Greek invaders made their way at the cost of the Sikels, they had Britons only, or men kindred with the Briton, to deal with. In no corner of Britain did there abide, as there abode in a corner of Sicily, a people of an older civilization than the new invaders, a people who, if they withdrew for a while before the coming of the new invaders, were one day to gather up their strength and to advance again in a form far more mighty and terrible. We have our Naxos and our Syracuse in Kent and Sussex; we have our Henna and our Agyrium in the holy places of Saint German and Saint Petrock; but we have no day of victory in our annals to set against the first day of Himera; we have no day of overthrow to set against the second. CHAP. IV.

Analogies with English settlement in America.

There are in truth some points in which Greek settlement in Sicily had more in common with English settlement in America in the seventeenth century than with English settlement in Britain in the fifth and sixth. It was natural that it should be. The Greek and the later English settlement belong to the same stage of settlement, to that of real colonization, settlement from established cities or kingdoms, as distinguished from national migration. In such cases the settler is almost sure to belong to a more advanced race than those among whom he settles. The English settlement in Britain, with all that it was slowly to lead to in after ages, was not, at the time, an advance in civilization. In truth, as an advance of heathen destroyers, it was eminently the opposite. But the advance of the Greek over the Sikel was in every way the advance of the higher over the lower man. The English advance in America was so far more strongly. For the advance of the Greek against the Sikel was after all only the advance of European against European; it was the advance of

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

The older inhabitants in the two lands.

kinsmen to whom the lamp had been first handed against kinsmen who had lagged behind them in the race. That is to say, if the Sikel was not as the Briton, still less was he as the Red Indian. The truth is that the heathen destroyer, slaughtering and burning as he goes, is in the end less of a destroyer than the missionary of the highest civilization when he settles among a people by whom that civilization cannot be received. Those whom the Englishman found in Kent and in Massachusetts died out before him, from opposite reasons in the two lands. But a day came when the kinsfolk of those who died out before him in Kent died out before him no longer. Sikel Sicily was to be in the end to the Greek neither as Kent nor as Massachusetts, but as Cornwall. The Sikel could become a Greek yet more thoroughly than the Briton could become an Englishman. But the later land of English settlement supplies no parallel to Cornwall, no parallel to Henna and Agyrium[1]. The Sikel of Diodôros' day, from whom all thought of his Sikel descent had passed away, could give us the history of Sicily and the world in the Hellenic speech which his forefathers had adopted as their own. That so it should be was no more wonderful than it is now for a man of Cornwall to deal with the history of England as a common possession of himself and the man of Kent. But no kinsman of Pocahontas or of King Philip has as yet written the history of America in the tongue of the English settlers of Virginia and New England.

Sikelia and Cornwall.

Still, with all these differences, there are enough points of likeness in the two great settlements to justify us in saying that Naxos, first home of the Greek on Sicilian

[1] It is worth noting that in modern colonization of what we may venture to call a lower type, we do feel the parallel here suggested. In the Spanish American settlements we do find men of native descent speaking Spanish and adopting Spanish ways, just like the hellenized Sikels.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

soil, holds a place in Sicilian history answering to that which is held by Ebbsfleet in the history of Britain. And Naxos, like Ebbsfleet, lives wholly in its memories. Neither has much to show, Naxos certainly somewhat more than Ebbsfleet[1], in the way either of ancient remains or of natural charm. The chief attraction of the actual Naxos is that the geologist finds there living witnesses indeed to the working of the fiery powers in days of which history and tradition have kept no record. Few sites look up to a nobler prospect rising above them; but Naxos itself, not an island, not a headland, hardly a peninsula, a mere piece of flat ground running into the sea, seems but a dull site for the eldest Hellenic city of Sicily. For a time not far short of six and twenty centuries, Naxos has lain desolate, with small traces indeed to show of what once was there[2]. Or it might be truer to say that Naxos is not desolate, and that it is the fact that it is not desolate which makes its ancient memories so specially dumb on their ancient site. The fiery stream which wrought havoc in unrecorded times has supplied a fertile soil for the vines and all else that grows in richness on the point which has exchanged the name of Naxos for that of Schisó. A shattered castle, a later house, the fields and gardens that surround it, at once save Naxos from being a spot wholly desolate, and hinder the presence of those witnesses of earlier times which stand forth so clearly on other sites from which man has altogether fled.

CHAP. IV.

Site of Naxos;

Naxos desolate.

Yet the first home of the Greek in Sicily is not without its teaching and its meaning, nor are we left wholly without traces of the work of its first settlers. Could we conceive Theoklês and his comrades plying their oars right

Naxos faces the east.

[1] On Ebbsfleet, see Green, History of the English People, i. 23.

[2] Pausanias (vi. 13. 8) says a little too strongly, πόλεως μὲν οὐδὲ ἐρείπια ἐλείπετο ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι. He adds that its very name would not be known save for the fame of the athlete Tisandros.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

across the open sea, the point of Naxos is one which stands forth, if not boldly, yet prominently, to welcome comers from the East. And Theoklês and his comrades were surely not the first comers from the East. One can hardly doubt that the Naxian peninsula must have early drawn to it the eyes of Phœnician merchants, in this case likely enough coming straight from Tyre or Sidon. There, as has been suggested in the case of Cephalœdium[1], the strangers would set up at least a factory, and would have their dealings with the Sikels on the heights. This does not at all imply the existence of a Phœnician colony in the strictest sense, a colony holding land and bearing rule. For the Greeks to take possession, Sikels had to be driven out[2]; we are left to guess whether in such a case—a case to which we shall come again—the Phœnicians would be driven out too or allowed to stay on as foreign traders. The site is certainly one of the class of which Thucydides speaks of the Phœnicians as everywhere taking advantage[3]. The peninsula is a peninsula in the same sense as India, and, when the *fiumara* to the south of it was a real river, it must have been more strictly peninsular than it now is. It narrows, but not quite to a point; a small square face looks to the east with volcanic rocks scattered in front of it. It forms the southern horn of the bay of Tauros, a sandy bay fenced in to the north by the rugged cape of Tauros and the isolated rocks beside it. Naxos might indeed pass for the northern horn of another bay to the south of it; but its fellow in this reckoning would be far more distant, and the curve of the coast is far less marked. Naxos belongs in every sense to the northern bay, the bay of

Possible Phœnician factory.

Naxos and the bay of Tauromenion.

[1] See above, p. 142.

[2] Diod. xiv. 88 (when speaking of the Sikels on Tauromenion); *οἱ δὲ Σικελοὶ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐκ παλαιοῦ παρειληφότες, ὅτι τὰ μέρη ταῦτα τῆς νήσου Σικελῶν κατεχόντων, Ἕλληνες πρώτως καταπλεύσαντες ἔκτισαν μὲν Νάξον, ἐξέβαλον δ' ἐκτὸς τοῦ τόπου τοὺς τότε κατοικοῦντας Σικελούς.*

[3] vi. 2.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Tauromenion. On that side is the present landing-place, and that landing-place, there can be no reasonable doubt, represents the ancient haven. Hard by it some small fragments may still be traced which enable us to form some notion of the general look of a city which has left such slight remains to speak for it. Naxos had preeminently the right to share with Angers the epithet of the Black. The same powers which had called the site of Naxos into being had furnished its settlers with an endless store of building materials for their walls and houses. We can safely say that Theoklês fenced in his new-founded town with a wall built of blocks of lava. Hard by the landing-place, below the castle of later times, we venture to trace its basement for a little way, near to the water-gate. We can see also remains of the ancient road which led up to the town, with an inner gate, it would seem, at the top of its small ascent. And the general line of the wall can be traced, here and there, for some way inland to the right of the landing-place, sometimes by actual pieces of the wall still keeping their place, sometimes by the appearance of blocks which have evidently been taken from it and used again in mediæval and modern buildings[1]. But a far more striking piece of the defences of Naxos is to be seen on the southern side, parallel with the *fiumara*, in its lower course near the sea. Here are large remains of a wall of early date, the work of the very first Greek settlers, if not of inhabitants older than they. It is irregularly built of large blocks of lava, of various shapes, hardly to be called regular polygons, but on some of which we can see signs of human workmanship to bring them to a convenient shape[1]. There seem also to be

CHAP. IV.

Small ancient remains.

The lava.

The walls.

[1] I have to thank, first Mr. Sayce and then Mr. Arthur Evans, for guiding me to this wall, which is somewhat hard to find. I saw it in March, 1890. The remains on the other side were traced out by Mr. Evans in 1889.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. signs, slight indeed, of the southern gate. On such a site as Naxos there was no place for a fortress on any height near enough to form part of the town. But following the lines of the wall on the northern side, we are led to a small rising ground near the present railway which we are tempted to guess—we can hardly do more—may have served as the somewhat lowly akropolis of the eldest of Sikeliot cities.

The hill of Tauros.

Naxos, it was just now said, belongs to the bay which lies to the north of the peninsula, and which contains its small haven. From that haven we look up at the heights which fence in the bay. The eye is more naturally drawn to the mountain-mass of Tauros, with its knolls, its peaks, its deep valleys and its stony gullies—to the works of man enthroned on the mountain-side and to those which crown the loftier peaks above them—than even to the lordlier height of Ætna himself. The fate of the soil below seems linked with the fate of that memorable hill, memorable alike in the wars of Greek and Sikel and Phœnician and in the wars of Roman and Saracen and Norman. Naxos had not yet stood for four hundred years on her flat with the sea on both sides of her, when she was utterly swept away from the earth. Her name was struck out from the roll of the cities of men, and Tauromenion high on the mountain-side in some sort took her place. And what the mountain city is, and how it stands, can be seen so well from no other point as from the site of forsaken Naxos. That the lower site should be the elder suggests many thoughts. The elder in strictness, simply as a habitation of men, it need not be. The hill-tops and the hill-sides may have been chosen for dwellings from the earliest times; but as a city, as a commonwealth with a place in recorded history, the city on the hill-side is not only younger than the city on the flat peninsula, it did not come into being till the elder city had perished. That the

Destruction of Naxos. B.C. 403.

Importance of the choice of site.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

Chalkidian settlers chose the low ground rather than the high shows that a vast change in the choice of sites for settlements had come over the Hellenic mind since the unrecorded days when men first made their homes on the hills of Corinth and Athens and shrank from the sea which was to make Corinth and Athens great. That is to say, the Greek had in these matters now risen to the level which the Phœnician had reached long before him. The foundation of Naxos marks no small advance since that first stage of Hellenic settlement in the West when solitary Kymê arose, on a lofty hill indeed, but with the sea far closer at its feet than either of the seas of Corinth reaches to the foot of her akropolis. The men who founded Corinth, perhaps even the men who founded Kymê, would surely, had fate brought them to this shore, have fixed their dwellings, not on the flat of Naxos, but on the hill-side of Tauros, if not on the eagles' nests which soar above and guard the mountain city. The foundation of Kymê, an almost casual settlement, may be said to mark the last stage of the elder type of cities on high places, while Naxos, the beginning of a period of systematic colonization, begins the series of cities of which the sea and its immediate neighbourhood were the very life. The Sikel, driven back from his own shores by the invading Greek, did not fully reach this stage till a far later time.

Advance on Kymê.

Naxos, eldest born of the Sikeliot family, was thus destined to a short life alongside of her more abiding sisters. And during that short life she never asserted the temporal privileges of the eldest-born. Naxos could no more boast herself to be the head of Hellenic Sicily than Kent, with her one Bretwalda, could boast herself to be the abiding head of Teutonic Britain. But, as Canterbury remained the spiritual parent and centre of all England, so did the men of Naxos keep on their soil the most venerated holy

English analogies.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. place of Hellenic Sicily. The Greeks in Sicily adopted and developed the local deities and legends of the island, and found for them a brilliant and abiding place in their own mythology. But the Greek also found in his new land a home for the gods of his own fathers. The patron god of the Sikeliot, as a Greek settled in a foreign land, had his chosen dwelling on that spot of Sicilian soil which had been first won for Hellenic life and Hellenic worship. It was Apollôn at whose bidding the men of Chalkis had set forth and under whose guidance they had made their voyage; to Apollôn, founder and guide, their first act was to set up an altar outside the walls of the new city. Temples might rise in after days; the altar by the shore could be set up in the first thankfulness of landing; and at some point of the southern curve of the Tauromenitan bay, Apollôn Archêgetês stood, not only as the patron of Naxos, but as the common patron of Hellenic Sicily[1]. Thither, when any Sikeliot city sent sacred embassies to the gods and the games of old Greece, the envoys first came to sacrifice at this common sanctuary of a crowd of commonwealths, which, torn as they often were by bitter warfare, still felt themselves to be men of one nation and of one creed. Thither came the men who bore the gifts of Thêrôn and the first Hierôn to Zeus at Olympia or to Apollôn himself at Pythô. There they made their vows for the success of the horses of Sicily before the eyes of the mightiest gatherings of the mother-land. And thither doubtless came the embassies of Dionysios himself, who swept away Naxos from the earth, but who spared the holy place of all Greek Sicily, embassies charged with perhaps more

The altar of Apollôn Archêgetês.

[1] Thuc. vi. 3; *Ἀπόλλωνος ἀρχηγέτου βωμὸν, ὅστις νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν, ἱδρύσαντο, ἐφ' ᾧ ὅταν ἐκ Σικελίας θεωροὶ πλέωσι, πρῶτον θύουσι.* App. Bell. Civ. v. 109; *ὁ δὲ Ἀρχηγέτης Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιόν ἐστιν, ὃ πρῶτον ἐστήσαντο Ναξίων οἱ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπῳκισμένοι.* The *ἀγαλμάτιον*, where one might rather have looked for a colossus, suggests that the lowly work of the first settlers had lived on to Appian's day.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

costly gifts to implore the blessing of the god of song and poetry on the efforts of the tyrant's muse in the theatre of Athens. Whatever may have been the exact spot, as we look down from the height of Tauros, we may be sure that at some point of that long sandy beach we see the place where the devotions of Hellenic Sicily were paid to that special god of Hellas who had given to his own Hellenès so fair a land to dwell in. CHAP. IV.

The Aphrodision.

Yet it is a little unpleasant to find from casual sources that hard by the sanctuary of the Hellenic Apollôn there arose a worship less pure, less strictly Hellenic, which proved no less abiding than his own. Hard by the image of the *Archêgetês*, nearer it would seem to the walls of the city, stood a house of Aphroditê, perhaps of Phœnician Ashtoreth, who at Naxos was fain to dwell on the flats by the sea, instead of her lofty homes at Corinth and at Eryx[1]. The presence of her worship, with its unclean ritual and symbolism[2], may strongly incline us to believe that, when Theoklês set foot on Naxos, the Canaanite was then in the land, and that the idols of Canaan here, as elsewhere, led away the hearts of the new settlers. The coinage of Naxos also commemorates a less noble worship than that of the pure god of Dêlos and Lykia. Not the head of Apollôn, but the head of Dionysos on the one side and the form of Seilênos on the other, are the badges of the first Sikeliot colony[3]. The coins of Naxos

Signs of Phœnician influence.

The coins of Naxos.

[1] The position of the Aphrodision is marked in the narrative of Appian just quoted. The younger Cæsar, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ Ταυρομένιον . . . . παρέπλει τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ὀνοβάλαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον, καὶ ὥρμισατο ἐς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην, Ναξίων τὸν θεόν. The Ὀνοβάλας must be the *fiumara* near the railway station, then would come the Aphrodision, and the statue of Apollôn nearer to Naxos.

[2] See Cluver, 92, 93, and Souidas in γερρά.

[3] Coins of Sicily, p. 118; Head, 139. Dionysos seems to be from the beginning, Seilênos to come afterwards. There are some heads of the Archêgetês with Seilênos at the back.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. begin as early as the sixth century before our æra, but that is a late date in the history of the short-lived city. We shall have a longer record to unfold, a longer list of coined forms, divine and human, to tell over, as we come, in the very next year after the birth of Naxos, to the great foundation of Corinth, Syracuse.

§ 2. *The Foundation of Syracuse*[1].

B.C. 734.

Syracuse the greatest of Sikeliot cities; of Greek colonies.

The second recorded Greek settlement in Sicily was destined to higher fortunes than any of its fellows. It was to be the foremost of all Greek cities in the island; it was to be the greatest in physical extent of all Greek cities throughout the world; it was to be for a while the greatest city, not only of Hellas but of Europe. At Syracuse, in the city itself and in its history, we see the highest point to which the Greek colony could rise. The greatness of Syracuse is essentially of the colonial kind. It is a greatness which could for a while outstrip the cities of old Greece in prosperity and splendour, but which was still a greatness essentially inferior in kind and less lasting in duration. The life of Syracuse indeed, as a

[1] There are several valuable monographs on Syracusan matters. There is, first of all, the treatise of Göller, *De Situ et Origine Syracusarum* (Leipzig, 1818). And we have Sir Edward Bunbury's article in the Dictionary of Geography. Of recent German writers, there is Schubring's *Achradina, ein Beitrag zur Stadtgeschichte von Syrakus* (Musäum für Philologie, xx. 15), his *Die Bewässerung von Syrakus* (Philologus, xxii. 577, 1865), which contains a great deal more than might be expected from the title, and several smaller pieces of the same author. There is the volume published by the Italian Government, *Topografia Archeologica di Siracusa* (Palermo, 1883), the joint work of F. Saverio Cavallari, Adolf Holm (who writes in Italian), and Cristoforo Cavallari, with the noble series of plans. The volume appears also in an "autorisierte deutsche Bearbeitung," as *Die Stadt Syrakus im Alterthum*, by Bernhard Lupus (Strassburg, 1887), who had already put forth a smaller piece under the same title (Strassburg, 1883). I have worked in some matter from my own Sicilian articles in Macmillan's Magazine, 1879.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

mere reckoning of years, has been singularly abiding and unbroken. Syracuse still remains an inhabited city, which has never been at any time, like so many of her fellows, swept away and set up again. Her characteristic feature is to be the greatest of Hellenic cities in the West. She, alone among the Greek cities west of the Hadriatic, kept up, from the beginning of Greek colonization to the decay of old Greek independence, a position in the Hellenic world at least equal to the greatest cities of old Greece. Other colonial Greek cities, eastern and western, were earlier in the race; but none kept so great a position for so long a time. The greatness of Sybaris and Milêtos was older than the greatness of Syracuse; but the greatness of Milêtos, the existence of Sybaris, came to an end in the age in which the greatness of Syracuse began. There can hardly be a doubt that the later Syracuse, the Syracuse of Dionysios and Timoleôn and the later Hierôn—in Syracusan history the tyrant, the deliverer, and the paternal king, must be thus strangely bracketed—was in extent the greatest of contemporary Greek cities, the greatest of contemporary European cities. Whether its actual area was or was not greater than that of Rome or Athens, it must certainly have been a longer journey from one end of the city to the other. At Syracuse, as at Babylon, it might be needful to tell her master that his city was taken at one end.

Her special position.

The greatest city of Europe.

And the historical position of Syracuse was fully equal to its physical extent. The recorded history of Syracuse must be quite equal in bulk to the recorded history of Athens. The political revolutions of Syracuse affected the world in general quite as much as the political revolutions of Athens did. Each city fulfilled a kindred mission at the two ends of the Grecian world. If Athens was the champion of Hellas against Persia, Syracuse was no less the champion of Hellas against Carthage. The

Comparison of Syracuse and Athens.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. greatest victories of each over their several barbarian enemies were won at the same time; men loved to say, truly or falsely, that they were won on the same day. Other Greek colonies were the seats of mighty commonwealths and mighty tyrannies, but no other colony was the seat of commonwealth or tyranny so mighty that its chief could, with some show of reason, claim to place his force on a level with the forces of Athens and Sparta put together. Akragas was counted among the great cities of Hellas; but Thêrôn would never have dared to boast, like Gelôn, that, if his troops found no place in the general muster of Hellas, the spring would be taken out of the Hellenic year. Athens is greater than Syracuse, not so much on account of any higher political or military position in the days of their common might—for the Athenian dominion over the Ægæan was after all a very short-lived thing—as in all those characters, political, intellectual, and artistic, which made Athens, not so much the greatest of Greek cities as the model Greek city, the most abiding of Greek cities. Athens was the foremost of Greek cities in a way which had little to do with her position as a politically ruling city. She gave the world the picture of a lawful and well-ordered democracy, while Syracuse was tossed to and fro between mobs, tyrants, and foreign deliverers. She had in her an intellectual life which kept her on as a free Greek city, the teacher of Greece and of the world, for ages after Syracuse had sunk to the rank of a provincial city of the Roman dominion. Syracuse was plundered by Verres the Prætor and by Constans the Emperor; but she never, as a free ally of Rome, chose Hadrian to her archon or Constantine to her general. Before the moral and intellectual greatness of Athens Syracuse seems as nothing. Athens has a place in the inner history of man which no other spot on earth can rival. But this should not lead us to forget that, in

Points of superiority in Athens.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

all those outward features and events which make up the sum of ordinary history, Syracuse was for some ages the peer of Athens. We are indeed tempted to look on Syracusan history as in some sort an appendage to Athenian history, because the page of Syracusan history which is likely to come first into our thoughts is the tale of the struggle between Athens and Syracuse as told by the historian of Athens. Of all the days in the long history of Syracuse, the days which first rush upon the mind are the day when the fleets of Athens and Syracuse met for the last time in the Great Harbour, the day when the remnant of the vanquished host of Athens set forth on its last weary and hopeless march.

Modern Athens and Syracuse.

In the present arrangements of Europe, Athens is the capital of a kingdom; Syracuse is but the head of a province, in that sense of the word in which *province* answers to *shire* or *department*. Athens may not rank high among modern capitals; but even among the cities of modern Sicily Syracuse can at most claim a place in the second rank. Among Greek colonies which still hold their place as modern cities, Syracuse yields in her own island to Messina and Catania; in Europe in general she yields yet more conspicuously to Naples and Marseilles. But none of these has a history to compare with the history of Syracuse. Marseilles can boast of some ages of prosperous wisdom, of general advance and well-being, against which Syracuse has nothing to set. But even the twofold wreath of Massaliot glory, the glory of the commonwealth that defied alike Cæsar and Charles of Anjou, cannot set her history—in many ages her lack of recorded history—against the long and stirring tale of Syracuse. And if, for many ages past, Marseilles and Naples have, as modern cities, thrown Syracuse utterly into the shade, yet for many ages Syracuse kept her unbroken position in the world in a way that was done by no other

Comparison with Naples and Marseilles;

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. colonial city of Hellas, by no colonial city of Phœnicia.

Gades; Gades has had a more unbroken prosperity than Syracuse, but she never held the position in the world which

Carthage. Syracuse once held. Carthage for a while outtopped Syracuse and the world; but Carthage has been twice swept from the earth, and the second time she was swept away for ever.

Syracuse the champion of Greek Sicily and of Europe. The special mission of Syracuse in the world's history was to be the Greek head of Sicily, and in that character to be the bulwark of Sicily and Europe against the enemies of Sicily and Europe. And this duty Syracuse went on for ages discharging under many forms. As an independent Greek city, whether under commonwealth, tyrant, or king —as the head of a Roman province—even as herself a Roman colony—as in the end the greatest Western possession of the Eastern Rome—this side of the history of Syracuse still went on. As long as Sicily remained a land of free Greek cities—as long as Roman conquest had made the island more thoroughly Greek than it had been before—as long again as it remained in any sense part of that elder world which was formed by the bringing together of Greek and Roman elements—so long did Syracuse remain the head of Greek Sicily, for many ages the head of all Sicily. Planted furthest to the south of all the great cities of Hellas, she received before all others the calling to be the champion of Hellas and of Europe against that barbarian enemy who came nearest to meeting the Greek on

Syracuse and Carthage. equal terms. The men of Syracuse beat back the Phœnician from their walls and harbours, and went on to smite him on his own soil. At last, after a life of more than sixteen centuries as a Greek, a Roman, a Christian, city,

Her conquest by the Saracens. A.D. 878. Syracuse had to endure at the hands of the wanderers from Arabia what she had never been called on to endure at the hands of the wanderers from old Phœnicia. Mahomet could win what had been denied to Moloch, and the greatest

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

colony of Greece, the abiding outpost of Rome, at last bowed to a Semitic master. Having once failed in her special mission, the city sank from her high estate; she never again became the head of Sicily in any later state of things. After spreading herself so as to be the greatest city of Europe, she shrank back, as we see her in our own days, within the narrow bounds of her first foundation. When Sicily ceased to be Greek, Roman, or Christian, the headship of Sicily passed away from the city of the Greek to the city of the Phœnician. Nor, when Sicily again became Christian, but hardly to be called Greek or Roman, did the headship of Syracuse come back to her. Panormos remained the ruling seat of the Norman, as it had been the ruling seat of the Saracen. To Syracuse there remained only the memory of the days of her Greek and Roman greatness.

Never recovers.

Supplanted by Palermo.

The greatness of Syracuse then was, first that of an independent Greek colony, then that of a Greek city under Roman dominion. Syracusan history carries out in their fulness the general characteristics of Sicilian history. Less strictly the meeting-place of the nations than Panormos, Syracuse was for ages, as long indeed as Sikeliot independence lasted, more distinctly their battle-field. Syracuse was ever called on, not always to defend herself, for she was often the aggressor, but to maintain her position against enemies of many kinds. Sometimes she was merely the champion of Syracuse herself against the Sikel yet abiding in his own land, or against the Greek of another race who had made his way into the land alongside of her. Sometimes, in her warfare with Carthage, she rose to the highest place of all, as the champion of Hellas and of Europe. And at one memorable stage of her history she stood forth in an intermediate character, as the champion of Greek Sicily as a whole against invasion from old Greece. This last relation brings us back to the

Her defence against various enemies;

Carthage;

Athens.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. essentially colonial character of the history of Syracuse. As a colony, she is the model colony, the model of abiding friendship to the mother-city; child and parent are always alike ready to help the other in time of need. The relations between Syracuse and Corinth form at all times the most pleasing and the most instructive picture in the whole range of the history of colonies. But besides this, the whole position of Syracuse is colonial. It is so even when she is the greatest city of Hellas, the head of the greatest power of Hellas. There is ever a certain relation to the mother-land, a relation of dependence, though not necessarily of political dependence. And something like political dependence does come in when Syracuse, unable to defend herself, sometimes against her own tyrants, sometimes against barbarian enemies, welcomes a series of deliverers from the elder Greek lands. We see that, after all, the history of Syracuse, the greatness of Syracuse, is not so strictly independent as that of Sparta and Athens. In the history of Syracuse, as of all Greek Sicily, we never forget old Greece. In the history of old Greece we may often forget Syracuse and Sicily.

Her relations to her metropolis;

her history essentially colonial.

Syracuse a colony of Corinth.

The great fact in the life of Syracuse, the fact which no Syracusan ever forgot, the fact which her children made matter of boasting down to the latest days of her independent being[1], was that she was a colony of Corinth. Not the eldest of Greek cities in Sicily, she was the eldest of Dorian cities in Sicily and in the whole West[2]. The tale of her foundation is told us at much greater length

The oldest Dorian city in Sicily.

[1] This comes out nowhere better than in the well-known lines of Theokritos, xv. 90;

πασάμενος πόττασσε· Συρακοσίαις ἐπιτάσσεις;
ὡς εἰδῇς καὶ τοῦτο, Κορίνθιαι εἰμὲς ἄνωθεν,
ὡς καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφῶν· Πελοποννασιστὶ λαλεῦμες·
δωρίσδεν δ' ἔξεστι δοκῶ ταῖς Δωριέεσσι.

[2] See Appendix XVI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

than the tale of the foundation of Naxos. Besides the light which the story throws on the beginnings of the colonial policy of Corinth, it gives us a precious, though not a pleasing, glimpse of the inner political and social life of the city in those early times. It is plain that the enterprise of Theoklês must have fallen in with a predominant vein of Corinthian thought at the time. The city of the two havens must already have had its mind turned towards colonial enterprise in the West. That the more distant Chalkidian had stepped in before her, that the first-fruits of Western settlement could no longer be hers, would be felt as a further spur towards seizing with all speed whatever might be had of what was left. The Corinthian enterprise followed almost at once on the Chalkidian enterprise, in the very next year according to our chronology[1]. It is the more likely therefore to have been the carrying out of a scheme already planned. The Corinthian settlements in Sicily and those on the western coasts of Greece and Epeiros were all parts of one system, and the two greatest were the first, and founded by a single effort. A single expedition from Corinth founded Korkyra and Syracuse. The two plantations, distant as they were, formed natural parts of one scheme. The planting of a colony in Sicily was in those days a bold venture[2]. While navigation was done along the coasts, the path from Greece to Sicily lay by the Epeirot and Italian shore. Korkyra was ever a central point on the voyage, a frequent meeting-place for ships from various parts of Greece. To occupy such a point on the way to the more distant settlement was a wise policy. Of the settlers therefore who set forth from Corinth to find new homes in the West, one detachment under Chersikratês stopped in the long and

Story of her foundation.

Corinthian enterprise. B. C. 734.

Joint foundation of Korkyra and Syracuse.

[1] Thuc. vi. 3. See Appendix XVI.

[2] Strabo, viii. 20; ἦν δὲ ὥσπερ ὁ πορθμὸς οὐκ εὔπλους ὁ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν τὸ παλαιόν.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

Korkyra and Koryphô.

narrow Liburnian island which men had already learned to look on as the Scheriê of Homer [1]. There they laid the foundations of Korkyra, not Koryphô with its twin heights, but the elder city on the forsaken peninsula to the south of them [2]. The other, the more daring, party sailed on to begin the yet greater foundation of Syracuse in the yet more tempting land of the Sikel.

Story of Archias and Aktaiôn.

This leader was Archias, son of Evagetês, and the choice of him as a leader for the expedition, as a founder for the new city, shows that the worthiest were not always chosen for such purposes. The house of the Bacchiads, the kingly house from which kings had passed away, still ruled in Corinth, and Archias was a leading member of the ruling house [3]. There then dwelled at Melissa, a village of the Corinthian territory, a man who, if we accept the tale, must, like Gelôn and others, have taken his name from his birth-place and dwelling-place, Melissos son of Abrôn. Abrôn, a man of Argeian birth, had won himself a welcome on Corinthian soil by good service done to the Corinthian state. The son of Melissos, Aktaiôn, was a youth of remarkable beauty and no less remarkable good conduct. The vices of the East, unknown to the heroes of Homer, had by this time made their way into Greece, and the beauty of Aktaiôn fired the passions of Archias. When persuasion failed, he took to force; at the head of his friends and slaves, in the guise of revelry [4], he burst into the house of Melissos and strove to carry off his son. The neighbours came to the help of Melissos, and in the

Origin of Melissos.

Death of Aktaiôn.

[1] Μακρίς, as a name of Korkyra, comes from the Scholiast on Apollônios, iv. 983, where we have the legend of another δρέπανον apart from Zanklê. See more in the opening pages of an unfinished volume *Delle Cose Corciresi*, Corfù, 1848. And I have said a word or two in my little volume, Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice. See Appendix XIII.

[2] Subject and Neighbour Lands, p. 353.

[3] See Appendix XVI.

[4] Plut. Am. Narr. 2; ἐπεκώμασεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μελίσσου. Cf. the Cretan practice described by Strabo, x. 4. 21.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

struggle the lad, pulled one way and the other, died. The father bore the dead body into the *agora* of Corinth, and there called on the people for vengeance against them that had done the deed. Pity he found in abundance; but against a Bacchiad, a chief of the Bacchiads, justice could not be had. The Isthmian Games came round. In the sight of assembled Corinth and assembled Hellas, Melissos went up to the temple of Poseidôn; he told the tale of the good service of his father Abrôn; he told of the return which he had met with from the Bacchiads; then, once more calling on the gods, he threw himself down on the rocks below. The vengeance of the gods slumbered not; drought and plague came on the land; envoys, Archias among them, were sent to consult Apollôn, and the answer was that the wrath of their own Poseidôn was on them, and that it would not pass away till the death of Aktaiôn was atoned for[1]. CHAP. IV. Curse of Melissos. The oracle.

This tale may be legendary in its shape; but there is no reason to doubt that it preserves a genuine tradition. It gives us a glimpse of the inner working of a Greek oligarchy, worse than a tyranny in this, that not a single man, but a whole *gens*, bore itself as greater than the law. But we can hardly accept the finish of the tale, which stands baldly thus; "Archias, hearing these things, of his own will went back no more to Corinth, but sailed to Sicily and founded Syracuse[2]." The self-banishment of Archias might possibly be taken as atonement for his crime, a crime which after all, ugly as it was in other ways, was not the deed of a wilful murderer. But the foundation of Syracuse was certainly not, as it seems in this version, his own private enterprise. We cannot doubt that Archias and Chersikratês alike went forth on their joint errand in the name of the Corinthian city with the full authority of founders. In his character of contemplated Archias at Delphoi.

[1] See Appendix XVI.

[2] See Appendix XVI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. founder, Archias again consults Apollôn; he now receives an oracle of altogether another kind from the gloomy answer which only denounced vengeance for Aktaiôn. This time he is told plainly enough what he is to do and whither he is to go. The Pythia bids him guide his settlement to the isle of Ortygia which lies in the sea above Trinakia, where the mouth of Alpheios mingles with the fount of Arethousa [1]. The language of this oracle may perhaps be thought to savour of days when the site of Syracuse was better known to the Greeks of old Greece than it could have been in the days of Archias, of days when the full crop of Hellenic legend had grown round its shores. Another alleged oracle might seem to point to the foundation of Syracuse as part of a yet wider plan than that which planted it as the fellow-colony of Korkyra. It appears as a plan in which Corinth does not stand alone. Archias and the Achaian Myskellos consult the god at the same moment as to their contemplated settlements in the West. The choice is given between health and wealth, and Archias chooses wealth at Syracuse rather than health at Krotôn [2]. It would need a strong faith in the god who presided at once over medicine and prophecy to accept this clear reference to the medical fame of Krotôn as other than a prediction after the fact. And those who know Syracuse only in other months than those when its swamps slew the myriads of Himilkôn may be inclined

The oracle.

Other oracles and stories.

Myskellos.

Syracuse and Krotôn.

[1] Pausanias, v. 7. 3;

> Ὀρτυγίη τις κεῖται ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ.
> Τρινακίης καθύπερθεν, ἵν' Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα βλύζει,
> μισγόμενον πηγαῖς εὐρυτείης Ἀρεθούσης.

I quote from Schubart's text, Leipzig, 1875, where the word is Τρινακίης. So it is quoted by Lupus, p. 61, and Holm (Topografia, p. 145). In the old edition of Kuhn (Leipzig, 1596) it is Θρινακίης. Which did Pausanias write?

[2] Strabo, vi. 4. 2; ἐρέσθαι τὸν θεὸν πότερον αἱροῦνται πλοῦτον ἢ ὑγίειαν. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀρχίαν ἑλέσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, Μύσκελλον δὲ τὴν ὑγίειαν· τῷ μὲν δὴ Συρακούσας δοῦναι κτίζειν, τῷ δὲ Κρότωνα.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

to doubt whether the whole Krotoniat faculty, whether Asklêpios himself, could do more to bring back the waning health and strength of man than the life-giving air of Achradina and Epipolai. CHAP. IV.

Megarian legend.

Lastly there is yet another tale, in which there is no mention of an oracle, but which implies, contrary to all other witnesses, that the Dorians of Megara had forestalled those of Corinth in Sicilian settlement. We see Archias on his voyage, by the Zephyrian point, falling in with certain men who had come from the Sicilian Megara, and taking them with him to share in his enterprise[1]. And we see another version out of which both of these seem to have grown, to which there is no objection to be made from the side of Syracuse, however little it is suited to stand the test of Krotoniat chronology. In this the founder of Krotôn and the founder of Syracuse consult the god independently, and receive answers neither of which has any reference to the other. But the two meet on their voyage; after Archias and Chersikratês have parted, Archias and Myskellos continue their course together. So far from the old homes of each, the jealousies of Dorian and Achaian are forgotten, and Archias does not begin to found his own Syracuse till he has lent a helping hand to Myskellos in the foundation of Krotôn[2]. The real value of all such tales is simply as pointing to the great impulse towards settlement in the West which was then coming over the sea-faring cities of Greece. But while we see the greatness of the commission with which Archias was charged, there is nothing to hinder us from accepting the general tale of Archias and Aktaiôn. We may still believe that, after Aktaiôn's death, the guilty Bacchiad remained a marked and unpopular man, for whom the ruling oligarchs found

Archias and Myskellos.

[1] See Appendix XVI.

[2] See Appendix XVI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. it expedient to provide an honourable excuse for leaving Corinth.

Syracuse and Korkyra.

That Korkyra and Syracuse were thus twin-sisters is one of the most memorable facts in the whole history of colonies and mother-cities. Among the colonies of Corinth, among the colonies of all Hellas, while Syracuse stands forth as the model colony, while Corinth, in her relations to Syracuse, stands forth as the model metropolis, the tale

Enmity of Corinth and Korkyra.

of Corinth and Korkyra is one of undying bitterness and hate. Now and then the received relations of metropolis and colony prove too strong for these special passions. When Korkyra founds Epidamnos, she fetches, according to Greek colonial use, the founder of the new settlement from Corinth [1]. And, what concerns us more, we shall more than once see Corinth and Korkyra stepping in together for the protection of Syracuse [2]. But these are exceptions to the general rule of abiding enmity. The first recorded sea-fight in Greek history was fought between the fleets of Korkyra and Corinth [3]. The quarrels between the mother and the child were one of the occasions which led to the great strife between Athens and Sparta; their quarrels go on during its whole length; we shall come to a day when the forces of Corinth come to the help of Syracuse and the forces of Korkyra appear among her besiegers [4].

Relations of Corinth to her colonies.

The cause of the difference is not far to seek. It is plain that Corinth looked to her colonies in general, and specially to Korkyra, as bound to pay her somewhat more than the honorary reverence due from the colony to its metropolis. The Corinthian settlements off the western shores of Greece and Epeiros were evidently founded for the systematic promotion of Corinthian ends, which required the colonies

[1] Thuc. i. 24. [2] Herod. vii. 154; Plut. Tim. 8. [3] Thuc. i. 13.
[4] Thuc. vii. 57, with his comment; also vii. 44.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

to be, if not subjects, at least dependencies, of the mother-city. The first sea-fight between the two can hardly fail to have been waged in a Korkyraian War of Independence. When Corinth was mighty under tyrants, we see the under-tyrant of Korkyra as a person with a very distinct being[1]; we get a fainter glimpse of the under-tyrant of Ambrakia[2]. In later days, in other parts of the colonial world, we find colonies of Corinth to which, even after they became dependencies of Athens, the mother-city still yearly sent out magistrates[3]. In the great pleading of Korkyra against her metropolis the rule is laid down that a colonial city was not the subject, but the equal, of the mother-commonwealth[4]. It is because Corinth has not followed this rule towards Korkyra that Korkyraian feeling is so strong against her. All this shows that the policy of Corinth was to assert, wherever she could, some measure of supremacy, differing perhaps according to time and place, over her nearer colonies[5]. Korkyra was free; but she was free by no good will of her metropolis, but because she had made herself free by her own strength. Syracuse too was free, but by the good will of her parent. She lay outside the general range of Corinthian settlement; she was too far off to make it possible for Corinth to hold her as a dependency, and the attempt, it is clear, was never made. Therefore between Corinth and Korkyra we see

Contrast with Syracuse.

[1] Herod. iii. 52, 53.

[2] Arist. Pol. v. 4, 9, 10, 16. This Periandros is surely a kinsman of him of Corinth.

[3] As Potidaia in Thucydides, i. 56. See above, p. 299. Cf. the position of Molykrion in iii. 102.

[4] Thuc. i. 34; *μαθόνταν ὡς πᾶσα ἀποικία εὖ μὲν πάσχουσα τιμᾷ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἀλλοτριοῦται· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοῖοι τοῖς λειπομένοις εἶναι ἐκτέμπονται.*

[5] Ambrakia and Leukas seem often to act as perfectly independent states. Cf. among other cases the treaty between Ambrakia and Akarnania, Thucydides iii. 114. But directly after we read, *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κορίνθιοι φυλακὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀμπρακίαν ἀπέστειλαν*, which, under the circumstances, looks like the act of a superior.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. the worst side of the relation between metropolis and colony, the worst side of the relation between independent city-commonwealths of any kind. Between Corinth and Syracuse we see the best side. We shall presently see that Syracuse herself did not fully learn the lesson. The tale of Syracuse and Kamarina is the tale of Corinth and Korkyra once more[1]. But between Corinth and Syracuse the picture is perfect at all times. Because Syracuse never needed a War of Independence to make her free, the parent was ever ready to help the child and the child to help the parent; down to the last days of her freedom the folk of Syracuse remained proud of their Corinthian origin and of the Corinthian name[2].

Syracuse and Kamarina.

Lack of details as to the foundation of colonies.

It would be a gain indeed to our knowledge, not only of this or that spot or people, but of the general history of mankind, if we could be admitted to see in detail the growth of any one colonial settlement of Greek or Phœnician days in the same way in which we can trace the early stages of not a few settlements of later times. We would fain be admitted to the acquaintance of the Smiths, the Bradfords, and the Winthrops, of Syracuse or of any other settlement in our story[3]. We would fain see the exact steps by which a Greek city in a foreign land came into being, a city for the most part founded in a land already inhabited, and which, in the case of eastern Sicily at least, was certainly not founded in a land of mere savages. How, we at once ask, did Archias and his followers deal with those whom they found on the site which was to be Syracuse? What, we would fain know,

[1] Thuc. vi. 5. We shall come to these relations in full in the next Chapter.

[2] See above, p. 334, note 1.

[3] I am writing with Mr. Doyle's Puritan Colonies beside me. I can never think of America without something suggesting Sicily, or of Sicily without something suggesting America.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

was the state and aspect of such a newly founded city, say at the end of a year or two from its first founding? How far had the civic life of Corinth begun to repeat itself on Sicilian soil? The amazing speed with which some of these colonial cities sprang to a prosperity outstripping that of the cities of the motherland seems to show that the first steps to greatness on the part of Syracuse or Sybaris or Akragas must have been at once speedy and sure. But we are seldom allowed to know more than the most general results. A city arose; a greater or smaller district around it formed its territory; that territory was parcelled out, partly as the *folkland* of the new commonwealth, partly as the private estates of its citizens. As to the details of the process by which this result was brought about, we are commonly left in darkness. We are thankful when we have so much as some legendary tale to guide us.

Foundation of Syracuse.

At Syracuse we have not so much as a legend of the actual settlement. We have tales of the setting forth and of the voyage, but none of the landing on Sicilian soil. Nor have we any notice, such as we do get in some cases, of the class of people out of whom the colonists of Syracuse chiefly came. Was it want or political discontent or love of adventure which led men to forsake their own city for what must then have seemed a settlement at the ends of the earth? All that we hear is a tradition here and there, which may well be genuine, but which tells us little. The settlers are said to have come largely from the village of Tenea in the Corinthian territory, a place which had legends of its own apart from those of Corinth and which, in the latest days of Corinthian independence, was said to have separated its fate from that of the ruling city[1]. This might look

Who were the emigrants.

Settlers from Tenea.

[1] Strabo, viii. 6. 22; Ἡ Τενέα ἐστὶ κώμη τῆς Κορινθίας, ἐν ᾗ τοῦ Τενεάτου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀρχίᾳ τῷ στείλαντι τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀποικίαν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐποίκων ἐντεῦθεν συνεπακολουθῆσαι. He goes on to mention their adhesion to the Romans in the time of Mummius,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

as if some at least of the settlers were led beyond the sea by local grievances, by the hope of finding in another land a higher political state than they held at home under the dominion of the city and its oligarchic rulers. Nor is such a suggestion cast aside by the fact that the settlers went out under a Bacchiad leader and that they had other Bacchiads among them. Still less is it set aside by the fact that they cherished in so eminent a degree the usual love and reverence of a Greek colony for its metropolis. A common enterprise, a common settlement, levels many distinctions. Normans and English soon forgot their own differences when they had to fight against the Briton. And Archias himself, whatever were his offences in other ways, is shown by the result to have been a man not lacking in the gifts by which cities and nations are called into being. But of the few personal stories connected with the settlement of Syracuse there is one which sets before us its founder as coming to an end singularly fitting after his first recorded beginning. He dies by the practice of another favourite, Têlephos by name, whom he has taken with him into Sicily as master of his own ship[1]. Among the few other recorded settlers is the Bacchiad Eumêlos, one of the latest of the line of cyclic poets, who joined the enterprise in his old age[2]. We hear too a strange tale of a certain Aithiops, a follower of Archias, a reckless man, who

Levelling tendencies of a colony.

Story of the death of Archias.

The poet Eumêlos.

Story of Aithiops.

which may be connected with the further report of Pausanias (ii. 5. 4); *οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποί φασιν οἱ ταύτῃ Τρῶες εἶναι, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐκ Τενέδου γενόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ἀγαμέμνονος δόντος οἰκῆσαι.* Thus we may haply have Greek Trojans at this corner of Sicily to match those of Segesta and Eryx at the other.

[1] Plut. Am. Narr. 2; *ὑπὸ τοῦ Τηλέφου δολοφονεῖται, ὃς ἐγεγόνει μὲν αὐτοῦ παιδικά, νεὼς δὲ ἀφηγούμενος, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σικελίαν.* The context and the whole story shows that this does not mean that Têlephos killed him on the voyage.

[2] The mention of Eumêlos comes from Clement of Alexandria (Stromata, i. 21. 131), who does not quote his authority; *Εὔμηλος δ' ὁ Κορίνθιος, πρεσβύτερος ὤν, ἐπιβεβληκέναι Ἀρχίᾳ τῷ Συρακούσας κτίσαντι.* I do not quite see the force of *ἐπιβεβληκέναι*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

so little valued his allotted share in the lands that were to be divided in Sicily that he bartered it for a honey-cake on the voyage[1]. This tale at least shows that the settlement was made in a methodical way, with a list drawn up beforehand of those Corinthian citizens who were minded to take part in it. And so few details do we find of the whole enterprise that we should be glad even of more such stories as that of Aithiops, if we knew where to look for them. CHAP. IV.

Choice of the site.

One point on which we should gladly welcome more knowledge is whether the site of Syracuse was the choice of Archias himself or was fixed on in obedience to orders from home. A settlement in Sicily was doubtless decreed; but had the founder and his fellows a free choice among all the inviting points of the Sicilian coasts? We must remember that we are not dealing with Athens or Corinth in the days of the Peloponnesian war, but with a Greek city in a much earlier stage, when navigation was timid and when distant lands were imperfectly known. Chersikratês, we may be sure, was bidden to settle in Korkyra and Archias to settle in Sicily; but the choice of the spot was most likely left to themselves. Both chose well; Archias chose for ever. The Korkyra of Chersikratês stands forsaken beside the Koryphô of a later age; the later city has simply stepped into the position of the elder. The island where he settled has, singularly enough for an island of such a size, never had more than one city, and that city has always given its name to the island. It was Korkyra; it is, in various forms, Koryphô. The practical identity of the city is hardly lost, notwithstanding its change of site. But the

Korkyra and Syracuse.

[1] Athen. iv. 63; *τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο καὶ Αἰθίοψ ὁ Κορίνθιος, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος, οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀρχίλοχος. ὑπὸ φιληδονίας γὰρ καὶ ἀκρασίας καὶ οὗτος, μετ' Ἀρχίου πλέων εἰς Σικελίαν, ὅτ' ἔμελλε κτίζειν Συρακούσας, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συσσίτῳ μελιττούντης ἀπέδοτο τὸν κλῆρον, ὃν ἐν Συρακούσαις λαχὼν ἔμελλεν ἕξειν.* One is reminded of Esau and Jacob. The story must mean that he sold it on the voyage.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. Choice of Archias.

Syracuse of Archias itself abides; it is preeminently the Syracuse of Archias that does abide. His settlement swelled into the greatest city of Sicily, of Hellas, and of Europe. It has shrunk up again within the bounds which Archias traced out in the days of the first settlement.

Character of the coast.

The site of Syracuse—of the name we shall speak presently—is one which marked the city out for greatness. Where Archias landed the Sicilian coast makes some faint approach to the character of the older Hellenic land [1]. Peninsulas and small islands are more abundant and more important than usual, and the colony of Corinth was planted at a point among them where it might not only be a haven of the sea, but where it might have a haven of the sea on each side of it. The chief feature of the coast at the point where Syracuse was to be planted is an inlet of the sea of a size and character to which it is hard to give a name. If we speak of it as a gulf or bay, it is small; if we speak of it as a haven, it is vast indeed. The mouth which opens into it from the main sea seems narrow if we think of it as a bay, wide if we think of it as a haven. But it is as a haven that it has received its historic name. In a long tale of stirring scenes it has played its part as the Great Harbour of Syracuse. It is a mighty basin of nearly a round shape, whose waters are ever smoother than those of the outer sea, so smooth sometimes as barely to remind the gazer that he is looking on no inland lake, but on an arm of the great sea of Europe, Africa, and Asia. It is a haven, but a haven which looks as if it might shelter the navies of the world, a haven in which in truth great fleets have lain at anchor, in which they have fought for life and death for the dominion of Sicily and of more than Sicily. In a distant and general view the Great Harbour seems to be fenced in with hills; not indeed peaks of jagged outline like those which fence in the plain of Panormos, but long

The two havens.

The Great Harbour.

[1] See above, p. 65.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ranges ending in steep bluffs which easily call up the thought of the ranges of kindred formation in the West of England. Only the Sicilian hills, whether higher or lower than their British fellows, are far more bare and rugged. The limestone on the hills—and on the plain too—is ever coming to the surface; craggy sides, hardly known on Cotswold or on Mendip, save where the deep combes run inland, are the rule on the Syracusan heights. But no hill really comes down to the shore of the harbour. To the south it is parted from the open sea by the low isthmus of a peninsula which itself grows into a hill, rocky, but of no great height. Under the name of Plêmmyrion, given to it from the waves that break upon it[1], it forms the southern horn or pillar of the entrance of the Great Harbour. To the west a long stretch of low ground, most of it very low and marshy, parts the harbour from the nearest hill-ranges. The west coast of the harbour itself is divided into two bays by a projecting point, a miniature promontory, steep and rugged, with abundance of loose rocks in front of it. At this point, the point of Daskôn, now Caderini[2], the character of the coast changes. South of Daskôn, in the bay of its own name, the coast of the harbour is for a considerable way steep and rocky. It sinks again with the low isthmus on the south side. North of Daskôn the shore of the harbour is flat and marshy, and the great swamps that stretch inland are crossed by the river Anapos and its tributary Kyana, which joins it from the southern side.

CHAP. IV.

The hills.

Plêmmyrion.

Daskôn.

The Anapos and the swamps.

This bay or harbour or inland sea is only the greatest of

[1] Πλημύριον, Πλημμύριον, seems plainly to come from πλημυρίς or πλημμυρίς. Virgil (Æn. iii. 693) describes the position, and refers to the meaning of the name;

"Sicanio prætenta sinu jacet insula contra
Plemyrium undosum."

[2] For Δάσκων is clearly the point of land in Thuc. vi. 65. It might be so in Diod. xiv. 72, 73, and cf. c. 63; but in Diod. xiii. 13 we distinctly see τὸν κόλπον τὸν Δάσκωνα καλούμενον.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. The hill of Syracuse.

several neighbouring bays and inlets, divided from each other by peninsulas, low or lofty. The ground which stands between the Great Harbour and the nearest sea to the north of it is the great physical feature which has made Syracuse. Here, north both of the Great Harbour itself and of the low ground to the west of it, a hill of the usual character in this region, a range lower than most of its neighbours, a limestone rock raised on an older volcanic basement, runs east and west. Its eastern face rises sheer from the open sea. The rest rises from low ground on both sides. On the south is the low ground to the west of the Great Harbour; to the north is another flat which lies between the huge wall of Thymbris and the Megarian bay. Here our hill looks down on the lesser fellows of the Great Harbour and on the lower points of land which divide them. The bay of Trôgilos is sheltered to the north by the low peninsula of Thapsos[1] and its yet lower isthmus. Another bay is formed between Thapsos and the more marked peninsula of Xiphonia, the site of Frederick's Augusta[2]. Between the plains and the waters on both sides, the hill rises, gradually but not steadily, to the west. Its northern and southern sides also trend together towards the same point, so as to give the whole hill the shape of a long triangle. The sharp westward point of this triangle is joined by a narrow neck of ground to what we may call another smaller hill. This last point, now known as Belvedere, the extreme western point of the whole range, takes the shape of a tor rising boldly above the plain. The limestone of the hill is craggy, both on sides and surface. In many parts it is hollowed by natural caves, and by the burial-places of the Sikel and the Greek.

Its geological formation.

North side of the hill.

West end of the hill.

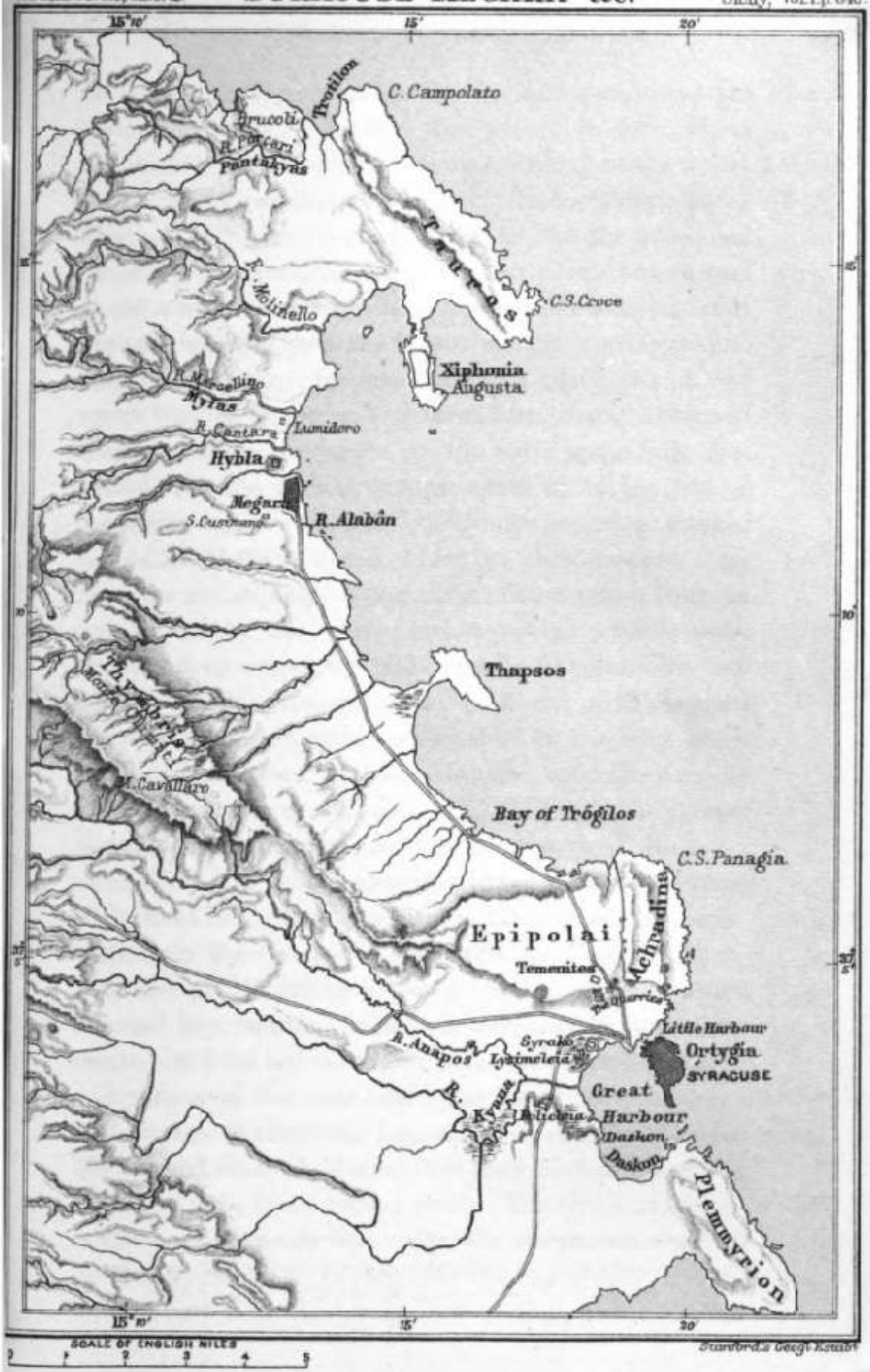
[1] Thapsos, now Magnisi. See Thuc. vi. 4. In. c. 97 he describes it; *ἔστι δὲ χερσόνησος μὲν ἐν στενῷ ἰσθμῷ προύχουσα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, τῆς δὲ Συρακοσίων πόλεως οὔτε πλοῦν οὔτε ὁδὸν πολλὴν ἀπέχει.*

[2] See Appendix XIX.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Clarendon Press, Oxford.

SYRACUSE MEGARA &c.



Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Its height and steepness greatly varies. Sometimes the cliff rises nearly sheer from the plain; in some places it sinks to a mere slope; at the most striking points it rises in two stages, sometimes more, with terraces between them. Tiers of cliff rise over tiers of cliff, like the aisles and clerestory of a great church. This is well marked on part of the south side, where the lower terrace makes an intermediate level between the height and the marshy ground near the harbour. In some parts it is much fainter, and where the line of the harbour turns from mainly north and south to mainly east and west, the lower range fails altogether, and the marshy ground comes up to the foot of the higher range. But the double range is perhaps marked best of all at the east end, where the cliffs that rise sheer from the sea are only a lower range, but rough and jagged and fretted by the waves, broken up into endless caves running deep among the rocks, and further burrowed into by the tombs of primæval races. This end of the hill has but few points of access. But there is one deep gorge in the eastern face, with two isolated rocks keeping its mouth, and one or two less marked inlets. And there is another deeper gorge in that small part of the north side of the hill which also rises sheer from the waters. This is at the point corruptedly called Santa *Bonagia*, more truly the *Panagia* of the days when Christian Syracuse had not forgotten her own tongue. Here we have a small bay, opening inland into a deep and winding combe; and the hill is cleft in other and inland points by rocky passes of the same kind. The hill of Syracuse is not high enough to allow such long valleys of cliffs as pierce the less rugged sides of Mendip, the truer Sicilian fellows of which are to be found further south. Yet even here, to one familiar with the British range, the comparison suggests itself every moment. In each alike the wall of hill, a natural barrier, rises from the low ground by the waters. To the

CHAP. IV.

Terraces.

Point of Santa Bonagia.

Comparison with Mendip.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. low ground by the Great Harbour the hill seems indeed a barrier, fencing off the world to the north, whose being is suggested only by Thymbris stretching away from its southern bluff and by the snowy balk of Ætna rising in solitary greatness above all. Memorable indeed in the history of Sicily and the world has been that long and rocky hill over which advancing Syracuse spread itself step by step. For the hill as a whole it is hard to find a name; in Syracusan history it comes in piecemeal, made up of quarters

Epipolai. each of which has a name of its own. But the western part of it at least was known on Syracusan lips as *Epipolai* [1], and the name speaks its purpose and history. It was no akropolis of a city lying at its foot; it was the upland, the hill above, the hill rising above or sloping down to a lower spot which gives the hill its character and meaning. The hill of Syracuse is somewhat; but the island at its foot is more.

The *Island.* In Syracusan topography the word *Island* is name enough; even in Latin writers it keeps its Doric shape of *Nasos* [2]. That Island is the kernel and cradle of Syracusan history. It is the oldest city and the newest. It is the first settlement of Archias before Syracuse became mighty; and now that Syracuse has ceased to be mighty, it is all that remains to be the local capital of a province of the kingdom on the mainland. The shape of the hill, while at its east end it rises sheer from the sea, leaves a wide piece of flat ground to the south of its western part. To this low ground the Island is an appendage. An island it was, by the general consent of all witnesses, at the time of the Corinthian settlement [3], and an island it has become again.

[1] See Appendix XVII.

[2] Livy, xxv. 24; "Insula, quam ipsi *Naxon* vocant." That is, the Latins took down the true native forms from the lips of the inhabitants, *Nasos*, *Messana*, *Corcyra*. This sometimes startles those who are used only to the high-polite Attic.

[3] Nothing can be clearer than the notice in Thucydides, vi. 3; ἡ νῆσος

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

But so many changes have been made at so many times, the channel has been so often filled up with a dam or yoked with a bridge, that it is not easy to say what were the original relations of land and water at the point where the mainland and the island come nearest together. But something projects from the mainland which we are tempted to call an isthmus, and which suggests that, in some earlier state of things, the island may have been a peninsula, like Plêmmyrion, Thapsos, and Xiphonia. It is certain that the sea has advanced, both on the east side of the island itself and on both sides of the lower ground, towards the Great Harbour and also towards the open sea. Rows of scattered rocks which the waves have eaten away from the shore, signs of occupation even on rocks which are now covered by the waters, tell their own tale. The Lesser Harbour of Syracuse, the harbour known as *Lakkios*[1], lying between the mainland, the isthmus, and the island, seems to have once had a narrower mouth than it has now[2]. The island itself lies nearly at right angles to the hill. Far lower than the hill, but higher than the low ground between them, the greater part of the island consists of a ridge sloping down to the water on each side, east and west. As soon as it is set free from the channel, isthmus, mole, bridge, which has at any time joined it to, or parted it from, the mainland, it widens, and, before the sea cut it short to the east, it was wider still. Then it narrows; in its southern part, where, in fellowship with the peninsula of Plêmmyrion, it watches over the

CHAP. IV.

The Little Harbour.

ἐν ᾗ νῦν οἰκέτι περικλυζομένη ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐντός ἐστιν. Of the various artificial changes which have taken place we shall speak afterwards.

[1] The name Λάκκιος comes from Diodôros, xiv. 7. The two havens are well marked by Ovid, Met. v. 407;

"Et qua Bacchiadæ bimari gens orta Corintho,
Inter inæquales posuerunt mœnia portus."

[2] This seems plain from the appearances of the rocks. The sea has clearly encroached. See Topografia, 28; Lupus, 25.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. mouth of the Great Harbour, it becomes narrow indeed, and ends in a small part trending to the east. As the only part of Syracuse which is now covered with buildings, buildings so often shining white in the Sicilian sunlight, the Island holds a place in the general view quite beyond its real size. On the map we see how small it is as compared, not only with the hill as a whole, but with some of the divisions into which the hill was, in the progress of settlement, parcelled out. Of the many cities which grew to make up the mighty whole of Syracuse[1], the city on the Island was not the greatest. Yet it was the head and centre of all. The Island is physically a satellite of the hill; yet the hill followed the fortunes of the Island, not the Island the fortunes of the hill. The life of the Island was older than the life of the hill; it has also been the more lasting.

Position of the Island.

Choice of the site.

The choice of the Island for a settlement, and its relation to the height that rises above it, mark how far the Greek settlers in Sicily had advanced beyond the earlier choice of sites, both in Greece and elsewhere. It was not by chance that the founder of Naxos had planted his colony all but in the sea, with the waves round it on every side but one. Archias went a step further; he planted his colony in the sea itself. Syracuse, like Corinth, has two havens; yet the site of the colony is a contrast indeed to the site of the mother-city. There is nothing at Syracuse answering to the great stronghold of Corinth, the height of Akrokorinthos. There is nothing answering even to such a lowlier akropolis as that of Athens. It is a peculiarity in the topographical nomenclature of Syracuse that the word

No akropolis of Syracuse.

Misuse of the name.

[1] Four in Cicero, Verres, iv. 53. Five in Strabo, vi. 2. Does the phrase *μεγαλοπόλιες ὦ Συράκοσαι* in Pindar (Pyth. ii. 1) refer to the beginning of this process under Gelôn, or is it simply "Syracuse that great city"? In Pyth. vii. 1 we have *αἱ μεγαλοπόλιες Ἀθᾶναι*, which it would be a little forced to apply to the *συνοίκισις* of Attica, while to the city of Athens it would hardly apply till Hadrian's day.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

akropolis and other equivalent names are often applied to the lowest of the main quarters of the city. In a Greek town of the elder type the highest part was the strongest part, and commonly the oldest part, the part of the city which contained its most ancient and honoured temples. At Syracuse the oldest part of the city, the part ever chosen for its chief stronghold, was the lower ground of the Island itself. The Island was what the hill was at Athens, what the soaring mountain was at Corinth. And the habit of thinking of the strongest part of a town as its highest point was so strong that at Syracuse the words *akra* and *akropolis* are constantly, however inappropriately, applied to the Island [1]. CHAP. IV.

The Island *Ortygia*, not *Syracuse*.

The city of Archias was Syracuse, and that name spread itself wider and wider with every expansion of the city which he founded. But the Island itself, as an island, seems never to be so called. Its proper name in every Greek mouth was *Ortygia*, a name which we might represent in our own tongue by *Quail-ey* [2]. In that name lurks all that was most revered in the religious and legendary history of the spot. The name carries us back to the very birth-place of the Delian goddess; the Syracusan Island was hailed as the bed of Artemis, the sister of Dêlos. It was hailed too as the worshipful breathing-place of Alpheios [3]; and the legend of Alpheios and Arethousa in the Island of Syracuse has become hardly less famous in Sicilian mythology than the legend of

Sisterhood with Dêlos.

Legend of Alpheios and Arethousa.

[1] See among other places, Diodôros, xiv. 7; Plutarch, Dion, 28, 29, 30.

[2] The various places called Ὀρτυγία in different parts are collected by Holm (Topografia, 145; Lupus, 61). It is only the Delian *Ortygia* that concerns us in Sicily.

[3] Pindar, Nem. I. 1;

ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφεοῦ
κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν θάλος, Ὀρτυγία,
δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος,
Δάλου κασιγνήτα.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

Aïdôneus and Persephonê by the Lake Pergusa[1]. The ingenious comparer of legends might rule that the two tales were in their origin the same, and the two undoubtedly spring from the same source. Like all Sicilian tales, like all local Sicilian beliefs, they both tell of the powers beneath the earth; only in the Syracusan legend the waters that are beneath the earth supplant alike the fire and the nether darkness. The two taken together show us two sides of Sicilian belief. In the legend of Henna the maiden is carried away from the central spot of Old-Sicilian ground, the very hearth of all Sikel life. In the legend of Syracuse she makes her way from old Hellas to the most famous spot in the history of the Sikeliot. That is, the legend of Persephonê is a piece of local Sikel belief decked out by Greek imagination; the legend of Arethousa was wrought on Sicilian soil and adapted to a Sicilian spot, but it was wrought, as a tale, out of purely Hellenic elements. The legend has gathered round the most marked natural feature of the Syracusan island, the greatest of not a few springs that bubble up to its surface. The sweet fountain so near the sea, needed in Cicero's day a wall to shelter it against the waters of the Great Harbour[2], and in the days of William the Good the shock of an earthquake—the stroke of Poseidôn it would have been called in earlier days—broke down the barrier,

Comparison with the legend of Henna.

Fountain of Arethousa.

[1] Arethousa supplies a periphrase for Syracuse in the oracle in Athenaios, vii. 8;

> ἵππον Θεσσαλικὴν, Λακεδαιμονίην τε γυναῖκα,
> ἄνδρας δ' οἳ πίνουσιν ὕδωρ καλῆς Ἀρεθούσης.

[2] Cicero, Verres, iv. 53; "In hac insula extrema est fons aquæ dulcis, cui nomen Arethusa est, incredibili magnitudine, plenissimus piscium, qui fluctu totus operiretur, nisi munitione ac mole lapidum a mari disjunctus esset." According to Diodôros, v. 3, the fish were holy and might not be eaten; ἱεροὶ ὄντες καὶ ἄθυτοι ἀνθρώποις.

It is a relief when Holm (Topografia, 160; Lupus, 77) allows us to believe that Arethousa really is a fountain, and not, as Schubring (Bewässerung, pp. 607, 633-633 b) will have it, a mere watercourse.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

and the salt waves made their way among the pure waters [1]. Hard by the shore, another fresh spring is said to bubble up amid the waters of the harbour itself [2]. To the Greek mind the nearness of the two suggested a legend; some mythical relation must be found to bring them together, and the well-known story arose. CHAP. IV.

Alpheios and Arethousa.

As the tale is commonly told, Arethousa, one of the attendant nymphs of Artemis, flees from the pursuit of the river-god Alpheios in Peloponnêsos. Changed by her mistress into a watery shape, she flows under or through the waves of the Ionian sea, and comes to the upper world again in the Sicilian Ortygia [3]. Alpheios follows; in proof of the legend it was gravely said that cups and other objects thrown into the waters of the Peloponnesian stream had been known to come again to light in the Syracusan fountain [4].

Scientific explanations.

Science came to the help of the story; in a land of *katabothra*, where it was not uncommon for streams to hide themselves in the earth and to show themselves again, often at a considerable distance, it was argued with all the philosophy of the time that a river might in this sort make its way by an underground course from Elis to Sicily [5].

[1] To this Hugo Falcandus alludes (ap. Muratori, Scriptt. vii. 255); "Væ tibi fons celebris et præclari nominis Arethusa, quæ ad hanc devoluta es miseriam ut quæ poetarum solebas carmina modulari, nunc Theutonicorum ebrietatem mitiges et eorum servias fœditati. Ideone solum natale fugiens et immensa maris spatia longis tractibus subter labens in civitate Syracusana caput attollis, proximoque mari influens Alphæum, quem ante fugeras, in majori portu se tibi immiscentem offendis?"

[2] See Topografia, 161; Lupus, 77, 259.

[3] Holm has collected all these stories in the section which begins in Topografia, 153; Lupus, 69.

[4] Strabo (vi. 2. 4) tells the story, and adds, *τεκμηριοῦνται δὲ τοιούτοις τισί. καὶ γὰρ φιάλην τινὰ ἐκπεσοῦσαν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνόμισαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, δεῦρο ἀνενεχθῆναι εἰς τὴν κρήνην· καὶ θολοῦσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ βουθυσιῶν.* The story came from Ibykos. See the fragment in Bergk, iii. 244, from the Scholiast on Theokritos. Cf. Seneca, Quæst. Nat. iii. 26. It is less easy to understand the ceremony described by Pausanias (vii. 24. 3) at Aigion; *λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ [Σωτηρίας] πέμματα ἐπιχώρια, ἀφιᾶσιν ἐς θάλασσαν, πέμπειν δὲ τῇ ἐν Συρακούσαις Ἀρεθούσῃ φασὶν αὐτά.*

[5] Strabo, after the passage quoted above, goes on into a long dissertation.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. No higher tribute can be paid to the impress which the legend had made upon men's minds than that it should in this way have become the subject of scientific apology. And we cannot doubt that the legend was in truth suggested by the physical phænomena of the country; a fancy as ingenious as that of the Greek might have adorned the *katabothron* of the Trebenitza or that of the Axe with a tale equally graceful. But Arethousa the nymph is but, so to speak, a fragment of her divine mistress. The tale of her rough wooing by the river-god is but a softening down of earlier forms of the tale in which the Delian goddess herself is the object of the presumptuous love, perhaps of the river-god Alpheios, perhaps of a mere mortal hunter of his name[1]. A misunderstood epithet, the name of Artemis Alpheiaia, the giver of wealth or abundance, most likely suggested the thought of Alpheios; the dignity of the goddess was saved by putting the nymph in her place.

Earlier versions.

Arethousa a form of Artemis.

Settlement of Artemis at Syracuse.

The first form of the legend thus grew up in old Greece. It put on new features when the Greek settlers brought their Artemis with them into Sicily. We get a glimpse of the powers that were there before her. The nymphs or goddesses of the Syracusan island yielded its possession to their more powerful Hellenic sister. At her bidding, one

The devout Pausanias (v. 7. 3) believes, on the strength of the oracle given to Myskellos (see above, p. 338), which otherwise he might not have preserved for us. Ovid, who makes Alpheios and Arethousa tell their own story in Met. v. 487 et seqq., gets half scientific in Pont. ii. 10. 27.

[1] In Pausanias, v. 7. 2, Alpheios is *ἀνὴρ θηρευτής* who is changed into a river. He is the lover of Arethousa. In vi. 22. 9 Alpheios, seemingly the river-god, is the lover of Artemis herself. So in the fragment of Telesilla in Bergk, iii. 380;

ἆδ' Ἄρτεμις, ἆ κόραι,
φεύγοισα τὸν Ἀλφεόν.

The story clearly arose to account for the epithet *Ἀλφειαία* given to the goddess. It appears in another form *Ἀλφειονία* in Strabo, viii. 3. 12, where he breaks forth into the curious remark, *μεσογὺς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ* [Elis] *πᾶσα Ἀρτεμισίων τε καὶ Ἀφροδισίων καὶ Νυμφαίων ἐν ἅλσεσιν ἀνθέων, ὡς τὸ πολὺ διὰ τὴν εὐυδρίαν.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

version said, they threw up from the earth the cold fountain of Arethousa, as other nymphs, at the bidding of Athênê, threw up the warm baths of Himera to refresh the wearied Hêraklês[1]. This version knows nothing of Alpheios, nothing of the maiden Arethousa; it is most likely the earliest local form. A more romantic fancy gradually worked the legend into the shape in which we are familiar with it. In Syracusan history, as distinguished from legend and poetry, the value of the whole tale and of the name lies in the witness which it bears to the early worship of Artemis on the spot. The name of Ortygia is not confined to the Delian and the Syracusan island; but it is the Delian and the Syracusan Ortygia which are emphatically sisters. The name is simply transferred from Dêlos to Sicily. Some landing of the tired quails on their flight from Africa may have suggested the transfer; but any further research into the name and its origin is the affair of Delian and not of Syracusan antiquaries. That Ortygia was, as the alleged oracle to Archias implies, a name of the island older than the Corinthian settlement cannot be believed for a moment[2]. The only inference to be drawn from its appearance there is the late date of the alleged oracle.

CHAP. IV.

Relation to Dêlos.

Ortygia then, the name of the Island, is a Greek name given to it by its Greek settlers, in honour of the goddess of Dêlos. *Syracuse*, in its various forms and spellings, always the name of the city, never the name of the Island, is far less easy to explain. In its oldest use, it takes, like so many other Greek cities, the plural form[3]. As

Name of *Syracuse*:

[1] Diod. v. 3. He speaks of Himera, and adds; *τὴν δ' Ἄρτεμιν τὴν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις νῆσον λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ὀρτυγίαν ὑπό τε τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀνομασθεῖσαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ἀνεῖναι τὰς Νύμφας ταύτας, χαριζομένας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, μεγίστην πηγὴν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἀρέθουσαν.*

[2] See above, p. 338.

[3] Holm (G. S. 386) collects the various shapes of the name, and gives three singulars, Συράκουσσα, Συράκουσα, Συράκοσα. He does not give re-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. its forms; its meaning.

for its spelling, the vowels naturally vary according to date and dialect, but it is certain that for a long time, Syracuse, like its metropolis, kept that Semitic consonant which the later Greek tongue dropped[1]. As for the meaning of the name, it has often been held that it came from the neighbouring marsh of Syrakô; but if we accept this derivation, we shall simply have to explain the name of the marsh, instead of the name of the city[2]. The name Syracuse has no obvious Greek meaning; we may assume it to be a name older than the Greek settlement, a name answering to Chicago, not a name answering to Boston. Only the question here comes up, In what language are we to look for the meaning of the name? Our slight stock of Sikel words does not help us; we have no Latin word so clearly akin to the name of Syracuse as *gelu* and *gelidus* are to the name of Gela. It has been suggested that it is a name bestowed by Phœnician settlers, in whose tongue the word might easily mean *eastern*, and it may be that, like the Ostmen in Ireland, they so spoke of themselves in their own tongue. If so, the name of *Syracuse* may haply be akin to the name of its *Saracen* masters in far distant times[3].

ferences, and in his later work (Top. 148; Lupus, 65) he speaks of the singular form as Byzantine. It is certainly used by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Them. ii. (iii. 59, ed. Bonn). But Holm also refers to the place where Strabo (viii. 5. 3) discusses abbreviated forms, and quotes Epicharmos as using Συρακώ for Συρακούσας. So the Etymologicon Magnum (see Lorenz, Epicharmos, 287), who quotes the phrase τᾶς κλεινᾶς Συρακοῖς, as ἀποβολῇ ἐκ τοῦ Συρακούσας. But, as Holm truly says, Συρακοῖς is the genitive of Συρακώ, which carries us back to the swamp.

[1] The coins have ΣVRAQOΣION, at least down to Gelôn's day; but there are hardly any from right to left.

[2] This is at least suggested by Stephen of Byzantium in the article Συρακοῦσαι, καὶ λίμνη ἥ τις καλεῖται Συρακώ. In the article Ἀκράγαντες he makes Syracuse called from a *river*. Skymnos (281) says more distinctly;

ἀπὸ τῆς δμόρου λίμνης λαβούσας τοὔνομα
τὰς νῦν Συρακούσας παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένας.

[3] Lupus, Die Stadt Syrakus im Alterthum, p. 1. The word meant must be *Sharkîm*, one of the endless derivations given for the name

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

Spread of the name.

More important than the origin of the name is the earliest use of it. What and where was the oldest Syracuse? In its historical use the name accompanies the city in its growth and its decline. In the earliest times to which we can look back, it was the name of a city confined to the Island, and it is so now again. In intermediate times the name has spread with the city over the whole space of Achradina and Epipolai. Yet it is the belief of a modern scholar to whom Sicilian history owes much[1] that the original Syracuse, strictly so called, the first abode of Greek settlers that bore the name, arose, not on the island of Ortygia but on the mainland of Sicily, and not on any part of the ground which was at any time covered by the Syracuse of recorded history. According to this doctrine, the name, as the name of an abode of Greeks, is as old as the first Corinthian settlement, but it was not at first borne by the city on Ortygia. Two points, we are told, were occupied, one on the island, the other on the mainland, and it is to the point on the mainland that the name Syracuse strictly belongs. This tradition is said to have taken a legendary shape in the story of the two Sicilian-born daughters of Archias, Ortygia and Syrakousa[2]. The plural form of the city is held to point to the union of two originally distinct posts. Yet the plural form is found in the case of other cities where there is no such special reason, and the name of Syracuse does not invariably take the plural form. The legendary pedigree proves still less; Ortygia daughter of Archias is a very clumsy invention.

Theory of a double city, *Ortygia* and *Syracuse*.

Saracen. See Reinaud, Invasion des Sarrazins en France, 231; Amari, Musulmani in Sicilia, i. 76.

[1] This theory is put forward by Holm, G. S. 125, 388, less positively in his later work, Topografia, 150; Lupus, 66.

[2] These daughters come, in strange company, just at the end of the story of Archias in Plutarch, Am. Narr. 2; Συρακούσας ἔκτισε, πατὴρ δὲ γενόμενος ἐνταῦθα θυγατέρων δυεῖν, Ὀρτυγίας τε καὶ Συρακούσσης, ὑπὸ τοῦ Τηλέφου δολοφονεῖται. See above, p. 344.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. Yet the theory is not to be altogether cast aside. It is certain that Syracuse held from the beginning something more than the mere *Peraia* which island cities commonly held on the neighbouring coast. Where the island and the city were the same thing, the whole territory of Polichna. the commonwealth was Peraia. It is not wonderful then that Syracuse possessed from very early times an inhabited and defended outpost at some distance from the Island, and quite distinct from the successive enlargements of the city on the hill.

The site of which we have to speak can hardly be described without using words which seem too great for the real scale of things. On the western side of the Great Harbour, the point of Daskôn, which parts the harbour into two bays, forms the end of what we may call a peninsula, standing in advance of the higher ground to the south. It is parted by a kind of inlet of the marshy land to the north—now partly occupied as salt-pits—from a small table-land further inland, which also forms an advanced part of the general mass of the higher ground. To one coming from the north this table-land rises like a steep but not lofty wall above the marshy ground on two sides of it. Its northern face, where it looks down on the wide marsh of Lysimeleia and the main stream of Anapos, is broken by more than one small combe or gully, and to the west it ends in a projecting horn, matching the peninsula of Kyana. Daskôn on the other side. To the west it looks on the famous stream and fount of Kyana, the tributary which joins Anapos from the south-west, as it winds its way through the marsh of Syrakô. It once too looked down on the temple of Kyana on the slightly rising ground beyond their stream[1]. This table-land was occupied by an outpost of the Syracusan commonwealth, known as *Polichna*,

[1] That temple was lately dug out and covered up again. See Cavallari, La Sicilia Artistica ed Archeologica, April, 1888, p. 26.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the *Littleton* or small city. On several points of the hill there are signs of buildings, and on a central and almost peninsular point, sheltered by the projecting horn to the west, stood the renowned temple of Olympian Zeus, one of the oldest temples of Syracuse, marked by the two shattered columns which still remain. The modern road keeps nearer to the water, and mounts the table-land some way to the east of the columns. The new-made railway runs to the west of all, between the high ground and the stream of Kyana. But the ancient road, the famous road from Syracuse to Helôron, which is shown by marks of an ancient bridge[1] to have crossed the Anapos at a higher point than the present one, passed over the hill almost immediately to the east of the columns. The hollow way is cut deep in the rock, with remains of tombs in the native wall, as other tombs are found in the hill-side, pointing to occupation earlier than the Corinthian settlement. That Polichna was occupied early, and was not a mere offshoot from the enlarged Syracuse of later times, is proved by the presence of the temple[2]. The outpost must have had some name from the beginning; the name of Polichna could hardly have been given to it till the present Syracuse had altogether outstripped it. But it may be that, under some other name, this Polichna, overlooking the marsh of Syrakô, really was the first *Syrakousa*, twin settlement

CHAP. IV.

The Olympieion.

The Helorine road.

Was Polichna the first *Syrakousa*?

[1] This is the successor of the bridge destroyed in Thucydides, vi. 66, but built up again before c. 101. The fragment left cannot be earlier than Roman times.

[2] See on the Olympieion, Top. 24, 166, 379; Lupus, 24, 84, 284. It is clearly older than the coming of Hippokratês in Herod. vii. 154, and the fragment of Diodôros' tenth book (p. 80, Dindorf), of which I shall have to speak again. But it is further argued that the temple was the place where the register of the Syracusan citizens was kept, and that a temple altogether apart from the city would not be used for such a purpose. This rests wholly on a passage in Plutarch (Nik. 14), which I shall examine in its proper place, but which does not seem to me to prove anything of the kind.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. with Ortygia on the Island. It may have sunk to the estate of a *Polichna* as the city, or rather the cities, on the hill, grew and multiplied. The theory is ingenious and not unlikely; but it would be dangerous to pronounce with certainty on such a point.

Archias then occupied the Island. He occupied also at least an outpost, perhaps something more, on the western side of the Great Harbour. At the condition of the hill we are left to guess. We are told expressly that Archias drove the Sikels out of the Island [1]. This is what we should have taken for granted. The colony was planted in a Sikel land, where the Sikan could have been remembered only as a race that had withdrawn to more western dwellings. Sikel inhabitants still lived on in the territory which had become Syracusan, in the character of subjects tilling for foreign masters the lands which had once been their own [2]. And their works still abide, though it might be dangerous to pronounce of any præ-Hellenic remains that they may not be præ-Sikel as well. The tombs cut in the rock which in so many places in Sicily mark the presence of the earlier races, abound in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, and even within its later walls. Among the most striking are those on the rocky and now desolate promontory of Plémmyrion, though some have been swept away by those encroachments of the sea which have so largely changed the shape of the coast. Some we have already seen in the hill-side of the Olympieion. The road that leads under the southern side of Epipolai, looking immediately down on the great swamp, cuts through a notable group of them. On the southern side of the hill are two more such groups, a long street of tombs just

Archias drives out Sikels.

Sikel tombs.

[1] Thuc. vi. 5.

[2] On the Kyllyrioi, see Appendix XXIII. Of other subject Sikels we have several notices in Thucydides, as vi. 45, 46.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

above the famous theatre, and a vast shattered nekropolis close by the modern road from Syracuse to Catania[1]. Of some the Greek has taken possession and has enriched them with architectural details in his own style, a form of plunder which has been undergone by many an early Christian sarcophagus and many a mediæval brass[2]. In short the Sikel shows himself abundantly; and, if he did not show himself, he might be taken for granted. There is a harder question which meets us at every turn, the question of the presence of the Phœnician. CHAP. IV.

Without venturing into theories which can be neither proved nor disproved, without ruling that the name of Syracuse is of Phœnician origin and without denying that it may be, we cannot forget that the island of Ortygia, the promontory of Plémmyrion, the low peninsula of Thapsos, are all of them the kind of spots which Thucydides speaks of the Phœnicians as occupying, and from which he tells us that they withdrew before the Greeks[3]. A Phœnician factory on Ortygia is exactly what he has taught us to look for. But a mere factory is in no way inconsistent with a Sikel occupation and dominion of the land. Merchants who sought only to trade and not to rule might well be welcomed by those before whose eyes they spread their tempting wares. We may conceive the Sikel holding his chief post on the hill, and yet believe that men from Tyre and Sidon dwelled and bought and sold, under Sikel protection or dominion, in the island of Ortygia or on the peninsula of Plémmyrion. The Greek came; he subdued the Sikel; from the island which he chose as his chief dwelling-place he drove him out; but he may well

Question of Phœnician occupation.

A factory on Ortygia.

[1] See Top. 147, 332; Lupus, 63, 312 et seqq.

[2] One of these appears on the outside of Lupus's *Bearbeitung*. One is wildly called the tomb of Timoleôn, another, yet more wildly, of Archimêdês, quite forgetting Cicero's description.

[3] Thuc. vi. 2. See above, p. 142.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

have allowed a factory of peaceful Phœnician merchants to go on under Greek dominion as they had hitherto gone on under Sikel dominion. Such an arrangement seems likely under the circumstances of the case, and it may draw some slight corroboration from some facts in later history which assuredly would not of themselves prove it. It is clear that, notwithstanding the many wars between Syracuse and Carthage, there was much peaceful intercourse between the two cities, and we find cases in which citizens of the two are brought together on terms which were hardly usual between Greeks and barbarians. We not only, long after this time, find Carthaginian merchants living in large numbers at Syracuse [1], but much later again we find men of such mingled birth and breeding that it is hard to say whether we are to speak of them as Syracusans or as Carthaginians [2]. How these relations arose, whether from treaties or from the silent working of commercial ties at a time when Carthage had begun to play her part in the affairs of Sicily, or whether they were traditions handed down from earlier Phœnician times, it might be hard to say. But we must remember that, if we admit the possibility of such an abiding Phœnician element in Greek Syracuse, it in no way interferes with the thoroughly Greek character of the settlement. The Phœnician could have dwelled there only as a stranger; he could have had no part or lot in the Syracusan commonwealth; and his blood is likely to have mingled with the blood of Corinth far less freely than the blood of the Sikel.

Possible agreement between Greeks and Phœnicians.

Relations of Syracuse and Carthage.

Another question of Phœnician influence at Syracuse arises out of one of the choicest of the local legends. The name of Kyana figures in various shapes in Syracusan fancy. She appears as a huntress nymph, first among her

Legend of Kyana.

[1] Diod. xiv. 46.

[2] Livy, xxiv. 6; and long before, Herod. vii. 166.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

sisters[1]. She appears also, by an obvious metaphor, as the lawful wife of the river Anapos. The matron nymph rebukes Aïdôneus for carrying off Persephonê; she tells her own story, with what decorum the river-god had wooed and won her[2]. The scene is naturally laid in the low ground by the Great Harbour[3]; there Aïdôneus cleaves his way down to his nether kingdom, and Kyana herself is changed into a fountain[4]. There she still abides, sending forth from her depth a tributary to her husband's waters, that stream of Kyana where the paper-plant of Egypt, lost in its own Nile, still flourishes. All this surely is Greek enough; the only tribute from barbarian lands is the paper-plant itself, the gift most likely of Macedonian Ptolemies[5]. Presently a more dangerous figure steps in. Hêraklês, in his wanderings, reaches the spot and hears the tale. He sacrifices to Dêmêtêr and the Korê. To Kyana herself he devotes the goodliest bull in his herd, and leaves his command to the men of the place—Sikans, not Sikels, in those early days—to keep up a yearly feast to Kyana

CHAP. IV.

The fountain of Kyana.

The papyrus.

Presence of Hêraklês.

[1] Claudian, De Rapt. Pros. ii. 61. See Appendix XI.

[2] Ovid, Met. v. 414;

> . . . . "Nec longius ibitis, inquit;
> Non potes invitæ Cereris gener esse. Roganda,
> Non rapienda fuit; quod si componere magnis
> Parva mihi fas est; et me dilexit Anapis.
> Exorata tamen, nec, ut hæc, exterrita nupsi.
> Dixit, et in partes diversas brachia tendens,
> Obstitit."

Cf. Fasti, iv. 468; Pont. ii. 10. 26.

[3] The topography is marked in Met. v. 409;

> "Est medium Cyanes et Pissææ Arethusæ,
> Quod coit angustis inclusum cornibus æquor.
> Hic fuit a cujus stagnum quoque nomine dictum est,
> Inter Sicelidas Cyane celeberrima nymphas,
> Gurgite quæ medio summa tenus exstitit alvo."

[4] Met. v. 420 et seqq. Claudian, iii. 190, 246, is less clear.

[5] There is every reason to believe that its presence in Sicily is due to the friendship between the Ptolemies and the second Hierôn. Otherwise we might think that some stray Sikel had brought it back from the great Egyptian expedition.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. with all worship [1]. Hêraklês, we are told, must be Melkart; no Hellenic fancy could, in any tale, have brought in a bull without some barbarian help [2]. And the case is held to be strengthened when something like a human sacrifice can be connected with the name of Kyana. In this version, to be sure, she is no nymph or goddess, but a mere mortal maiden of Syracuse. Her father Kyanippos —his name suggests the horses of Aïdôneus—alone among the men of Syracuse, fails to sacrifice to Dionysos. The offended deity punishes him with a fit of drunkenness, during the influence of which he offers violence to his own daughter in the dark [3]. She takes off the ring of her unknown ravisher and gives it to her nurse to keep. A plague follows; the Pythia bids that the impious one should be sacrificed. How Kyanippos was known to be the impious one we are not told; but presumably he was discovered by the ring [4]. On this his daughter drags him by the hair of his head; she slays him with her own hand and slays herself upon his corpse [5]. We are told, rather hardly

Legend of Kyana and Kyanippos.

[1] Diod. iv. 23; Ἡρακλῆς ἐγκυκλούμενος τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ καταντήσας εἰς τὴν νῦν οὖσαν Συρακοσίων πόλιν [it could only have been the Πολίχνα], καὶ πυθόμενος τὰ μυθολογούμενα κατὰ τὴν τῆς Κόρης ἁρπαγήν, εὐθὺς ἔθυσέ τε ταῖς θεαῖς μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ εἰς τὴν Κυανὴν τὸν καλλιστεύοντα τῶν ταύρων καθαγίσας κατέδειξε θύειν τοὺς ἐγχωρίους κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ πρὸς τῇ Κυανῇ λαμπρῶς ἄγειν πανήγυρίν τε καὶ θυσίαν. The phrase εἰς τὴν Κυανήν may suggest the notion of throwing the bull into the fountain; but the thought is not pleasant.

[2] So naturally, Movers, ii. 2. 325. Also Holm, G. S. i. 81, 82.

[3] Plut. Parall. 19. He quotes Dôsitheos; ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Σικελικῶν. ὁ θεὸς [Διόνυσος] ὀργισθεὶς μέθην ἐνέσκηψε καὶ ἐν τόπῳ σκοτεινῷ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐβιάσατο Κυάνην.

[4] This is not quite clear. The words run; ἡ δὲ τὸν δακτύλιον περιελομένη ἔδωκε τῇ τροφῷ, ἐσόμενον ἀναγνώρισμα. When the oracle comes, δεῖν τὸν ἀσεβῆ τροπαίοις θεοῖς σφαγιάσαι—then, τῶν ἄλλων ἀγνοούντα τὸν χρησμόν, γνοῦσα ἡ Κυανή, κ.τ.λ.

[5] Ib.; αὐτὴ κατασφάξασα τὸν πατέρα, ἑαυτὴν ἐπέσφαξε. It is very hard for purely Western eyes to see in this act of Kyana any sacrifice, or survival of sacrifice, of either bull or man to Kyana herself. One is driven to the more homely suggestion that there is some confusion in the name.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

upon poor Kyana, to compare this tale with that of Judah and Tamar, Kinyras and Myrrha[1], and it is inferred that a human sacrifice was once made to the nymph or goddess Kyana, for which that of a bull was afterwards substituted[2]. Eastern influence, and Phœnician settlement, are thus proved. I am quite prepared to admit one form of Phœnician settlement without any of these subtleties. I cannot, from the casual act of Kyana, infer a practice of human sacrifice; but I also fear that we cannot safely say that every case of human sacrifice in any Aryan religion is necessarily a corruption brought in from outside barbarians. CHAP. IV.

§ 3. *The other Chalkidian Settlements on the East Coast.* B.C. 728–726[3].

The tide of Greek settlement had now steadily set in towards the eastern coast of Sicily. Syracuse soon had Greek neighbours to the north, some of them settlers from old Greece, others from the one plantation in Sicily which was older than herself. Within a short time after the Dorian settlement on Ortygia, the Ionian element in Sicily, there known from its eldest metropolis as Chalkidian, began to spread itself from its first seat at Naxos. We have not yet reached the time of warfare, or even of distinct jealousy, among the Greek settlements in the island; but we may believe that there was from the beginning somewhat of rivalry between the two chief Greek races, now that both had entered on a new life in

Extension of Chalkidian settlement in Sicily.

[1] Movers, ii. 2. 326.

[2] Ib.

[3] Of the places chiefly spoken of in this section, Schubring has given a short monograph of Leontinoi in his *Sicilische Studien*, xix. 369, and a full account of Megara and its neighbourhood in the paper headed *Umwanderung des Megarischen Meerbusens in Sicilien*. Katané is dealt with by Holm in his monograph *Das Alte Catania* (Lübeck, 1873), and Zanklê by Siefert in his *Zankle-Messana* (Altona, 1854).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. Sicily. The Dorians had taken possession of the most promising site on the eastern coast. It behoved the Ionians to extend their borders. Six years therefore after the settlement of Archias, the Chalkidians of Naxos founded two colonies by a single effort, somewhat as Corinth had founded Korkyra and Syracuse. But the new Chalkidian settlements lay much nearer to one another than the two great plantations of Corinth. Both arose on the eastern side of Sicily, between Syracuse and Naxos. The twin cities now founded were Leontinoi and Katanê. Both, the one by continued life in the face of the most frightful physical dangers, the other by restoration after overthrow by the hand of man, have outlived the mother city for ages. Each keeps its place, by its old name, on the modern map of Sicily.

Foundation of Leontinoi and Katanê. B.C. 728.

The elder of these two cities, the one planted by Theoklês himself, was planted on the eastern side of Sicily, but we cannot say that it was planted on the eastern coast. Leontinoi, alone among Sikeliot cities, occupies a site distinctly inland [1]. After the foundation of Naxos and Syracuse, it seems a kind of falling back to find a Greek city without a haven, without a sight of the sea, planted among hills and ravines of exactly the same character as those many Sikel towns which we have already looked at. The motives for such a choice are not far to seek. The inland site was better suited than any site on the coast could be to hold possession of the rich plain, the widest extent of flat ground in the island, which took its first name from Leontinoi, but which in later times has been known as the plain of Catania [2]. And we may further feel sure, not only that the site was a Sikel possession, but

Inland site of Leontinoi.

Reasons for the choice.

[1] It is the only Greek town in the list of πόλεις μεσόγειοι τῆς Σικελίας in Ptolemy, iii. 4. 12, unless the unintelligible Μέγαρα ἡ καὶ Μεύρα.

[2] See above, p. 67.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

that it was a special Sikel stronghold and centre, whose occupation was absolutely needed for Greek advance in this quarter. Our earliest and best account speaks of the Chalkidians as driving out the Sikels by warfare[1]. In a later account of which we shall presently have to speak, the immediate result of that warfare is said to have been a joint occupation of the place by Greeks and Sikels[2]. But, as the arrangement lasts but a short time, as the Sikels are in the end driven out, the two versions may perhaps be accepted as not wholly inconsistent with one another. It is certain that Leontinoi shows unmistakeable signs of having been occupied by inhabitants of both races, and most likely by inhabitants earlier than either.

Site of Leontinoi; the two *akropoleis*.

Of Leontinoi and its physical features a full description is given by Polybios. The town itself, its *agora* and its public buildings, lay in a bottom between two hills. It faced to the north[3]. That is, the hills on each side rose from the north to the south, so as to give a site for both an eastern and a western akropolis. There were two gates, one at each end of the pass, a north and a south gate; an eastern and a western approach were both denied by the nature of the ground. The southern gate, at the upper end of the pass, led towards Syracuse; the northern opened to the famous Leontine plain[4]. Houses and public buildings had spread from below over the upper

[1] Thuc. vi. 3; *Θουκλῆς δὲ καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδῆς ἐκ Νάξου ὁρμηθέντες, ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας, Λεοντίνους, πολέμῳ τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐξελάσαντες, οἰκίζουσι.*

[2] Polyainos, v. 5; *Θεοκλῆς, Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἀπ' Εὐβοίας ἀγαγών, τὴν Λεοντίνων κατέσχε μετὰ Σικελῶν οἳ προενοικοῦντες ἐτύγχανον.*

[3] Polybios, vii. 6; *ἡ τῶν Λεοντίνων πόλις τῷ μὲν ὅλῳ κλίματι τέτραπται πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους· ἔστι δὲ διὰ μέσης αὐτῆς αὐλὼν ἐπίπεδος . . . , τοῦ δ' αὐλῶνος παρ' ἑκατέραν τὴν πλευρὰν παρήκει λόφος ἔχων ἀπορρῶγα συνεχῆ.*

[4] Ib.; *δύο δ' ἔχει πυλῶνας ἡ πόλις, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν πέρατός ἐστιν οὗ προεῖπον αὐλῶνος, φέρων ἐπὶ Συρακούσας, ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἄρκτους, ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰ Λεοντῖνα καλούμενα πεδία καὶ τὴν γεωργήσιμον χώραν.* The contrast between the country at the two ends is here well drawn.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. part of the hills, specially on the western hill[1]. On that hill there are still houses and churches; but the greater part of the modern Lentini lies to the south-east, running up another combe between the eastern akropolis and another hill beyond it. On the height of this last hill is planted the modern Carlentini, the new Lentini of the Emperor Charles. The eastern of the two hills of the old Leontinoi is deeply pierced on both sides with primæval tombs and dwellings. Some of these are of great size, and clearly of various dates, as an elder cutting has sometimes been interfered with by a later. Some of these holes are works of no mean skill. In one place the rock has been carefully cut into the shape of a cupola, a link between the treasuries of Mykênê and the monolith cupola under which Theodoric no longer sleeps. On this hill we may be sure that Sikels, and Sikans before them, dwelled for ages, and made the strong post a chief seat of their power. On its top we see no less distinctly both the works of the Chalkidian settlers and those of far later masters of Sicily. The eastern akropolis, the highest point of the hill to the south, has been carefully isolated by cutting; it is joined on to the mass of the hill to the south only by a narrow causeway. The rock itself has been largely scarped; and it has been used as the foundation of the wall, whose lower part is again built against the scarped side of the hill. The Greek masonry of the wall may be traced round a large part of the hill-top, and the foundations of other buildings remain within its circuit. On the ascent from the lower hill to the akropolis are fragments which seem to be those of a gateway, possibly of the shape of the apparent arch[2]. There are cisterns

Sikel tombs.

The eastern akropolis.

[1] Polybios, vii. 6; *τὰ δ' ἐπίπεδα τῶν λόφων τούτων ὑπὲρ τὰς ὀφρῦς οἰκιῶν ἐστὶ πλήρη καὶ ναῶν.*

[2] So I thought, though not confidently, in 1889. In 1890 part of the evidence seemed to have been broken away.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

and underground substructures; in one place above all a chamber with walls of Greek masonry has been covered with a pointed barrel-vault wrought with the best Saracenic skill of the days of the Norman kings[1]. From this akropolis we look out at the fellow height on the opposite side, the other akropolis of Leontinoi, and on the site of the ancient city beneath. The narrow combe in which it lies widens at both ends so as to give full space for the *agora* at either point[2]. A stream runs down the valley, and outside the western hill runs the little stream of Lissos, by which a suburb or *Neapolis*[3] had grown up. This stream empties itself into the reedy lake of Leontinoi, a prominent feature to the north-west. The lake has been enlarged by art in later times; but in all ages it has been rich in fish and water-fowl, the rival of Kôpaïs in the land opposite the island of the Chalkidian founders. Northwards again is the wide plain that gave Leontinoi her chief wealth, stretching away towards the sister city into whose possession it passed in after times.

CHAP. IV.

The western akropolis.

The Leontine fields.

The name Leontinoi is one of a class of which there are other examples both in Greek and in Teutonic nomenclature. No distinction is made between the name of the city and that of its inhabitants[4]. So it was with Lokroi

The name *Leontinoi*.

[1] Schubring looks on this akropolis as the Φωκαεῖς spoken of by Thucydides, v. 4; Φωκαίας [or Φωκέας] τῆς πόλεώς τι τῆς Λεοντίνων χωρίον καλούμενον. One thinks of the Λίνδιοι at Gela (see below, p. 401), but there is not the same obvious reason for giving the Phokaian name to anything at Leontinoi.

[2] Polybios, vii. 6; ἐν ᾧ [αὐλῶνι] συμβαίνει τάς τε τῶν ἀρχείων καὶ δικαστηρίων κατασκευὰς καὶ καθόλου τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑπάρχειν. He does not mark at which end the *agora* was.

[3] This suburb must have stood on the western slope of the western hill. So Polybios, u. s.; τούτῳ [τῷ Λίσσῳ] εἶνται παράλληλοι καὶ πλείους ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν κρημνὸν οἰκίαι συνεχεῖς, ἂν μεταξὺ καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ συμβαίνει τὴν προειρημένην ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν. (This reference to the road is lost.) This, as Schubring says (p. 385), is most likely the νέα πόλις of Diodôros, xvii. 72.

[4] The full form is, as Polybios has it, ἡ τῶν Λεοντίνων πόλις (though that

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. in the neighbouring Italy; so it was with the lands which Saxons and Angles wrested from the Briton; so it is still with the lands which later Saxons have wrested from the Slave and the Let[1]. And however city or people may have come by the name, local belief held that they were a lion-folk and their city a city of lions. Whether the kingly beast that once dwelled in Mendip and in later days in Argolis and Thrace ever kept his lair among the hills of Leontinoi, it is not for the historian of recorded Sicily to decide. It is enough that on the coins of Leontinoi the greatest of *carnivora* shows himself in various forms, most terrible when we see his head alone, opening wide his devouring jaws[2]. That Dêmêtêr appears on the Leontine moneys means only that we are in Sicily; but the head of Apollôn had a special meaning for men who were the first who could sacrifice to Apollôn Archêgetês as they went forth from Naxos to seek them a new home.

The lion on the coins.

Katanê. The second Naxian settlement, that of Katanê, followed soon after the first. But though it is described, along with Leontinoi, as a settlement of the Chalkidians of Naxos, it would seem that it was not, like Leontinoi, founded under the leadership of Theoklês himself. Its acknowledged founder bore the name of Evarchos, and it is added that the men of Katanê themselves made him

Its founder Evarchos.

form is also used when the town has a distinct name). Λεόντιον is found only in Ptolemy, iii. 4. 13.

[1] We are driven in modern English to talk of *Wessex, East-Anglia*, as the names of lands; but *West-Seaxe, East-Engle*, and the like are strictly names of tribes or nations which have got transferred to the land. So now with *Hessen, Preussen, Polen*.

[2] Unlike Syracuse, Leontinoi has plenty of the coins with the letters running from right to left. But the lion seems not to appear till the later usage has set in. That is to say, letters had begun to be written from left to right before the guess had been made at the meaning of the name. In pp. 89-92 of the Catalogue of Coins the lion looks very terrible.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

their founder[1]. Some distinction is here hinted at between the foundation of Leontinoi and the foundation of Katanê. It may point to some possible dissension or secession of which we can say no more. But we may safely say that the founders of the two cities must have had different tastes and different objects. The site of Katanê is a marked contrast to the inland position of Leontinoi. Here the men of Hellas, the men of Chalkis, come again to a place more like the common fashion of Hellenic settlements. Katanê was close on the sea, not indeed in it, like Naxos and the oldest Syracuse, but seated close upon its shores. In none other of the cities, Phœnician and Greek, of which we have as yet had to speak, have changes wrought by the hand of nature so utterly destroyed the appearance of the coast as it must have stood at the time of the first settlement. At Panormos the actual amount of change has perhaps been greater; but it is easier for the imagination to call up the state of things that was there before change began. If the two branches of the harbour are there no longer, they have left abundant witness of their former presence. At Katanê we can only guess at the coast-line as it stood when Evarchos led his settlers thither; the coast-line as it stands now is little more than two hundred years older than our own time. But we can see that Evarchos chose out the most central site in the whole eastern coast of Sicily. It was a site in the innermost recess of a bay, where a stream of fresh water flows into the sea, where the ground slopes gently down to the water, and where a low range of hills to the back fences in the immediate territory of the settlement[2]. This last feature is hardly felt by land; but the view from the sea at a very slight distance from the shore

CHAP. IV.

Contrast between Katanê and Leontinoi.

Site of Katanê; changes in the coast.

Position of Katanê; its bulwark of hills.

[1] Thuc. vi. 3; Θουκλῆς καὶ ὁ Χαλκιδῆς . . . . Λεοντίνους τε . . . . οἰκίζουσι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Κατάνην· οἰκιστὴν δὲ αὐτοὶ Καταναῖοι ἐποιήσαντο Εὔαρχον.

[2] This is well brought out by Holm, Das Alte Catania, 1–3.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. shows how well Katanê was provided against all ordinary enemies and neighbours. But the chief neighbour and enemy of Katanê was of no ordinary kind, if indeed we can give the name of enemy to a power which has shown itself as a creator as well as a destroyer. The distinctive feature of Katanê, in its scenery and in its history, is that it is the city at the foot of Ætna. There are dwelling-places of men, there are even historic towns, holy-places of the ancient gods, far nearer than Katanê to the actual foot of the Mount of Mounts. But Katanê is the only one among the great Sikeliot cities which looks up to the nurse of snow and fire rising immediately above her streets. In and about Katanê the fire-flood has made and it has unmade. The lava has covered and blackened the land; it has set new bounds to the sea; it has at once overwhelmed the works of man and supplied his hand with a fresh material for newer works. Here it covers the ground like a sheet; here it has taken the fantastic shape of the sea-cliffs. Here we tread it under our feet as the most abiding form of pavement; here we see blocks of it carried off to make the mole of the haven; here we see it wrought into artistic shapes in every form of architecture that the long-lived and much-enduring city has known. By lava and by earthquake Katanê has been destroyed over and over again, and out of the lava it has been rebuilt over and over again on the same site. The city has changed its inhabitants even more commonly than other Sicilian cities. Its name has been abiding; yet it was once thrown aside; and, when it was thrown aside, it was to take the name of the Mount of Mounts for its own. We barely mark the change in *Katanê, Catina, Catania*; but we must remember that for a few years of its long life the city bore another name, and that that name was *Ætna*.

Its relation to Ætna.

Effects of the eruptions.

Form of the name *Katanê*.

Ætna.

In a city which has been in this way a sport of the powers of nature we must not look for monuments of its

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

earlier days such as we see at Syracuse and at Akragas, or for such speaking fragments as still abide in the sister-colony of Leontinoi. There is something left of Greek Katanê; there is much left of Roman Catina; but the monuments of both have to be looked for in out-of-the-way corners, and largely below the present level of the ground. Among the grievously modern streets of the Catania that now is, we find no fellow to the Syracusan or to the Akragantine Olympieion, no fellow to the wall of Thêrôn or to the wall of Dionysios. We have not, as we have at Syracuse and Akragas, an inhabited quarter, at once oldest and newest, looking down on or looking up to a wide region once inhabited, but now forsaken. Roman Catina spread itself far beyond the bounds of Greek Katanê. Mediæval Catania did indeed shrink up within narrower bounds than those of Roman Catina; but modern Catania has again spread far beyond the bounds of either. On the other hand, while the whole or nearly the whole of the site of Katanê still remains part of the inhabited city, a large part of Roman Catina is now covered by the lava poured forth in the great eruption of the seventeenth century. But the most important change of all is that which has given the sea itself new bounds. The ancient city had a spacious haven, sheltered, somewhat after the manner of Drepana and Zanklê, by a tongue of land, in this case a tongue of lava, running out into the sea. But the haven was greatly straitened by the eruption, which poured a mass of lava into the sea, altogether changing the line of coast. The castle which the Emperor Frederick built on the edge of the sea, wonderfully spared by the lava, now stands quite away from the haven. Each successive city which has arisen on this doomed site has been overthrown either by the earthquake or by the fire-flood. But each time the city has been built afresh out of the burning mass which overwhelmed its predecessor.

Slight ancient remains at Catania.

Changes in the extent of the city.

The earthquake of A.D. 1669.

Changes in the haven.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

The Greek city, the foundation of Evarchos, occupied the western part of the site of the enlarged modern city [1]. To the east of it ran the stream of Amenanos, whose presiding deity is, with the local piety usual in a Greek city, commemorated on many of the local coins. His course is short, and his stream is for the most part, like the Frome at Bristol, covered by modern buildings. But hard by the sea his branches of fresh and clear water, lacking neither fish nor fowl, show themselves again, first to form a small island, and then to find their mouth in the waves of the haven. The earliest city thus lay mainly on the high ground which now rises so suddenly in the middle of modern Catania, giving so strange an air to one of its chief streets. One can hardly speak of an akropolis; the city itself lay on this inconsiderable height and on its slope, looking down on the sea, the river, and the rich land to the west and north. The fire-flood, which furnishes man with a material for his buildings, furnishes him also with a rich soil for the vine and other fruits of the earth [2]. The territory of Katanê was fertile indeed; but it must be remembered that the specially fruitful fields which came in later times to be renowned as the plain of Katanê, are those which in the original division belonged, not to Katanê but to Leontinoi [3].

The river Amenanos.

Position of the Greek city.

Fertilising effect of the lava.

At Katanê, as at other places, we come to the inevitable question, who it was that the Greek settlers found in possession of the site of their new settlements. We are not so distinctly told that Katanê was planted at the expense of Sikels as that Leontinoi was; but there can be no reasonable doubt as to the Sikel occupation of the place at the time of the coming of Evarchos and his Chalkidians. But again Sikel occupation does not shut

Early occupants.

Sikels.

[1] The topographical points are all brought out in Holm's monograph.

[2] See above, p. 87.

[3] See above, p. 87.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

out the possibility of the presence of Phœnicians; only we feel somewhat less inclined to assume the existence of a Phœnician factory in a site like that of Katanê than we are on the island of Ortygia or the peninsula of Xiphonia. Phœnician derivations have been found for the names of the town and of its river; but we may perhaps be satisfied to go no further than the obvious meaning of the name in the Sikel tongue, preserved in the Roman form of the name of the town. *Catina, Catinum,* is surely the *dish,* no unnatural description of the land fenced in between the hills and the sea[1]. The name is of a piece with the Golden Shell of Panormos, the nobler site suggesting the nobler similitude. The Sikel name may be taken together with the seemingly pointed contrast between the foundation of Katanê on which no comment is made, and the forcible driving out of Sikels from Leontinoi. The two may possibly suggest that at Katanê the mixture of the native inhabitants with the Greek settlers was larger than it was in some other places. If so, it was not altogether by an inappropriate fate that Katanê was the first of the great Greek cities of Sicily to be peopled afresh by Italian settlers, and in due time to become a colony of Rome.

Question of Phœnician occupation.

Sikel origin of the name.

Connexion of the city with Italy.

Katanê may be fairly called one of the great Sikeliot cities. It holds in all ages an important place in Sicilian history; but it can never be said to hold a foremost place; and in the Greek period of our story it is decidedly secondary. It lived and flourished; it doubtless grew; but we have no tale of its growth to tell, such as we have at Syracuse and Akragas; we have no such glimpses of its early politics as we have of those of Syracuse. Yet memorable names hold their place in its history, though names, it would seem, rather of men who came to it from without than those of its own children. We shall have to speak of the legislation of Charôndas and of the poetry

Historical position of Katanê.

Charôndas.

[1] See Appendix XIII.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. of Stêsichoros; but Charôndas seems to have been no
Stêsichoros. more a native of Katanê than Stêsichoros. The most famous thing about Katanê in its earlier days, is a legend—it may be more than a legend—the earliest of many tales which set Katanê before us in her special character of the chosen victim of the fires of Ætna.

Coins. Of the Katanaian coins none seem to go back to the days of writing from right to left. In the earlier ones the river-god is perhaps personified under the form of the man-headed bull; in the later he takes the head of a

Legend of the Pious Brethren. beardless youth, the rival of the young Apollôn[1]. But in these later coins we find also the forms of the Pious Brethren Amphinomos and Anapios[2], who held in the pagan belief of Katanê the same place which in Christian legend is held by the virgin Agatha. As her veil drove back the lava of a later day, so it was when Ætna first showed himself in his might to Hellenic Sicily, in his first recorded eruption since Greeks had made a home on Sicilian soil. The two dutiful sons bore off on their shoulders, the one their father, the other their mother; the stream of lava turned aside to leave them unhurt, and the spot was ever after known as the Field of the Pious Ones[3]. In their own city they were commemorated by statues which Claudian deemed a scanty honour; all Sicily should have joined to build them temples[4]. He, laureate

[1] Coins of Sicily, Head, 41. The bulls, accompanied by fish and waterfowl, come in the archaic period, the head of Apollôn in the Transition, that of Amenanos (p. 49), sometimes with his name, in the "period of finest art."

[2] The brethren seem not to come till the "period of decline." Sometimes both brothers are shown on the coins, sometimes one only.

[3] The different accounts are spoken of in Appendix XVIII.

[4] Claudian, Eidyllia, vii. 41;

"Cur non Amphinomo, cur non tibi, fortis Anapi,
Æternum Siculus templa dicavit honos?
Plura licet summæ dederit Trinacria laudi,
Noverit hoc majus se genuisse nihil."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

Notices of the story.

of the goddesses of Sicily, found in the tale the materials of an idyll, as Apollônios had before him found in it the materials of a sermon. The prophet of Tyana, being at Latin Catina, naturally made a discourse on Ætna, Typhôs, and whatever was locally edifying, and wound up with the story which was most edifying of all [1]. Ausonius, poet and consul, gave to *Catina*, on the strength of this tale, a place along with Syracuse among noble cities, a place which no other Sicilian city shares with those two, and he places the story of the Catanian brethren on a level with the Syracusan tale of Arethousa herself [2]. Prose writers too told the tale as well as poets and sculptors. Pausanias above all, when he saw at Delphoi a picture wrought by the hand of Polygnôtos setting forth the punishment of undutiful children, took the opportunity to tell the tale of the brethren of Katanê, as the highest instance of the opposite virtue within his knowledge [3].

Kallipolis;

Besides Naxos, Leontinoi, and Katanê, there were two other Chalkidian settlements in Sicily, of whose site and of the date of whose foundation we can say nothing for certain, but which, we can hardly doubt, were somewhere on the east coast of the island. Kallipolis is spoken of by Herodotus as one of the cities besieged by Hippokratês of Gela along with the other Ionian cities of Naxos, Zanklê, and Leontinoi [4]. We know nothing more of it, except that, as we might have expected, it is called a colony of Naxos [5]. It vanishes so utterly from history that we are

[1] See Appendix XVIII.

[2] Ausonius, Ordo Urbium Nobilium, 92;

"Quis Catinam sileat, quis quadruplices Syracusas?
Hanc ambustorum fratrum pietate celebrem,
Illam complexam miracula fontis et amnis."

[3] See Appendix XVIII.

[4] Herod. vii. 154.

[5] Strabo, vi. 2. 6. He reckons Kallipolis among the towns no longer inhabited, and adds; Καλλίπολιν δὲ ἔκτισαν Νάξιοι. Stephen of Byzantium

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. tempted to think that it was swept away by Hippokratês or Gelôn, and to see a piece of geographical or poetical licence, when we come across its very unlooked-for appear-

Euboia; ance in the Punic wars of Rome[1]. Its site can only be guessed at; but both this and the other vanished city of Euboia are most likely to be looked for somewhere between Naxos and Messana, a long piece of coast which would otherwise be left without any Greek settlements[2]. There are more sites than one along that coast which seem almost to ask for settlement. One spot a little way north of Naxos, the modern Letojanni, with its open bay at the foot of the hills, seems just the place where a Greek town might

their destruction by Gelôn. have sprung up. Of Euboia we know that it was a settlement from Leontinoi, which, there seems no reason to doubt, was swept away by Gelôn. Its name, recording the home-memories of the men of Leontinoi, is the earliest distinct instance of the name of a land being used as the name of a town; for there was a town as well as an island of Naxos, but there was no town of Euboia. Owing to the early overthrow of these towns, there are no known coins of either.

Zanklê. Another Greek city which ranks as Chalkidian, for whose foundation Thucydides gives no date, but whose site

has simply πόλις Σικελίας. The same seems to be the meaning of Skymnos, 283;

μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἀπὸ Νάξου Λεοντῖνοι πόλις,
* * * * * *
Ζάγκλη, Κατάνη, Καλλίπολις ἔσχ' ἀποικίαν.

[1] Silius, xiv. 248;

. . . "Romana petivit
Fœdera Callipolis."

[2] See Cluver, 387; Holm, i. 389.

[3] Herodotus (vii. 156) records the treatment of the Εὐβοέες οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ along with the Megarians, but he does not actually mention the destruction of the town. Strabo (vi. 2. 6) says ἔκτισαν Λεοντῖνοι, and again (x. 1. 15), ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Εὔβοια, Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐκεῖ κτίσμα, ἣν Γέλων ἐξανέστησε καὶ ἐγένετο φρούριον Συρακουσίων. So in the lines of Skymnos which follow those already quoted;

πάλιν δ' ἀπὸ τούτων δύο πόλεις Εὔβοια καὶ
Μύλαι.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

is well known indeed, is the more famous Zanklê or Messana. But its early history has so distinct a character that it is better to speak of it in a separate section at the point to which its foundation, if not certainly, yet most likely, belongs. CHAP. IV.

§ 4. *The Foundation of Megara, c.* B. C. 728.

The old Megara.

The next movement towards Greek colonization in Sicily came direct from old Greece. It can hardly fail to have been suggested by the foundation of Syracuse. The new settlers came from the city nearest to Corinth and most like Corinth, the other Dorian city by the isthmus, the other city of the two havens. Megara was in early days as busy by sea as Corinth. She was as famous for her settlements eastward as Corinth was for her settlements westward; and as Corinth also tried her hand at settlement in Thrace, so Megara tried hers at settlement in Sicily.

Emigration from Megara.

Soon after the foundation of Leontinoi and Katanê, a body of emigrants set forth from the elder Megara under the leadership of Lamis.

Other versions.

The history of their settlement has been handed down in several shapes. We have already seen one version, according to which Megara was older than Syracuse, as old as Naxos[1]. We may safely set aside this tale as the growth of a later time when Syracuse had awakened jealousy by her power and her dealings with other Sikeliot cities, and, among other such acts, by the sweeping away of Megara from the earth. We may, as ever, accept the main tale as told us by Thucydides. From later sources we gain a few details which are in no way inconsistent with it.

[1] See above, p. 338, and Appendix XVI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

Various attempts at settlement under Lamis.

Lamis then led his settlers from the old, the Nisaian, Megara; but he did not lead them at once to the site which was to become the younger, the Hyblaian, Megara of Sicily. The settlement which was in the end actually made there was the last of four attempts made by Lamis and by his followers after him. All were made in nearly the same region, on or near the coast between Catania and Syracuse. They were made in the neighbourhood of the peninsula which lies between the two, the peninsula which forms the northern horn of the long and shallow bay of which the Syracusan hill forms the southern horn[1]. But the first settlement of all was not on the bay, but on the peninsula itself, on its northern side. Here, where the coast, which has stretched southwards in nearly a straight line from Catania, takes a south-eastern turn, a small bay is found whose eastern horn is the north-western point of the peninsula, the cape called Campolato or Edera. The bay is altogether overshadowed by the distant bulk of Ætna, which rises almost directly to the north of it. Its west side received the waters of the short-lived Pantakyas[2], at whose mouth a castle of the later middle age rises over the small fishing-village of Brucoli. This most likely marks the site of the place called Trôtilon, where Lamis planted his first settlement[3]. The colony was actually founded; whether under the name of Trôtilon or of Megara we are not told. Nor do we know the exact length of the Megarian sojourn at Trôtilon; but it came to an end during the life-time of Theoklês, the founder of Naxos and Leontinoi. It was to his second settlement, lying nearly due west from Trôtilon, that Lamis and his

Settlement at Trôtilon.

[1] On the whole region see Schubring, Umwanderung, p. 434 et seqq.

[2] See above, p. 82.

[3] Thuc. vi. 4; *κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Λάμις ἐκ Μεγάρων ἀποικίαν ἄγων ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὑπὲρ Παντακύου τε ποταμοῦ Τράτιλόν τι ὄνομα χωρίον οἰκίσας.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

followers now moved. The dissatisfied settlers of Trôtilon found for a moment a home in newly founded Leontinoi. CHAP. IV.

The settlers received at Leontinoi.

Our main story tells us only that the Megarians left Trôtilon, that they moved to Leontinoi, that they were admitted to joint citizenship with the older Chalkidian settlers, and were in the end driven out by them [1]. There is nothing here, whether there be anything or not in the account of the foundation of Leontinoi, to throw doubt on the fuller story which tells us how the Megarians came into Leontinoi and how they went out of it [2]. Lamis is seemingly disposed to make an attack on Leontinoi, which is still occupied by Theoklês and his Chalkidians in joint holding with the Sikels. Theoklês, on the other hand, invites the Megarians to help him to get rid of the Sikel element in Leontinoi. No story better illustrates the doctrine that the Greek owed no duties to the barbarian, unless he took them upon him by special agreement. None better illustrates the fashion, so common between Greek and barbarian, sometimes even between Greek and Greek, of fulfilling such agreements in the letter, while breaking them in the spirit. Theoklês and his companions can do nothing against their Sikel fellow-townsmen, because they are bound to them by oaths. But Lamis and his companions are bound by no such tie; they therefore may do what they will to the barbarians without scruple. He, Theoklês, will himself do no harm to any Sikel; but he will give Lamis every opportunity in that way [3]. By agreement then between the two Greek leaders, the gates are opened by night; the Megarians come in; they occupy the *agora* and the akropolis; they set upon the un-

Dealings of Theoklês and Lamis with the Sikels.

[1] Thuc. vi. 4; *ὕστερον αὐτόθεν τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσιν ἐν Λεοντίνοις ὀλίγον χρόνον ξυμπολιτεύσας, καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἐκπεσών.*

[2] The story is given by Polyainos, v. 5. See above, p. 369.

[3] Polyainos, v. 5; *Θεοκλῆς . . . αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκβαλεῖν ἔφη τοὺς συνοικοῦντας Σικέλους μὴ δύνασθαι διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους· ἐκείνοις δὲ νυκτὸς ἀνοίξειν τὰς πύλας, καὶ παρελθόντας αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τοῖς Σικελοῖς ὡς πολεμίοις.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. armed Sikels and drive them out of the city. This done, the Chalkidians and Megarians dwell together in Leontinoi [1].

In this story either Theoklês designs from the beginning to entrap the Megarians no less than the Sikels, or else the presence of Dorians in the Chalkidian city becomes as irksome as the presence of Sikels. After six months of joint possession, the Chalkidian leader began to devise devices against the Megarians. Before the new settlers came, while the Chalkidians were still engaged in war with the Sikels, they had vowed—or Theoklês found it convenient to give out that they had vowed—that, if ever they should have full possession of the city, they would do sacrifice to the twelve gods and make a procession in full armour in their honour [2]. The Sikels were gone, and the fulfilment of the vow should be no longer delayed. But the vow bound only the Chalkidians; the Megarians could have no share in the rite. The Megarians suspected nothing; they bade the Chalkidians discharge their vow, and wished them good luck of it [3]. The Chalkidians then put on their harness and girded themselves with their weapons. The sacrifice was done; the armed worshippers marched in solemn state to the *agora*. There, at Theoklês' bidding, a herald proclaimed that all Megarians must leave the city before sunset. The Megarians, taken by surprise, fled to the altars as suppliants. They craved that they might not be pursued; they craved that they might be allowed to take their arms with them [4]. To this last demand Theoklês did not agree. The Megarians left Leontinoi unhurt but unarmed [5].

Alleged vow of the Chalkidians.

The Megarians driven out.

[1] Polyainos, v. 5; Μεγαρεῖς δὲ ἀντὶ Σικελῶν Χαλκιδεῦσι συνῴκησαν.

[2] Ib.; ἐὰν κρατήσωμεν τῆς πόλεως ἀσφαλῶς, θύσειν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καὶ πέμψειν πομπὴν ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένην.

[3] Ib.; θύειν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ κελευόντων.

[4] Ib.; ἠξίουν μὴ διώκεσθαι ἢ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκπέμπεσθαι.

[5] Ib.; γυμνοὶ Μεγαρεῖς τῆς Λεοντίνων ἐκπεσόντες.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

Whatever we make of this story in its details, we must accept the main facts that the Megarians made some sojourn at Leontinoi and were driven thence by the earlier Chalkidian settlers. Lamis and his companions had now to seek a third home. From the inland site of Leontinoi they again turned to the coast; but this time they settled themselves within the bay which lies between Syracuse and the peninsula which they had forsaken. That bay contains more than one small island and more than one somewhat larger peninsula. Of these last that which projects to the south seems to have borne the name of Xiphonia, perhaps, like one of the fishes of those waters, from its likeness to the shape of a sword[1]. In shape, direction, and general look, the peninsula of Xiphonia bears the strongest likeness to the island of Ortygia. It gives its name to the bay immediately to the east of it, and to the promontory beyond the bay, the modern Punta d'Izzo. If Ortygia is an island, while Xiphonia is a peninsula, the southern part of Ortygia, the small peninsula which bears the castle, is represented by the island off the south point of Xiphonia, where the light-house seems to float on the sea. It is not from every point that the peninsula of Xiphonia can be seen in its real character. It is prominent in every view, as bearing the later town of Augusta; but its low ground is apt to get mixed up to the eye with the higher ground of the main peninsula which points eastward. No site would seem more inviting for every purpose of the settlers. Yet, from whatever motive, Lamis and his followers passed it by, and chose instead a site which lies a little to the south. About half way between the peninsula of Xiphonia and the northern side of Achradina, the bay is divided into two by yet another peninsula, one of hammer-like shape, pointing northward and southward. It is joined

Third settlement, at Thapsos.

Peninsula of Xiphonia.

[1] See Schubring, Umwanderung, p. 459, and Appendix XIX.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. to the mainland by an isthmus so narrow and so low that from many points the peninsula has the look of an island, and in common speech it is spoken of as such. This is Thapsos, now Magnisi, which parts the bay of Trôgilos to the south from the bay to the north to which the result of all these movements gave the name of Megara.

Character of Thapsos.

Of Thapsos we have already heard, as one of the places which — like Xiphonia and the headland beyond it — are likely to have been seats of Phœnician occupation. And in the case of Thapsos a Phœnician origin has been asserted for its name[1]. We shall hear of the spot again in the course of our story[2]. It looks low[3]; yet it has a rocky shore at several points, specially at the south-east, where tombs older than the days of Lamis are cut in the rock. Its main face however slopes gently down to the eastern sea. The isthmus is low indeed and sandy; but the waves which have eaten away so much hard rock on these coasts have spared it. Thapsos, a *chersonêsos* in the days of Thucydidies[4], is a *chersonêsos* still; one may walk to it, over its hardly visible isthmus, from the low coast which, along the more part of this bay, lies between the sea and the inland hills. The site is now forsaken, save one or two houses and a light-house. In the fifth century before Christ it seems to have been equally desolate; we know not whether in the eighth there were either Phœnicians to come to terms or Sikel owners of the rock-tombs to be driven out. At no time does there seem to have been any abiding town on Thapsos; but it was now chosen for a settlement by Lamis and his Megarian comrades. But their stay there was short.

[1] See Appendix XIII.

[2] Thuc. vi. 97.

[3] Virg. Æn. iii. 688;

"Vivo prætervehor ostia saxo
Pantagiæ, Megarosque sinus, Thapsumque jacentem."

[4] Thuc. vi. 97; ἔστι δὲ χερσόνησος μὲν ἐν στενῷ ἰσθμῷ προύχουσα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, τῆς δὲ Συρακοσίων πόλεως οὔτε πλοῦν οὔτε ὁδὸν πολλὴν ἀπέχει.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

It is said to have lasted only for a single winter, during which the founder died [1]. CHAP. IV.

A fourth time then did the surviving companions of Lamis set forth to look for a place of Sicilian settlement. The thought of going back to the old Megara seems not to have come into their heads, even after so many disappointments. Their efforts were at last crowned with some measure of success. They did found a new city, a new Megara; but it was a short-lived city, which never grew to a place alongside of its mightier neighbours. The site now chosen was close on the coast of the bay, yet strictly on the mainland; that is, it was not on any island or even peninsula. It was placed on a piece of ground between Thapsos and Xiphonia, which stands conspicuously high on that low coast and presents a rocky face to the sea. Several streams, greater and smaller, flow into this part of the bay. The new Megara occupied the space between two of them, at the south of the river now known as Cantara. This stream runs through a swampy ground, between the low height of Megara and another low height to the north. The site of the town stretches south as far as another stream known as San Guzmano. The stream itself is hardly visible, but its *dale*, *strath*, or *wadi*—to use large names for small things—makes a marked barrier. This is the Alabôn, one of the short-lived streams of that coast. Legend was busy about its phænomena, and it was held to flow from a deep swimming-place wrought by the hand of Daidalos [2]. Of the Fourth settlement, at Megara.

[1] Thuc. vi. 4; Θάψον οἰκίσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποθνήσκει. Polyænos, v. 5; Τρώτιλον κατῴκησαν μέχρι ἑνὸς χειμῶνος. Here Trôtilon is confounded with Thapsos. He adds μέχρι γὰρ τοσούτου συνεχώρησαν οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς, which is not very clear.

[2] Diod. iv. 78; πλησίον τῆς Μεγαρίδος φιλοτέχνως ἐποίησε τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Κολυμβήθραν, ἐξ ἧς μέγας ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν πλησίον θάλασσαν ἐξερεύγεται καλούμενος Ἀλαβών. See Schubring, p. 444, who has collected the various spellings of the name. The μέγας ποταμός, when I saw it, had

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. city itself three sides of its enclosure are thus clearly marked; to the west and south-west the line is less clear; but the whole site of the city forms an irregular triangle, about three miles in its whole circuit [1]. Beyond the natural features, there is little in the site to catch the eye; no building survives above ground, save a small piece of the northern wall, built into a modern house. But the site has supplied more than one example of the primitive Doric capital, and latterly a most singular colonnade has been brought to light, which seems to have formed the *propylaia* of Megara on the western side. Unfluted octagonal columns seem more in place in a mediæval church than in a building which must be older than the days of Gelôn [2].

Remains of Megara.

The *Hyblaian* Megara.

The town of Hybla.

The Sicilian Megara is distinguished from its Nisaian parent by the surname of Hyblaian. The name suggests the so-called hills of Hybla [3], and Thymbris forms a chief feature in the view from the spot where Megara was. But Megara and the hills alike take their name from that town of Hybla, the Greater Hybla, which stood hard by, and which in later times in some sort supplanted Megara [4]. The actual site of Hybla seems to lie on the slight height to the north of the hill of Megara, by the stream called Mylas or Marcellino. But one question at once suggests itself. Why did not the Megarians, in trying so many sites, at least attempt to occupy the peninsula of Xiphonia [5]?

Why was not Xiphonia occupied?

hardly any water, but its swampy bed was quite unlike the *fiumare* further north.

[1] On the site see Schubring, Umwanderung, 460.

[2] There are other singular points about these columns; some odd projections on their sides, and a range of huge pots in front of them. I suppose that the remains of Megara must be older than the destruction by Gelôn. The site was occupied in later times, but it was never again an important city.

[3] See above, pp. 70, 159.

[4] See Appendix IX.

[5] See Appendix XIX.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

It was, one would have thought, the most attractive site in the whole neighbourhood, after the Corinthians had made Ortygia their own. Like Ortygia, it would, with its haven on each side, have suggested the memory of old Megara as well as of Corinth. A town founded on the Xiphonian *chersonêsos* might, with the same good luck which befell Syracuse, have spread itself over the greater neighbouring peninsula, just as Syracuse spread itself over the hill of Achradina and Epipolai. Megara, without any insular or peninsular position, and without anything that could be called an akropolis, seems in every way less desirable. It has been suggested that Xiphonia may have become a specially strong Sikel settlement, strengthened by those Sikels who had been driven out from Ortygia and Leontinoi [1]. This is hardly satisfactory, but it is not easy to suggest anything better. But with regard to the choice of Megara, we have some slight clue in the singular story that, in the occupation of their fourth site, the Megarians were helped by a Sikel king who betrayed the place to them [2]. His name Hyblôn might suggest that he was a mere sport of fancy, an *epónymos* of the neighbouring Hybla. Yet after all, Hyblôn of Hybla need be no more mythical than Gelôn of Gela and Agyris of Agyrium. It is vain to speculate on the motives of this Sikel philhellên; but the native prince or leader who, for his own ends, brings in the stranger is not uncommon in tales of settlement. The tale might further suggest that the mixture of Greek and Sikel blood may have been greater at Megara than in most Sikeliot cities. There is commonly a woman in all such stories; but in the few words in which the present tale is handed down to us, we do not hear either of the Greek leader marrying the daughter of the Sikel prince

King Hyblôn.

Probable Sikel intermixture at Megara.

[1] Schubring, Umwanderung, p. 448.

[2] Thuc. vi. 4; *ἐκ τῆς Θάψου ἀναστάντες Ὕβλωνος βασιλέως Σικελοῦ προδόντος τὴν χώραν καὶ καθηγησαμένου, Μεγαρέας ᾤκισαν τοὺς Ὑβλαίους καλουμένους.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. or of the rarer form in which the Sikel prince might marry the daughter of the Greek leader. I have called Naxos the Ebbsfleet of Sicily; but we shall hardly find along this coast a parallel to the nameless daughter of Hengest.

§ 5. *The Foundation of Zanklê.*

c. B.C. 715.

Foundation of Zanklê.

The Greek possession of the eastern coast of Sicily was completed by the foundation of the famous city on the strait, Zanklê, whose first name has passed away, but which, under its later name of Messana [1], has lived, and commonly flourished, down to our own times. Well within the narrow sea, a little to the south of its narrowest point, just where the view across between Sicily and Italy is, more distinctly than anywhere else, an eastern and western view, a low and narrow rim of land stretches into the strait to the north-east, and turns round to the west, leaving but a narrow mouth into a small inlet of the sea. The shape is, far more distinctly than that of Drepana in the north-west, the shape of a reaping-hook, and we are told that a reaping-hook was called *Zanklon*, or rather *Danklon*, in the Sikel tongue [2]. From this marked natural feature the spot, and the city which arose hard by, took its name. The *epônymos* has thrust himself in here, as everywhere else; a King Zanklos of Zanklê appears in one of the legends of Ôriôn [3]; but no one can reasonably doubt that the city of

Its position.

Origin of the name;

[1] See Appendix XX.

[2] See Appendix IV.

[3] Oriôn threw up the *Aktê* or *Zanklê* for King Zanklos. Diod. iv. 85; *κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Σικελίαν κατασκευάσαι Ζάγκλῳ τῷ τότε βασιλεύοντι τῆς τότε μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ζάγκλης, νῦν δὲ Μεσσήνης ὀνομαζομένης ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν λιμένα προσχώσαντα τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἀκτὴν ποιῆσαι.* This is quite another notion of the work of Oriôn from that which Diodôros goes on to tell, and which has been spoken of above, p. 58. Stephen of Byzantium, in Ζάγκλη, has both this and another guess; *οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ζάγκλου τοῦ γηγενοῦς ἢ ἀπὸ κρήνης Ζάγκλης.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the reaping-hook is the city of the reaping-hook. Of that city the inlet fenced in by its sickle-shaped defence became the haven. That haven, so fenced in, with the dolphin as its inmate, appears on the oldest coins of *Danklê*. That, and not *Zanklê*, is the oldest form of the name, perhaps the only one acknowledged on the spot[1]. And well might the natural *Danklon* claim to give its name to *Danklê*. This sickle-shaped peninsula, which shares the name of *Aktê* with the solid mass of Attica or of Argolis[2], is the distinguishing feature of the place; this natural breakwater has enabled the city under all changes to keep up its character as a haven of the sea. None of the successive masters of Sicily could afford to neglect such a position as this. By virtue of it the city on the strait has ever remained one of the chief cities of the island. For a long time past it has been the second among them, not without some half-remembered claim to be the first. Thoroughly to take in the position of the haven and its guard, the traveller should climb one of the hills which in truth he cannot go very far from the sea-shore without beginning to climb. He will see little but the site. Messina is a modern city, with a few mediæval buildings surviving. It does not keep even a Norman or Saracen impress in the way that Palermo does. The Greek lives only in the witness which the view gives to his skill in choosing the position of his cities. So far Danklê still lives, far more truly than Panormos. Messana does not sit, like Panormos, in the midst of a rich *campagna* fenced in by mountains. No one could ever, in gazing at Messana, have thought of speaking of its land as the Golden Shell. One might rather say that a *campagna*, feebly suggesting that of Panormos, comes

CHAP. IV.

its oldest forms.

Character of the site.

[1] DANK, DANKL, DANKLE seem to be only forms on the coins older than the name Messana. Coins of Sicily, p. 99.

[2] This is clearly its meaning in the passage of Diodôros quoted in p. 390, note 3.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. to an end where the city begins. The hills that rise above the *Danklon* are lower than those that rise above the All-haven; or rather the high mountains keep further from the shore, while the lower hills come nearer to it. These last fix the position of the city itself, which fills up the narrow space between their feet and the haven. The streets of the city climb up the sides of the hills; they are washed by the fierce *fiumare* that rush down their slopes; the monasteries and fortresses of the town crown the heights which rise at once above its lower buildings. From them we look down on the city, on the strait, on the mainland which draws so near, on the city of the mainland whose history is so closely bound up with the history of the island, and whose name preserves the half-false, half-true, belief that island and mainland once were one. That it looked out on Italy, that it looked out on Rhêgion, that Rhêgion and Italy lay nearer to it than any Sikeliot city and its territory, is the central fact of the whole tale of Zanklê and Messana.

Earlier inhabitants.

The Sikel name of the city naturally suggests the thought that the præ-Hellenic inhabitants had not neglected so favourable a site. The rafts of the legend, or whatever means brought the Sikels into *Sikania*, must have landed them at no great distance from the reaping-hook and the fenced-in haven. We may be sure that the first Greek settlers at this point found a town and haven ready for them, possibly a Phœnician factory on the *Danklon* itself. But who were those first Greek settlers; when and whence did they come? Some speak of Zanklê simply as a settlement from the Sikeliot Naxos, like Leontinoi, Katanê, and vanished Euboia. Our chief guide, while not venturing, as in other cases, to fix any date, tells quite another story. According to him the first Greek settlers were pirates from the Campanian Kymê[1]. As regarded the Sikel inhabitants all Greek settlers

Question of Phœnicians.

First Greek settlement by pirates from Kymê;

[1] See Appendix XX.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

were alike pirates. Between Greek and barbarian international law was unknown; the pirates of Kymê may not have treated the Sikels of Danklon any worse than their countrymen were treated by Theoklês at Naxos or by Archias at Syracuse. What is meant is that these settlers from Kymê were private adventurers who were not sent forth from Kymê under an acknowledged founder, with the traditional ceremonies observed in the sending forth of a colony. Such an irregular settlement had no acknowledged place among Greek cities; a Zanklaian from such a Zanklê would hardly have been received at the games of Pythô or Olympia. A second and more regular birth of the city followed, after what interval Thucydidês fails to tell us. Settlers from Chalkis and other parts of Euboia came and shared the possession with the first pirates or their successors. This new plantation was made with all proper forms, under two regular founders. From Kymê came Periêrês, from Chalkis, one metropolis of Kymê, came, according to order, the other, Krataimenês[1]. The chain of Chalkidian settlements from Leontinoi northwards was made up by the foundation of the greatest among them.

CHAP. IV.

not an acknowledged colony.

Regular settlement from Kymê and Chalkis.

The date of the foundation of Zanklê, though unrecorded by Thucydidês, is not very hard to fix. That is at least, if we accept the belief that banished Messenians from Peloponnêsos, at the beginning of their first war with Sparta, found help from Zanklê in their search for a new home. Rhêgion, it is said, was founded by Chalkidians of Euboia, invited by the Chalkidians of Zanklê to become their neighbours, and who were accompanied by a band of settlers from the Peloponnesian Messênê[2]. This date, compared with those

Date of the settlement.

[1] See Appendix XX.

[2] See Appendix XX. The Peloponnesian and the Sicilian Μεσσάνα have of course an equal right to the Doric form, but it makes things clearer to keep it for the Μεσσάνα of Sicily.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. given by Thucydidês for the foundation of Naxos and the rest, would enable us to fix the beginnings of Zanklê to any time later than the settlement of Naxos and Katanê and earlier than the end of the first Messenian war. This allows only a very few years between the first piratical occupation—unless that is placed earlier—and the more regular settlement under Periêrês and Krataimenês. But in these times an approximate chronology is all that we can get. Such signs as we have would lead us to fix the formal colonization of Zanklê to the last years of the third
c. B.C. 715. quarter of the eighth century before Christ. We have at least no better date to suggest, and our record of the foundation of so memorable a city is driven to be meagre indeed beside the topographical and legendary wealth of Syracuse and even of Megara.

Extent of the territory of Zanklê.

The position of Zanklê suggests some thoughts as to the extent of its territory. The position of Syracuse, as we shall presently see, was an irresistible temptation to that city to occupy the south-eastern corner of the island, to stretch, as far as was possible in Sicily, from sea to sea. Zanklê was the only other Sikeliot city in the same case; only what was a temptation in the case of Syracuse became a necessity in the case of Zanklê. The city on the strait had a free passage southward; but, for any safe navigation of the Tyrrhenian sea, it was needful that
Pelôris. Zanklê should hold the Pelorian corner of Sicily and so much of the north coast as was needful for its safe holding. That low corner, with its salt lakes and its sandy beach, looking out on the Italian mountains, was a Zanklaian possession; so was the real headland of Phalakrion to the west of it. Further on, passing that headland, the line of the coast supplied an easy natural boundary to the west. There a peninsula pointing northwards, a peninsula low as compared with the neighbouring heights, and which at a

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

distance looks almost like another Thapsos, but which is in truth a rocky height rising boldly above the sea, is joined to the mainland by a flat isthmus. That was the *chersonêsos* of Mylai, a point of special importance as a post of watching, looking out as it did over the still barbarian coast to the west and over the Isles of Aiolos. There was the hill ready for an akropolis, and a bend of the coast, a loftier Danklon, provided a sheltered haven. The castle hill, from which the modern town of Milazzo has crept down to the isthmus, was occupied by a fortress which was the bulwark of Zanklê and of Hellas towards the still independent Sikels of the north coast. Mylai is sometimes spoken of as a city and colony of Zanklê, but it seems rather to have been a simple border fortress of the Zanklaian territory without any separate political being[1]. The occupation of so important a post is not likely to have been long delayed, as soon as the strength of the new founded city was such as to allow of such an undertaking. There are some slight signs that the chersonêsos of Mylai may have been occupied within a very few years of the first foundation of Zanklê[2]. But it is a point on which no absolute certainty can be reached.

CHAP. IV.

Mylai or Milazzo.

§ 6. *The Settlements on the Southern and Northern Coasts.* B. C. 689–581.

All the Greek settlements in Sicily up to this time had been made on the eastern side of the island. We may say

Settlement on the east coast completed.

[1] Mylai was not a city. In Thucydides iii. 90 it is Μυλαὶ αἱ τῶν Μεσσηνίων, and in vi. 72 he distinctly says of Himera, ἥπερ μόνη ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς Σικελίας Ἑλλὰς πόλις ἐστίν. (See Bunbury, Dict. Geog. in Mylæ.) So in Diod. xii. 54 it is only φρούριον. Skylax (13), less carefully, calls it πόλις Ἑλληνὶς καὶ λιμήν, and Skymnos (288) reckons it among Chalkidian cities.

[2] See Appendix XX.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. this, even if we hold the Zanklaian occupation of Mylai to be as old as the regular foundation of Zanklê itself. For the settlement, the city itself, was on the east coast, within the strait. The occupation of Mylai was no occupation of the northern coast as such; it was simply a measure to secure possession of a point on the strait. By the foundation of Zanklê the Greek occupation of the east coast was completed. From that time the enterprising spirits of Greece seem for a while to have turned away their thoughts from Sicily to other fields of settlement. For nearly forty years Italy was preferred. If we put any faith in one version of the tale of Archias, settlement in Italy—setting aside solitary Kymê and her children—must have been as old as settlement in Sicily[1]; Krotôn must be as old as Syracuse. In the received chronology, Sybaris, Achaian with a Troizênian element, was younger than Syracuse, and Krotôn, also Achaian, was younger than Sybaris[2]. At some unfixed but not very distant time, the Lokroi of Italy sprang into being in a less honourable fashion. The city where nobility passed through the mother because of the baseness of the first set of fathers—base indeed in the trick by which they won the land from the unsuspecting Sikels[3]—is of no small moment in Sicilian history. It fittingly ennobled the tyranny of Dionysios by the grant of a Lokrian wife[4]. Rhêgion, whose date is so closely connected with that of Zanklê[5], comes earlier on the Sicilian stage. Taras, Tarentum, Taranto, founded beyond

Greek settlements in Italy.

Sybaris.

Lokroi.

Rhêgion.

Taras.

[1] See above, p. 339.

[2] The date of Sybaris is given as 721, that of Krotôn as 703. Clinton, F. H., i. 174. See Strabo, vi. 1. 13. The more important fact of the Troizenian element at Sybaris comes from Aristotle, Pol. v. 3. 11, where he records their driving out.

[3] See the story in Polybios, xii. 5. Cf. Dionysios Periêgêtês, 365;

τῇ δ' ὑπὸ Λόκροι ἔασιν, ὅσοι προρίοις ἐτέεσσιν
ἦλθον ἐπ' Αὐσονίην, σφετέρῃς μιχθέντες ἀνάσσῃς.

[4] Diod. xiv. 44.

[5] See Appendix XX.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the bounds of the first Italy[1], has also its occasional place in our story. Metapontion arose as an Achaian outpost against Dorian Taras[2], and the short-lived Siris stepped in from Ionian Kolophôn to fill up the gap between the oldest settlement of Achaia and the youngest.

Metapontion. Siris.

All these Italiot settlements seem to have been planted after the completion of Greek settlement on the east coast of Sicily, and before it began on the other two sides. While the Greek in the oldest Italy was spreading from sea to sea in a way in which in Sicily he never could, the northern and southern coasts of the great island, as well as the special Phœnician corner in the west, were left to the native inhabitants and to the Semitic colonists. A kind of spell seems to have kept men from entering on a new phase of Sicilian settlement, as such a spell had once kept them from attempting Sicilian settlement at all. At last the eyes of adventurous Greeks were again turned from Italy to Sicily. In the course of the seventh century before Christ, first the southern, and then the northern coast, was opened to Greek enterprise; but with very different results on the two sides. On the northern coast of Sicily Greek colonies were always few, and they numbered among them no city of the first rank. On the south side, within the space of about a hundred years, there arose a series of cities which play a most important part in Sicilian history. One of them became the abiding rival of Syracuse; another, of older foundation, gave Syracuse a line of renowned rulers.

Northern and southern Sicily still barbarian.

Greek settlement in Sicily begins again.

On the north and south coast.

That the work of Greek colonization in Sicily began on the east side was doubtless mainly owing to the simple fact that it was the east side, the side to which settlers from Greece would naturally first make their way. But the southern

[1] See Thuc. vi. 44.

[2] Cf. Strabo, v. 2. 5, with the wild tales in Diodôros, iv. 67, and Justin, xx. 2. 1.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

Comparison of the eastern and southern coasts.

coast was in itself much less inviting than the eastern. Our earlier survey [1] has taught us that nowhere on the south side of Sicily does the coast make even that faint approach to the character of the coast of old Greece which is made by the insular and peninsular spots on each side of the hill of Syracuse. There are bays and there are capes; but the bays are shallow; the capes seldom put on any marked peninsular shape, and they seldom afford sites for the foundation of towns. There are no inlets of the sea like those which are fenced in by Ortygia and Plêmmyrion, by Thapsos and Xiphonia. The coast might, by comparison at least, be called havenless; the cities are near the sea, but not in it; the greatest of them simply looks down on the sea from an inland site. We may safely say that, all along this coast, the havens and the seafaring relations of the cities are quite secondary as compared with their position by land. Naxos and Syracuse are cities of the sea, in the sea, which won for themselves a greater or less dominion on the land. The cities on the southern coast are rather cities of the land to whose full developement a sea-board and a haven was needful. They had their ships, their commerce, some of them their colonies; but their wealth and strength came in a larger measure from the fruits of the earth than from the traffic of the waters [2].

Foundation of Lindioi or Gela. B.C. 588.

The first of these cities of the south coast was founded in the forty-fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse, by settlers from Rhodes and Crete, among whom the Rhodian

[1] See above, pp. 52, 65.

[2] This is true of the coast generally. None of these cities seems to have ever had any considerable navy. Akragas had a great trade with Africa, but it was chiefly in her own produce. Gela certainly lived mainly on its rich plain. Selinous, on the other hand, did send ships to serve in the wars of old Greece; Thuc. viii. 26.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

element clearly prevailed[1]. But the settlement was acknowledged as a joint foundation of the two islands under a founder from each, Antiphêmos of Rhodes and Entimos of Crete. Legends of oracles are not lacking. In one version the Pythia bids the two to go and found the city of Gela by the mouth of the river of the same name[2]. The other version is darker. There is no mention of Entimos; Antiphêmos goes with his brother Lakios, and is bidden to go to the west, while Lakios goes to the east[3]. With Rhodians and Cretans there seem also to have been mingled adventurers from the neighbouring islands, and even from the opposite coast of Asia[4]. But whatever were its exact elements, the new settlement was founded wholly by Greeks from the south-eastern Ægæan, as distinguished from the Chalkidians, Corinthians, and Megarians, of whom we have had hitherto to speak. Among them the customs and speech of the Dorians of Rhodes and her neighbour islands were predominant[5]. The new settlement therefore became an addition to the Doric element in Sicily, already

CHAP. IV.

Joint Rhodian and Cretan settlement.

Legends.

[1] Thuc. vi. 4; Γέλαν δὲ Ἀντίφημος ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἔντιμος ἐκ Κρήτης ἐποίκους ἀγαγόντες κοινῇ ἔκτισαν, ἔτει πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ μετὰ Συρακουσῶν οἴκισιν. Herod. vii. 153; κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμου. He leaves out the Cretans. On Gela, see Schubring, Historisch-geographische Studien über Altsicilien, p. 78.

[2] Diod. Exc. Vat. 13;

> Ἔντιμε καὶ Κράτανος ἀγακλέος υἱὲ δαίφρων,
> ἐλθόντες Σικελὴν χθόνα . . . . ναίετον ἄμφω,
> δειμάμενοι πτολίεθρον ὁμοῦ Κρητῶν Ῥοδίων τε
> πὰρ προχοὰς ποταμοῖο Γέλα συνομώνυμον ἀγνόν.

[3] This is the story in Stephen of Byzantium, Γέλα, which reminds one of that of Geleôs and Telmissos (see Appendix IX). It comes from Aristainetos, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ Φασήλιδα. Antiphêmos *laughs*, and the Pythia repeats her order; τοῦ δ' Ἀντιφήμου γελάσαντος τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν πάλιν· ἀφ' ἡλίου δυσμῶν καὶ ἦν ἂν πάλιν οἰκήσῃ. There is here a lurking derivation of Γέλα from γέλως.

[4] Herod. vii. 135, when the most famous man of Gela traces his descent from the isle of Têlos.

[5] Thuc. vi. 4; νόμιμα δὲ Δωρικὰ ἐτέθη αὐτοῖς. It was needful to mention this, as Crete was not wholly Dorian.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. represented by Corinth and Megara, as distinguished from the Ionians of Naxos, Leontinoi, Katanê, and Zanklê.

Sikel origin of the name *Gela.*

The oracle which bade Antiphêmos fix his colony by the mouth of the river Gelas is worthy of as little regard as that which bade Archias plant his in the island of Ortygia[1]. Yet there is this difference, that Ortygia was a name given to the island by the settlers themselves, while the name of Gelas is one of our most precious relics of the earlier tongues of Sicily. We have already seen that, in the speech of the Sikels, the stream of Gelas was so called from its coldness[2]. This is a piece of etymology which carries its own genuineness with it. That the name suggested Greek derivations, serious or sportive[3], and that an epônymous hero Gelôn was devised[4], was only in the common course of things. And as Gelôn was in after days the name of the most renowned man of the new settlement, it was hardly more wonderful that the name of Deinomenês father of Gelôn should have been carried back to supplant Antiphêmos in his place of founder[5]. But we cannot doubt that Antiphêmos and Entimos made their

[1] See above, p. 338.

[2] On the name see above, p. 125. That the town took its name from the river is distinctly affirmed by Thucydides, vi. 4; *τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Γέλα ποταμοῦ τοὔνομα ἐγένετο.*

[3] Stephen of Byzantium (in *Γέλα*) goes on to say expressly, *ἴσως ἀπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος τὸ Γελῶος.* So the joke of Aristophanês in the Acharnians, 608;

τοὺς ἐν Καμαρίνᾳ κἀν Γέλᾳ κἀν Καταγέλᾳ.

Schubring refers also to the beginning of Plutarch's Comparison of Aristophanês and Menandros. There we certainly find the line—

ὑπὸ γέλωτος εἰς τὸ γελᾶν ἀφίξομαι.

The context, if we had it, might not unlikely show that there is a reference to Gela; but one can hardly say so without it. The Scholiast on Pindar (Olymp. ii. 15) somewhat perversely writes the name *Γέλλα*, but he preserves a verse from Kallimachos;

οἱ δὲ Γέλα ποταμοῦ κεφαλῇ ἐπακείμενον ἄστυ.

[4] Steph. Byz. in *Γέλα*; *Πρόξενος ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν περὶ πόρων Σικελικῶν καὶ Ἑλλάνικος ἀπὸ Γέλωνος τοῦ Αἴτνης καὶ Ὑμάρου.* According to some genealogies this would make him half-brother of the Palici; but who is his father?

[5] Etym. Magn. in *Γέλα*, where the story of the oracle is told.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

settlement near the mouth of the river Gelas, and that from that river the city which they founded, like many other cities, took the name by which it is best known in history. But it would seem that Gela was a later, perhaps in its beginning only a popular, name. To the first spot which the Rhodian settlers occupied and fortified, the spot which became the akropolis of the later city, they gave, in memory of one of the four cities of their own island, the name of Lindioi [1].

Lindioi the older name.

The river Gelas, now known, from the mediæval town which occupies part of the site of Gela, as the *Fiume di Terranova*, runs into the sea not far from the middle of the long but shallow bay which stretches from the modern Cape Scalambri on the south-east to the hill of Eknomos on the north-west [2]. At present it enters the sea by a single mouth near the eastern end of a long narrow hill which runs parallel to the sea, not rising sheer from it, but leaving a greater or less expanse of sand between the hill and the water. On the landward side the hill looks down on the fertile plain which took the name of the Geloan fields [3], a plain fenced in by the range of hills whose curve gives the natural inland boundary of the territory of the new settlement. Along the coast that territory stretches from the mouth of the Dirillo to the south-east, to that of the *Fiume Salso*, the southern Himeras, to the north-west. But there is some reason to think that, in the days when Gela was famous, the river from which it took its name had another mouth, perhaps more than one other mouth, much further to the north-west. Between the hill now

The river Gelas.

Extent of Geloan territory.

Changes in course of the river.

[1] Thuc. u. s.; τὸ δὲ χωρίον οὗ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ ὃ πρῶτον ἐτειχίσθη Λίνδιοι καλεῖται. Cf. Herod. vii. 135 in note 1, p. 399, and see Schubring, 93.

[2] See above, p. 63.

[3] Virg. Æn. iii. 701;

"Apparet Camarina procul campique Geloi,
Immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta."

Their crops of lentils are noticed in two passages of Athênaios (i. 54, ii. 74) from the comic poet Amphiôn. See Schubring, 104.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. partly occupied by the town and the hill beyond it on that side, a stream, known specially as the *Torrent*, empties itself into the sea. Further again to the north-west, on the other side of the hill, there are signs of a wider mouth again. In the older state of things one or both of these were the mouths of a north-western branch of the Gelas[1].

Poetic descriptions. The remaining stream is still, not a mere *fiumara*, but a real river with a certain volume of water; but, as in some other cases in Sicilian topography, we are a little amazed at the epithets applied to it by the Latin poets. We look in vain for the vast stream with its dangerous whirlpools[2]. We perhaps take refuge in the conjecture that the description was taken from the appearance of the river in some time of special flood[3], or in the more homely belief that the free use of its waters to make channels for the irrigation of the Geloan plain has altogether drained away one branch, and greatly lessened the amount of water in the other.

The hill of Gela. The question now comes, At what point of the long hill on which the town of Terranova, the modern representative of Gela, now stands did the first settlers plant their earliest fortified post, their Lindian akropolis? The answer to this question is not free from difficulties. The hill, nearly parallel to the sea, runs from north-west to south-east; it may be more convenient to speak of its western and eastern ends. It is divided into two marked parts by a gully running inwards from the sea, giving a peninsular shape to the parts of the hill east and west of it.

Modern Terranova. On the eastern part stands the present Terranova, whose mediæval walls however stop far short of the extreme east end of the hill. Beyond their eastern face stands the single relic of Gela which keeps its place, the lowest drum of an

[1] On the course of the river, see Schubring, 102. He does not seem to admit the branch west of the Torrente. I went over the ground with Mr. Arthur Evans in March, 1889.

[2] See above, p. 79.

[3] Schubring, 104.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

early Doric column, whose other drums with the capital lie shattered beside it. Here we have beyond doubt a memorial of the early greatness of Gela, before her own tyrants increased the greatness of Syracuse at her cost. The eastern, the one surviving branch, of the river Gelas runs into the sea almost immediately below. At the other end, the part of the hill west of the gully lies outside the modern town, and the greater part of it has ceased to be inhabited. It ends to the west in two, or rather three, spurs, one of which, the most distinct of the three, rises close above the sea, and is now nearly covered with sand. This end of the hill looks down on the piece of low and swampy ground through which the small winding stream of the *Torrente* makes its way into the sea. On the other hill already noticed, which rises to the west of the stream and stretches for some way in the same direction, there are several signs of foundations; in one place there are distinct marks of the basement of some considerable building. On the hill of Gela itself there are no certain signs of ancient buildings save the one column already spoken of. The walls have vanished, except so far as they are likely to be represented, during part of their extent, by the northern and southern walls of Terranova. On the seaward side of the western part of the hill the cliff is of crumbling earth, and the sand-drifts soon cover everything. The walls have therefore had every chance, first of falling down and then of being covered up. Still foundations of some kind are said to be found on this side of the hill, and its landward slope is certainly full of tombs. These are not the primæval burrowings of the Sikel or of the elder Sikan; they are Greek graves rich in vases of fine workmanship. Both in earlier and later times these vases are found alongside of skeletons; but in later times two modes of burial went on side by side; the vase itself now often holds the ashes of the dead. It seems plain

Remains of Gela.

Greek tombs.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. then that this part of the hill must have remained outside the city during a considerable time after the foundation of the settlement, though it may well have been taken within the wall at some later time. Within the walls of Terranova places of burial are not found. Along the sandy shore there is now no real haven, and there never could have been any at all worthy to compare with the great havens of Sicily. The place of embarking and landing for the small traffic of Terranova, once under the western part of the hill, has now shifted eastward, just below the modern town. But under the sand-covered spur at the western side of the hill a small reef runs out into the sea, which plays enough of the part of a breakwater to give even now some protection to ships, and which may lead us to place the ancient haven of Gela, such as it may have been, at this point.

The haven.

Lindioi at the west end of the hill.

These various signs may lead us to adopt, in a general way, the conclusions of the scholar who has given most attention to Geloan topography[1], so far at least as to place the earliest settlement on the western end of the western part of the hill, that furthest away from the modern town. The actual akropolis of Lindioi would thus have stood on the spur now covered with sand, which rises most directly out of the sea. Here then was the first city; the landward slope was its place of burial. Gela, strictly so called, the town immediately above the eastern branch of the river, the town to the east of the gully, taking in the present Terranova with the rest of the hill to the eastward, may

Gela begins as an outpost.

[1] Schubring, 87 et seqq. It must be remembered that for a long time Gela was thought to have been at Licata, not at Terranova. Fazello, i. 232, hits off the place very well, without knowing that it was Gela; "Terranova genuina est hodie, vetus utpote et nova mœnibus cincta. Sed quæ vetus est, et ad occidentem vergit, deserta ferme jacet. Recens vero cum lata sit, pro mensuræ modo sublimes habet muros et frequenter habitatur."

He guesses that the ruins may be those of Euboia or Kallipolis; but his editor Amico sets him right in p. 234.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

well have been in its beginning a detached outpost, like Achradina at Syracuse. A later extension of the city might bring the burial-ground within the walled precinct; the only point is that it could not have been so from the first. And in the hill beyond the *Torrente* we may see another outpost, a sacred outpost, answering to Polichna at Syracuse, one gathering round the great temple of Apollôn as the Syracusan Polichna gathered round the Olympieion. It is certain that Gela had a vast and renowned statue of Apollôn outside the walls [1]; every reason seems to support the belief that this hill was the place of it. We may even hope that some small part of the basement of the temple, perhaps rather of the wall of its *temenos*, may still be traced. The Dorians of Rhodes, bringing with them the worship of the great Dorian god, opening, under his patronage, a new world for Hellenic settlement on the southern coast of the great island, could not do less for him than had been done by the Chalkidians of the eastern coast. If Naxos served Apollôn a little, Gela should certainly serve him much. He was *Archagetas* at Gela no less than at Naxos. At Gela his own people should give him, not a statue which later ages should speak of by a fondling diminutive [2], but one which barbarian invaders might deem a worthy tribute from plundered Europe to the gods of Asia [3]. They would give him, not a mere altar by a shore, but a temple on a holy hill of his own, on a site which should look forth on the whole territory of the commonwealth, and should form its sacred centre. The city of the Geloans, rather of the Lindians, should be a temple-keeper of the god Apollôn from its birth. As Greek settlers adopted Sikel traditions and wrought them into Hellenic forms, the

CHAP. IV.

The temple of Apollôn;

his statue and worship.

[1] Diod. xiii. 108; ἐχόντων τῶν Γελώων ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν σφόδρα μέγαν. This is surely an out-door colossus, but the god would have a temple, or at least a *temenos*.

[2] See above, p. 326.

[3] Diod. xiii. 108.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

goddesses of Henna, protecting powers of all Sicily, would come in for their due share of Geloan reverence. Persephonê Sôsipolis—so called perhaps with reference to one memorable event in Gelôan history—appears on the coins of Gela crowning a bull, which we may hope means nothing worse than the local river-god [1]. To the Korê and her Mother we may, in the lack of any evidence of any other kind, be tempted to assign the temple of which we have already seen a venerable fragment on the eastern end of the hill. The akropolis of Lindioi looked out on the more ancient temple of the god who had brought the men of Rhodes and Crete to Sicily. Gela, the later outpost, arose under the protection of the native goddesses whom all who dwelled on Sicilian soil had learned to worship.

Worship of Dêmêter and Korê at *Gela*.

Gela, there can be no doubt, down to the time when her own tyrants, by extending her dominion, practically destroyed her, ranked high among the Greek cities of Sicily. At the time of her foundation Syracuse was her only Greek neighbour and possible rival. Gela marked the most western point of Greek advance in Sicily till Selinous arose far to the west of her, and till she herself filled up the gap thus left by the plantation of her colony Akragas, a colony which became greater than its metropolis. Thus placed between the two greatest of Sikeliot cities, Gela, as an inhabited city, had a character of her own quite unlike that of either of her neighbours. Never reaching the superficial extent of either, not boasting of the lofty site of Akragas or of the landlocked sea of Syracuse, Gela must have outshone both in the long front of buildings which she displayed towards the sea, and which must have been equally imposing from the land side. Placed on her

Position of Gela in early Sicilian history.

Character of the city.

[1] Schubring, die Münzen von Gela, 143; Bunbury, Dict. Geog. in Gela. Schubring rules the Sôsipolis to be Persephonê, and connects her with the sacred rites of the house of Deinomenês. The man-headed bull appears in all manner of shapes on the Geloan coins. Some have the legend from right to left, with the) for Γ.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

narrow hill between the sea and the great plain, she herself looked both ways, and she might be looked at as a whole on both sides in a way which few cities could. We can only guess at the long range of public and private buildings which must have filled up the space between the akropolis to the west and the temple of the goddesses to the east. To the west, the hill of Apollôn, itself perhaps half the length of the hill of the city, with the great temple and the statue, growing, we may well believe, into a secondary town, finished the view to the westward. The patron god of the Dorian Greek stood as a champion on his height to bid defiance to Sikans and Phœnicians. The challenge was needed in days when barbarians still held the land beyond the Himeras, and when their outpost of Eknomos stood forth like an island in the sea, at once inviting the Greek to further advance and proclaiming that advance might not always be found easy. CHAP. IV.

Gela the most western conquest from Sikels.

Such was the city into which the first Lindian akropolis of Antiphêmos and Entimos gradually grew. It must be always borne in mind that the land which they won for Hellas was the furthest land on the south coast which the Hellenic settlers wrested from the older worshippers of the goddesses of Henna. The later settlements to the west were planted at the cost of other races than the Sikel. It was undoubtedly the Sikel whom the founders of Gela found in possession of the site of their new colony[1]. The inevitable question again presents itself, whether the Greeks were forestalled in the possession of the site by Phœnicians, and whether they directly supplanted any Phœnician settlement or factory. No direct evidence suggests any such

[1] I think that the name of the river, with its obvious meaning, outweighs the statement of Pausanias (viii. 46. 2)—Thucydides, or even Diodôros, would have been more weighty—that Omphakê (see below, 409) was πόλισμα Σικανῶν.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. settlement at this point, nor does the point come within the definition of the sites specially chosen by the Phœnicians. Without help from legend or history, we should set down Eknomos as almost certainly a place for Phœnician settlement; we do not feel so sure about Gela. But if we choose to believe that the Rhodians and Cretans in any way supplanted Semitic occupants of Gela, what Hellas won from them was a smaller matter than what she won from the Sikel. The chief value of the town of Gela was that it was the head of the land of Gela. The rich fields between the sea and the encircling hills, the fields watered by the eponymous river and its tributaries, the fields that fed the renowned horses of Gela, were a precious possession indeed. Treeless as they now are, lacking, like the opposite African coast in that day, the familiar vines and olives of Sicily, presenting a marked contrast to the rich and varied vegetation of the gullies of the hills just above them, the Geloan fields are still rich in the fruits of the earth. The sportive derivation of the name of the city suggests the Eastern fancy of valleys so thick with corn that they shall laugh and sing, and the fields of Gela are among the few fields in Sicily which still grow the cotton which the Saracen brought with him from the East.

Question of Phœnician occupation.

The fields of Gela.

Outside the city itself, its temples, and the camp of its besiegers, not many historic sites are marked within the compass of the land of Gela. The boundary of that land along the coast seems marked with every likelihood by the mouth of the Dirillo towards Kamarina and by the mouth of the southern Himeras towards Akragas [1]. Gela itself stands far nearer to the south-eastern than to the north-western border. To the east of the city, between the two rivers and parallel with the sea, lies the Geloan lake, whose legends connect it, like most of the natural

Extent of territory.

Lake of Gela.

[1] See Schubring, 107.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

phænomena of Sicily, with the powers beneath the earth[1]. It now survives, under the name of a *Biviere* or *Vivarium*, as a reedy abode of water-fowl. At the only two recorded sites of any interest in the Geloan territory we can do more than guess. One of these, Maktôrion. Maktôrion, stood, we shall find, casually at least, in the closest relation to the chthonian powers[2]. Its site has been placed at many points. Some, both older and later, have fixed it far away among the hills to the north, at Mazzarino, the place from which the famous Cardinal took his name[3]. This is surely too far off; as a point occupied by Geloan seceders, the *Mons Sacer* of Gela, we should be inclined to place it nearer the city, somewhere along the hills on the Sikel border. A pointed hill on the road from Terranova to Niscemi, a hill crowned by a mediæval castle and known by the vague name of Castelluccio, seems quite unsuited; if we are to guess, we might be inclined to fix it at Niscemi itself, looking down on the whole Geloan land. And there is Omphakê, the alleged Sikan Omphakê. town from which Antiphêmos was said to have carried off the handywork of Daidalos[4]. This has been placed nearly due north of Gela, between the modern Butera and Niscemi[5]. But there seems no distinct evidence for any

CHAP. IV.

[1] I do not feel certain about the two being the same; but Solinus (v. 21), among the wonders of Sicily, has a "Gelonium stagnum," of which he adds; "Tætro odore abigit proximantes. Ibi et fontes duo, alter de quo si sterilis sumpserit fecunda fiet; alter quem si fecunda hauserit vertitur in sterilitatem." The nether-powers, givers of fruitfulness in other ways, are not altogether out of place; and one thinks of the birth of the Palici and the test-water near Kamarina, to which we shall come later on.

[2] Herod. vii. 153, of which we shall speak in the next Chapter.

[3] Schubring, 122. Fazello (i. 453) says; "Mazarenum ætate mei comitatus titulo ornatum . . . . qui Mactorium fuisse asserunt, in solo planè caligant." See Amico in p. 461. Cluver (361) seems to place it at Butera. I do not understand the entry in Steph. Byz.; *Μακτώριον πόλις Σικελίας· Φίλιστος πρώτῳ· ἣν ἔκτισε μόνην.* The nominative might supply an useful bit of knowledge.

[4] See above, p. 119.

[5] Schubring, 121.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. of these sites. The marked characteristic of Gela is that she was the mistress of the Geloan fields. But it is round their mistress that the historic interest of these rich fields almost wholly gathers.

Greek settlement on the north coast.

The next Greek settlement in Sicily marks another enlargement of the range of Greek colonization. On the east coast the Hellenic element was now predominant; on the south it had already begun to make its way. Gela had arisen, and we shall presently see that the foundation of Gela had stirred up Syracuse to a series of plantations whose object was to secure her possession of her own south-eastern corner[1]. But the north coast was still wholly in barbarian hands, except so far as Zanklê had secured her north-eastern corner by her outpost rather than colony at Mylai[2]. On the whole line of that shore there was as yet no independent Greek settlement, and at no time was the north coast set thick with Greek cities and fortresses like the eastern coast or the southern. At no time were there more than two independent Greek cities on that coast, and it is rather a straining of language to say that there ever were so many as two. During the really flourishing times of Greek Sicily there was one only, that one whose foundation we have now to record, the solitary city of Himera. It is remarkable that, while Thucydides records its foundation and the names of its founders, he assigns no date to the event. We get at the year of the birth of Himera only by a backward reckoning of the writer who records her death. When Himera was swept from the earth by Carthaginian vengeance, she had been two hundred and forty years in being[3]. And in her case her overthrow was for ever; Himera, once fallen, never

Its small amount at all times.

Settlement of Himera. B.C. 648.

[1] See in the next Chapter.

[2] See above, p. 395.

[3] Diod. xiii. 62; *τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος κατέσκαψεν, οἰκισθεῖσαν ἔτη διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα.* This is in B.C. 408.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

rose again. So short might sometimes be the life of a Greek colonial city, mighty and flourishing while its life lasted. CHAP. IV.

The settlement suggested by that of Gela.

We may suspect that it was the beginning of settlement on the southern coast made at Gela by Greeks from the eastern islands which suggested to other Greeks in Sicily itself this one early attempt on the northern side. The movement naturally came from that Greek city which lay nearest, and whose position had already driven her to turn the north-eastern corner. The metropolis of Himera was Zanklê; the founders of Himera, Eukleidês, Simos, and Sakôn, were presumably men from the metropolis of Zanklê, the Euboian Chalkis[1]. Of their comrades the greater part were Chalkidian, some perhaps from other Chalkidian cities beside Zanklê. But another element was mingled with them. Civil strife had already begun to rage in Syracuse; a whole *gens*, it would seem, was in exile, like the Tarquinii of Rome or the Alkmaiônids of Athens. These homeless Dorians joined in the settlement with the Chalkidians of Zanklê[2]. The name of the banished clan, the Mylêtidai, has naturally suggested the thought of the Zanklaian outpost on the northern shore, and the settlers of Himera are in one account described as the Zanklaians at Mylai[3]. It is dangerous to build on likeness of names; but it is open to any one to guess

Himera a colony of Zanklê.

Syracusan element in its population;

the Mylêtidai.

Possible connexion with Mylai.

[1] Thuc. vi. 5; Ἱμέρα ἀπὸ Ζάγκλης ᾠκίσθη ὑπὸ Εὐκλείδου καὶ Σίμου καὶ Σάκωνος. These founders, according to rule, should have come from Chalkis.

[2] Ib.; Χαλκιδῆς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦλθον ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν, ξυνῴκισαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Συρακουσῶν φυγάδες, στάσει νικηθέντες, οἱ Μυλητίδαι καλούμενοι. The Χαλκιδῆς might be either from Chalkis or from Zanklê.

[3] Strabo, vi. 2. 6; τὴν Ἰμέραν οἱ ἐν Μυλαῖς ἔκτισαν Ζαγκλαῖοι. One can hardly help connecting the names Μυλαί and Μυλητίδαι, and we must remember that Mylas is also a river in the Megarian bay. See above, p. 388, and Holm, i. 393. According to Stephen, the ἐθνικόν of Μυλαί is Μυλαίτης. It is of course possible that Strabo mistook the Μυλητίδαι of Thucydides for οἱ ἐν Μυλαῖς Ζαγκλαῖοι.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. that the banished Syracusans were first of all settled at Mylai under the protection of Zanklê, that they gave the place its name from some *epónymos* of their own race, that they promoted and shared in the new settlement of Himera, where they would be no longer protected exiles, but citizens of a new and independent commonwealth. All this may be so; and the geographical position of Mylai makes it in every way likely that it should be chosen as the actual starting-point of the new settlement.

Mixed dialect of Himera. What we really know of the relations of the Syracusan element in Himera to the rest of the citizens amounts to this, that they were strong enough in numbers to affect the dialect of the city, which was a mixture of Doric and Ionic. This kind of influence would take effect gradually and without set purpose. But Himera was a colony of Zanklê, not of any Doric city; she was an

Its laws Chalkidian. independent colony, not an outpost like Mylai. And, as a colony of Zanklê, her formal laws and institutions were Chalkidian [1].

Solitary site of Himera. The site chosen for the new settlement is one in every way to be studied. It is no extension of the territory which Zanklê had already begun to occupy on the northern shore. It would rather seem to have been fixed as far as possible both from Zanklê and from any other Greek settlement. It was, more than any other settlement up to this time, a distinct challenge to powerful barbarian enemies. That Sikel or Sikan occupants had to be swept away or subdued was a matter of course; the distinctive feature of Himera was that by land it marched on the Phœnician, while by sea it seemed to bid defiance to the Etruscan. We have already noticed the headland of Cephalœdium as the centre of the north coast of Sicily, the mid point of the wide and shallow bay

[1] Thuc. vi. 5; *φωνὴ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη, νόμιμα δὲ τὰ Χαλκιδικὰ ἐκράτησεν.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

which takes up so large a part of that coast[1]. The new settlers passed by several attractive sites, the seats of later cities, to the east of that headland. They passed by the headland itself, to make themselves a home in the more dangerous region between Cephalœdium and the Phœnician corner. It is of course rash to say what was the exact extent of Semitic dominion in Sicily at any given moment in the seventh century before Christ. The Phœnicians were then in the course of their retreat westward. But we may assume, as we have assumed all along, that Panormos, Motya, and Solous, their final cities of refuge, were at this time independent and powerful Phœnician settlements. Of these, Panormos and Solous lay within sight of Himera; Solous must have been a neighbour, a neighbour at whose expense we may suspect that the chief outpost of the Himeraian power was founded. It is no wonder then that the history of Himera is one to which such a position might naturally lead. Twice only does Himera play a prominent part in Hellenic history, on one of the most glorious and one of the saddest days in the whole annals of the Hellenic people. It is the city which beheld one of the two most crushing overthrows of the Phœnician by the arms of Greece, and it is the city which was most thoroughly swept away from the earth by the hands of Phœnician avengers.

CHAP. IV.

Its relation to the Phœnician settlements.

The new city, like not a few others, took its name from a neighbouring river. The northern Himeras, after a short but winding course among the mountains, empties itself into the Tyrrhenian sea at a point where a space of a mile or more of flat ground lies between the sea and the hills. For its name a Phœnician origin has, as usual, been found[2]; but a river is far more likely to bear a name

The city named from the river.

Meaning of the name.

[1] See above, p. 140.

[2] Movers (ii. 2. 339) is ready for both the rivers and the town: "Dürfte bei allen dreien Namen vom Brausen, Schäumen (חמר) der Quellen oder

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

belonging to one of the older tongues of the island, and in this region it would be more hopefully sought for in the speech of Sikans than of Sikels. To the Greek settlers the name, whatever its origin, suggested analogies, perhaps sportive, in their own language. Himera was the city of delight, the city of the day, and the bird that proclaims the coming day is the favourite badge on its coinage[1]. The river itself is of the usual Sicilian type. It is not a mere *fiumara*, but a real river, a narrow stream with a wide bed, ready on occasion to receive the full stream of a rushing torrent. At the point of its left bank where the high ground comes nearest to the water, the city of Himera arose on the hill. The height is moderate, between three and four hundred feet, rising in a single somewhat steep slope, more grassy than rocky. The forsaken hill of Himera forms a contrast to the forsaken parts of the hill of Syracuse in the rich cultivation spread over nearly the whole of its sides and summit. The lofty site of Himera has been sung by poets[2]; but it barely admits the new foundation to a place among the hill-cities. It was lofty for a Greek site of that date.

The northern Himeras.

Character of the hill of Himera.

des Wassers abzuleiten sein." Other cognates or derivatives of the same root will be found in the original text of Judges xv. 16. Stephen of Byzantium has a Phœnician Ἴμυρα, which might be useful.

[1] The cock is abundant on the coins of Himera; but we have also sacrificing nymphs, riders, chariots, and Seilênos bathing at the hot springs. The legends HIMEPAION, or the other way NOIAƎƎMIH, are to be noticed. One has KIMAPA[ION] (in connexion with a figure like the Chimaira), which might help Semitic guessers to a derivation common to Himera and Kamarina (see Appendix XIII). Holm (i. 393) notices that in Diodôros (v. 3) Athênê appears as a patroness of Himera (*τὴν μὲν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰμέραν μέρεσιν*) and that the cock was sacred to Athênê, referring to Pausanias, vi. 3, where she has the cock on her helmet. See also the same writer, i. 136.

[2] So Æschylus in the Glaukos, as quoted by the Scholiast on Pindar, Pyth. i. 152;

καλοῖσι λουτροῖς ἐκλελουμένος δέμας
εἰς ὑψίκρημνον Ἰμέραν ἀφικόμην.

The speaker is Hêraklês on his way from Eryx.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

It soars high above all its fellows already founded, save the inland site of Leontinoi, but it was far outtopped at a later date by the lordly height of Akragas. It holds a place intermediate between the lofty mountains on all sides but the north, mountains on some of which the snow lies far into the spring, and the low downs which lie immediately to the west. As seen from the shore, the hill might pass for a straight ridge of nearly level height, with a gorge in the middle dividing it into two parts, of which that to the west is somewhat the larger. It has therefore somewhat of the same air as Gela, only it is at once higher and further from the sea. But let the hill be climbed, and the likeness to Gela passes away. The hill of Himera is no narrow ridge, but a wide table-land with a very irregular outline on the side away from the sea, and with many risings and fallings in the height of the ground and in the steepness of the slope. The gorge which seems such a marked feature on the seaward side is of little more importance in the general shape of the hill than its other inlets and projections. In truth it is only to the north and east, and in a less degree to the west, that the site of Himera at all keeps the character of a distinct hill. This is a point which we shall find of importance when we come to the history of the two great sieges.

Original extent of the city.

All this suggests some questions as to the original extent of the city. There is no well-marked akropolis; but we may fairly assume that the part of the hill which was first settled was the north-eastern corner, overlooking the sea to the north and the river to the east. The haven would doubtless find its place by the mouth of the river; and in that quarter, at no great distance from the sea and close on the bank of the river, we find the one remaining relic of Himera. This is part of the wall of the *cella* of a Doric temple, together with several columns, some

The temple.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. fallen, some shattered and strangely worn away. But as the building has been made into a modern house, the wonder is that anything has been left at all. The position of this temple might suggest either Poseidôn or the river-god as the deity to whom it was dedicated. If Poseidôn should be preferred, his house is not unlikely to have played a part on the greatest day in the history of Himera. We may therefore fairly place the site of the oldest part of the city on the height nearest to this temple, that is on the eastern part of the hill, immediately above the river. Only how far did it stretch, either westward or inland? Above all, how far had its growth reached in the early years of the fifth century before Christ? The fact that graves are found in the gorge opening on the seaward side points to a time when their site was outside the city, that is to a time when Himera stood on the eastern side of the gorge only. This is indeed what we should expect. That it did spread westward of the gorge seems proved by various remains. How far it may have spread to the south it is less easy to guess. A small peaked hill, a rocky height above the river, may have been used as outposts; they could hardly have been brought within the wall. Sooner or later, Himera occupied both parts of the hill; but the thickly inhabited part was doubtless only on the seaward side. From that side, the greater height of Himera must have given the city, as seen from the water, a yet more imposing air than Gela itself.

Extent of the territory of Himera.

The settlers of Himera sailed from the east, and the territory which they won for their city must, like the city itself, have advanced from east to west. There is nothing very distinctly to mark the extent of the possessions of Himera to the east. There is nothing to imply that they ever took in Cephalœdium. Yet one would think that they must have stretched some way to the east of the river; the city itself would hardly have been planted immediately on the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

frontier. Cephalœdium itself, it is worth noting, is not seen from Himera; another point of land comes in the way, and this may likely enough mark the boundary. To the west it is easy to see how far the dominion of Himera came to stretch, though it may not have reached so far from the beginning. A prominent object in the view from Himera is the present town of Termini, the Hot Baths, the *Thermai* of Himera. Here doubtless was the furthest outpost of the new city, an outpost which in some sort kept on the name and life of Himera after Himera itself had fallen. Its site must have been in many things more attractive to Greek settlers than the site of Himera. A steep hill, but not a cloud-touching mountain, overhangs the sea. On the level ground at its foot the hot waters spring up as a gift from the nether-powers. Here was not only a site for an akropolis and a haven, but abundant materials for a local legend. The latter at least was not wanting. The health-giving waters of Himera are those which the nymphs of the land, at the bidding of Athênê, caused to burst forth for the refreshment of the wearied Hêraklês [1]. Legends of another age and another creed have given the mountain which rises between Himera and its baths the name of the holy Kalógeros, in his name the embodiment of Eastern monasticism, in his function the finder and patron of hot springs and vapours for the benefit of others and not of himself. Strangely has he supplanted Hêraklês, as Hêraklês may have supplanted powers of creeds yet more ancient. Without holding that the Hêraklês of the Himeraian Thermai is in himself a Phœnician Melkart, and without denying that Phœnician elements have found their way into his story, the site of the Baths of Himera is in every way likely to have been a Phœnician settlement. Its existence may have driven the Zanklaian adventurers to plant themselves at Himera rather than on this more

CHAP. IV.

The Baths of Himera.

The Legend of Hêraklês.

[1] See above, pp. 77, 209, and the passage from Æschylus in p. 414, note 2.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. promising spot. At Himera there were only Sikans to be displaced or brought into bondage; the harder task of driving out Phœnician occupants was one which would hardly be undertaken till the new settlement had grown in extent and power. Himera, shut out from the view of both Greek and Sikel, but with the whole range of the Phœnician settlements on the north coast spread out before her as in a map, had one duty laid upon her before all others, to be the solitary fortress of Hellas on the most exposed of her Sicilian frontiers.

Foundation of Selinous. B. C. 628.

The next Greek city that was founded in Sicily was again, like Himera, a settlement formed by men who simply changed their place of abode within the island. In the second half of the sixth century before Christ, the Sicilian Megara, the Megara by Hybla, planted a colony which, short as its course was, outlived its metropolis. This was Selinous [1], a city planted to fulfil the same duty on the south-western coast which Himera fulfilled on the north coast, a city which was to be, even beyond Himera, the furthest outpost of Hellas against Canaan. According to the rules of Greek settlement, the founder of the new city was sought in the parent of its parent; Pamillos of the elder Megara led the band of settlers who were to carry the bounds of Greek life on Sicilian soil to their most distant point westward. And the founders of Selinous, like the founders of Himera, passed by several promising sites, nearer to older Hellenic settlements, in order to occupy this distant spot. On that coast Gela was as yet the most western city of Hellas; to reach

Founded from Megara.

[1] On Selinous there are several important monographs. Schubring in the Göttingen *Nachrichten* for 1865, p. 401, and again in the Berlin *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1873, p. 97. Benndorf, *Die Metopen von Selinunt* (which deals also with the history and topography), Berlin, 1873. Cavallari, *Sulla Topografia di talune Città Greche di Sicilia*, Palermo, 1879. Also Bunbury, art. Selinus in the Dictionary of Geography, and Holm, G. S. i. 137, 393.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the site of Selinous, the Megarian colonists passed by the site of Akragas and all that was to be her territory. Selinous arose as a solitary Hellenic outpost, with the Phœnician on one side and the Sikan on the other. It is therefore hard to fix the extent of the original Selinuntine territory to the east. In after days, its boundary was, like the western boundary of Himera, its own baths, the Selinuntine *Thermai*, represented by the modern Sciacca. Here Hêraklês seems to have no special legend. But tales of yet earlier times are not lacking. It was held that in the sulphurous vapour baths Daidalos had left some of the choicest works of his skill, alike in the valley below Sciacca and on the mountain above. He had found out and he had adapted to human use the hot steam sent forth by the chthonian powers of Sicily alike on the mountain top and in the vale below [1]. Here too in later days Kalógeros supplanted Daidalos, as he supplanted Hêraklês on the other side of the island. The wondrous cave is there, and its virtues have not failed; we see the bed of the Christian hermit, which we strongly suspect to have been the tomb of a Sikan king. Here was the last Selinuntine possession to the east, at least after Akragas came into being. To the north-west, the border turned the neighbouring corner, and stretched for a little way along that short western face of the island which the Phœnician had made specially his own. The boundary of Greek and Phœnician on this side was the river Mazaros, and on the flat ground on the left bank of the mouth of that stream, the Selinuntines, in the days of their power, kept a fortified mercantile station, represented by the present town of Mazzara [2]. To the north the territory of the settlement stretched so far inland as to make Selinous a neighbour of Segesta, and to give occasion for the usual

CHAP. IV.

Mazzara.

Relations of Selinous and Segesta.

[1] Diod. iv. 78. See Appendix V, and above, p. 244.

[2] On Mazara, see above, p. 304, and Appendix XIII, and Schubring, *Nachrichten*, p. 436.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. border quarrels between the Greek and the Elymian city[1]. But Selinous itself was planted immediately on the southern coast of the island, towards the middle of the shallow bay formed by the two promontories now known as Granitola and San Marco[2]. The coast is comparatively low, and the whole neighbourhood is rather flat and somewhat dreary. Mountains are seen only at a distance, and the hills by the shore are of no great height. Still the actual site of Selinous may give it some small claim to rank among the hill-cities. It may do so at least as compared with the sites of Naxos, Ortygia, and Katanê. Two sandy and swampy valleys, each watered by its own stream, open to the sea; a ridge divides them, and a sinking of the ground makes the southern end of this ridge put on somewhat of the character of an isolated hill. Its southern face rises immediately above the water. Its height, less than a hundred feet, is small indeed compared with that even of Himera; it is even lower than the highest point of the ridge to the north. But it is high compared with the flat ground of Drepana or Panormos, or even with the low foreland of Lilybaion. This hill was chosen by the Megarian emigrants for the site of their new city. As the city spread, though it was not actually the highest ground within the compass of Selinous, it practically played the part of the akropolis. We shall see, as time goes on, it was, as in so many other cases, at once the oldest city and the newest.

Site of Selinous.

The akropolis.

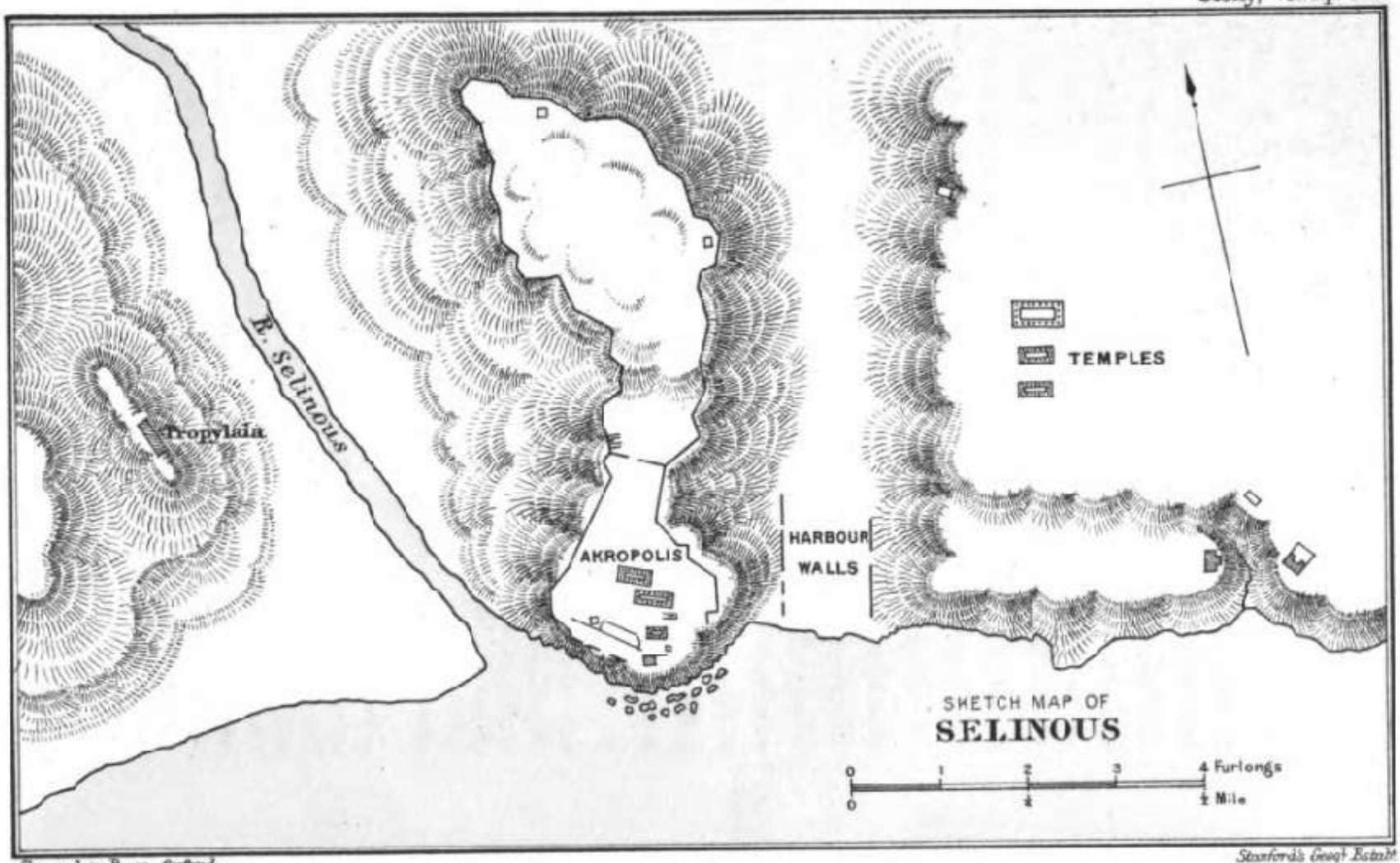
Origin of the name.

The name of Selinous, shared, as at Himera and Gela, by the town with the stream that flows through the western valley, has had a Phœnician origin claimed for it, which would make it a namesake of Solous, the City of the Rock,

[1] To the district disputed between Segesta and Selinous we shall come again. See Diod. xii. 82; xiii. 43. Schubring (*Nachrichten*, p. 21 et seqq.) makes the boundary to be the western Halykos or Delia. But he makes Entella Elymian, though it had not occurred to him (p. 422), nor to Benndorff (p. 8), that Halikyai was other than Sikan.

[2] See above, p. 63.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA



Clarendon Press, Oxford.
Stanford's Geogr. Estabt.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

on the other side of the island[1]. But Solous is a true *Sela*, worthy of its name; the name would be quite out of place if applied to the little hill of Selinous. Its own citizens held that town and river were called after a plant which grows freely on the spot, a plant quite distinct from our parsley with which it is commonly confounded, a plant at once familiar in funeral rites and renowned as furnishing the wreath of victory in the games of the Corinthian isthmus[2]. Another plant with which the soil is thickly covered is the dwarf palm of Sicily, which, some have thought, has supplied Virgil with an epithet for the city[3]. But the parsley, if parsley we are to call it, is the plant which has become inseparable from the city. It is its earliest and most usual badge on its coinage; it was dedicated in gold at Delphoi as the special symbol of the city[4]. Other physical features of the spot were also symbolized by the moneyers of Selinous. The river of that name, and the Hypsas or Belice, which flows further to the east, are personified as usual[5]. When Hypsas offers

CHAP. IV.

Plants.

Coins of Selinous.

[1] See above, p. 262. It must not be forgotten that our Selinous, river and town, are not the only ones in the world. See art. Selinus (No. II) in Dict. Geog., and Holm, i. 394. Of the others, stretching from Elis to Kilikia (see Lucan, viii. 260), some *may* be Phœnician, but all may be Greek.

[2] See above all, Plut. Tim. 26. Cf. Athenaios, ix. 9, for a *κράμβη σελινουσία*, which concerns us only indirectly.

[3] Æn. iii. 705; "Teque datis linquo ventis, palmosa Selinus." So Silius, xiv. 200; "Audax Hybla favis, palmæque arbusta Selinus." Servius says; "Civitas est juxta Lilybæum abundans palmis quibus vescuntur et apio." Cf. Cicero, Verres, v. 38; "Te prætore, Siculi milites palmarum stirpibus . . . alebantur." Holm objects that the dwarf-palm is not eaten. But I have seen it eaten at Kamarina. Schubring (*Nachrichten*, 412, 428) found these palms helpful in tracing out the sites of buildings. Cf. Dennis, 173.

[4] Plut. Pyth. Or. 2; *Σελινούντιοί ποτε χρυσοῦν σέλινον ἀναθεῖναι λέγοντες.* It is classed with other plants offered elsewhere as *σύμβολον ἢ παράσημον τῆς πόλεως.*

[5] On the coins, see Imhoof-Blumer, in the Appendix to Benndorff, Coins of Sicily, 138; Head, 146. The true spelling of the name seems to be ΣΕΛΙΝΟΣ (once ΣΕΛΙΝΟΕΣ) and ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ. The river is ΗΓΨΑΣ.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. sacrifice to Asklêpios, and a bird of the marsh withdraws, it was no badly devised emblem of works of drainage, those perhaps for which we shall find Empedoklês famous [1], works fittingly placed under the patronage of the healing god. Selinous, as a horned youth, sacrificing with a cock beside him, proclaims himself a votary of the same deity. At other times the stream appears in the familiar shape of a bull, and Hêraklês and a bull—here surely Boiotian Hêraklês and not Phœnician Melkart—seem to have been the badge on the official seal of the city.

The haven

A Greek city close by the sea must have its haven; but the rocky hill of the Selinuntine akropolis could at most supply anchorage. Yet Selinous seems to have had one or more havens created for it at the mouths of its two valleys. In the eastern valley, where the sea, before its choking up with sand, seems to have come in further than it now does, the walls of the quay on both sides of the small bay thus formed were to be seen until they were covered up with sand [2]. Indeed a second haven of the like sort has been found at the mouth of the Selinous in the western valley, making a kind of miniature, if we should not rather call it a mockery, of the two branches of the All-haven at Panormos [3]. But the real haven of Selinous, the real outlet and inlet for the Selinuntine territory towards the rest of the world, was at the border fortress and *emporium* of Mazara [4]. Both look towards the land with which Selinous was fated to have overmuch to do, and whose island outpost of Kossoura lies within sight. The city of Greece which stood nearest to Africa,

[1] See Schubring, *Nachrichten*, p. 416.

[2] They are shown in Dennis' plan, and they are described by Schubring (p. 418) and others; but I must confess that I have never seen them myself. I gather that they were covered with sand before 1887.

[3] Benndorff, 14; Cavallari, 118.

[4] Schubring, 418. Cf. Benndorff, 13.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

the outpost of Greece against Phœnician settlement in Sicily itself, Selinous found a large part of her history made up of her dealings with Carthage in war and peace. On one of the greatest days in the whole tale of Hellas, Selinous, by her ill luck rather than of her own will, was leagued with the Semitic enemy. On another day, two generations later, she made herself a name by a stout resistance to the invading barbarian, and by a glorious overthrow at his hands. During the great time of Sikeliot prosperity, in the fifth century before Christ, Selinous had her full share of the general prosperity. But, as in the case of so many other colonial cities, her life was short. Two hundred and twenty years were the measure of the being of Selinous as a city playing her part in the history of Hellas and the world.

Dealings of Selinous with Africa. B.C. 486.

B.C. 408.

B.C. 628–408.

But alongside of her stirring historic memories, the name of Selinous further calls up that wonderful series of monuments which crown her hills, more wonderful in their overthrow, lying as heaps amid utter solitude, than they could have been when they rose in their glory as the ornaments of a strong and well-peopled city. But the temples of Selinous, so precious in the history of Greek art, so overwhelming in their actual presence—most wonderful of all when we see the mighty drums still, as it were, in hewing out of the solid rocks of their native quarry[1]—belong, with one or two exceptions, to a time of her history far nearer to her overthrow than to her birth. The walls too which gird her akropolis belong, in by far the greater part of their extent, to a reconstruction later than that overthrow[2]. Of these later works we shall have to speak

The temples of Selinous.

The quarries of Campobello.

[1] These are to be seen at Rocca di Cusa, near Campobello, north-west of Selinous. The drums appear in every stage of hewing. Nowhere do we better take in the full force of the name "Pillars of the Giants."

[2] Schubring (431) carefully distinguishes the older walls from the restoration by Hermokratês, to which we shall come in due course.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. when their place in our story comes; but it is well that something is left at Selinous, something of works both of defence and of worship, which we may fairly assign to the days of her first founders. As we draw near to the akropolis from the eastern hill, the eye lights on a piece of defensive work which reminds us of the mighty walls of Alatrium and of the oldest masonry on the Palatine of Rome. Stones, rectangular indeed and laid not without care, but far less regular than the works of skilful engineers on the other side, form a wall, not standing free as an independent bulwark, but doing its duty by strengthening the scarped side of the hill. In this earlier mode of defence we may surely trace the hand of the first settlers from the Hyblaian Megara.

The wall of the Akropolis.

The early sculptures.

But the walls are not the only monuments of early date. One temple at least within the oldest circuit proclaims itself by its primitive architecture, by its yet more primitive sculpture, to belong to the first stage of Doric art, the stage of the Olympieion of Syracuse and of the seven columns below the hill of Corinth. Selinous, we must remember, was a hundred years younger than Syracuse, so that work of this early style is likely to belong to the very first days of the city. From the figures which once filled the spaces between the triglyphs of the oldest temple of Selinous we may learn what the sculptors of the seventh century before Christ looked on as adornment. Placed beside the sculptures of a Selinuntine temple of the fifth century, the contrast is marked indeed. The gap between the rugged art of the early time and works which the chisel of Pheidias only could surpass answers to the contrast between the sculptures of the thirteenth century at Wells and the rude strivings after the human form which we find in the English works of the eleventh and twelfth. Or, to keep within the bounds of Sicily, the contrast is the same as that which we see between a classic coin of Frederick,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Emperor and King, and the rude image and superscription which marks the mintage of his grandfather and his father. CHAP. IV.

In the oldest Selinuntine sculptures Hêraklês carries the mocking Kerkôpes behind his back with their heads downwards[1]. Athênê stands by while Perseus strikes off the Gorgon's head—no snakes wreathing round it—and Pêgasos springs by a strange birth from the gushing blood of his slaughtered mother[2]. The art is of the very rudest, the most grotesque, kind; the forms, divine, heroic, and human, might seem to need millenniums of evolution to change them into the finished shapes of their neighbours. Yet we may be sure that they were in their day the choicest offering that Selinuntine piety could bring to its divine protectors. In this age, exactly as in the later age with which we have compared it, the building art itself was immeasurably in advance of the subsidiary arts. No works of man can surpass the massive and simple grandeur either of an early Doric temple or of a minster of the Northern Romanesque. What those who could build so well could do in the way of adorning their buildings was once to be seen in its place at Selinous. The works of the men who guarded the western outpost of Hellas in its early days, torn far away from the charm and teaching of local presence, now look down on the transplanted tombs of the

The Kerkôpes.

[1] Benndorff gives a speaking photograph of them. Their story is dimly suggested in one of the gravest narratives of Herodotus, vii. 206. He who wishes for a more intimate knowledge of the beings there referred to will find it at length in Lobeck's Aglaophamus, ii. 1206, and more easily in Mure's History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece, ii. 367. Something will be found in Zênobios, i. 5, and in the Appendix Narrationum (39) in Westermann's *Μυθογράφοι*. Ovid (Met. xiv. 90) turns them into monkeys, which we do not see in our metope. It concerns us more that, according to our own Diodôros (iv. 31), Hêraklês, when in bondage to Omphalê, *τοὺς μὲν ὀνομαζομένους Κέρκωπας, λῃστεύοντας καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ διεργαζομένους, οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, οὓς δὲ ζωγρήσας δεδεμένους παρέδωκε τῇ Ὀμφάλῃ*. But from this we should never have found out how he carried them.

[2] This sculpture, fully described and figured by Benndorff, is really more grotesque than the other, as it is meant to be perfectly grave.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. daughters of Canaan [1], among the antiquarian plunder of the Sicilian capital.

The southern part of the central hill was, as we have seen, the original city. It is convenient to speak of it as the akropolis, though its extent in proportion to the enlarged town is much larger than is usual with the akropolis of a Greek city. It is the only part where the walls stand out to tell their own tale distinctly and without any manner of doubt. But the town undoubtedly spread over the northern part of the hill, and parts of its walls may be traced [2]. On the eastern side the evidence is but slight. On the western side we clearly see a fortification of that class which takes the native rock as its substructure and ekes it out with built stones where needful. A gateway is clearly marked at one point of the line. This wall was a defence separate from that of the akropolis, which kept its separate northern wall and gate [3]. Between the two some have placed the *agora*; some have found a theatre [4]. On the detached hills further to the north lay more than one burying-ground, the *nekropoleis* of Selinous [5]. Thus far we have, on the ridge between the two valleys, a city complete in itself, looking down on a haven, perhaps on both sides, certainly on one. But the most distinctive features of Selinuntine topography concern, not the hills of the city itself, but the hills east and west of them, on the eastern and western sides of the two valleys. The eastern hill, the edge of a wide table-land stretching towards the more distant Hypsas, has always

Walls of the outer city.

Burying-grounds.

The outlying hills.

[1] See above, p. 261.

[2] Schubring, 408.

[3] The precious smaller gate with the apparent arch, matching those on Eryx, seems to be of the work of Hermokratês.

[4] See Schubring, *Nachrichten*, 410, where he places the *agora* in this dip. In the Berlin discourse (100) he moves it within the akropolis, on the strength of the supposed theatre. In that theatre I could never bring myself to believe, and it now seems to be given up. Benndorff (14) seems to place the *agora* in the central valley. We shall come to its site again at the time of the second siege.

[5] Schubring, 409; Cavallari, 121.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

been known as the site of the greatest buildings of Selinous. CHAP. IV.
Very late discoveries have shown that the phænomena on the right bank of the Selinous were merely the same as those on the eastern hill. Not strictly on the western hill itself, but on a smaller hill between it and the river, buildings have been brought to light which give us a wholly new conception of the topography of the spot. *Propylaia* at the base of this small hill, with buildings not as yet fully explored above them, show that this hill at least, if not the greater one beyond it, must have been fully covered. There were temples and other buildings on this side also, as well as on the hill where their mighty ruins speak for themselves [1]. It is not likely that on either side they stood absolutely alone, without any human dwellings near them. But on neither side did the ground on which they stood form any part of the fortified and thickly inhabited city [2]. For some of the most honoured temples to stand outside the walls is in no way wonderful; we have already seen the familiar examples at Syracuse. Only at Syracuse the temples of Olympian Zeus and of Apollôn Temenitês were ancient outposts as well as sanctuaries [3]; the temple of Dêmêtêr and the Korê, the work of Gelôn [4], is the nearest parallel to the temples of Selinous. At Selinous it was the peculiar local position of the town which caused this peculiar position of its later temples. There was no room for them in the city itself; they could not be placed in the swampy valleys. The only places where they could stand with fitting dignity were on the two opposite hills, east and west. But on those hills

Buildings on the western hill.

Position of the Selinuntine temples.

[1] An inscription in honour of (Persephonê) Μαλοφόρος, a name already known from another inscription, tells us what we are to look for. See Schubring, Berlin discourse, 102.

[2] Schubring (428) has found signs of walls on the west side of the eastern hill; but he allows that it was not fully fortified.

[3] See above, p. 361.

[4] This we shall come to in the next volume.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. they had to stand outside the defences of the city, protected only by their own holiness. It is only the distance at which the Selinuntine temples stood, parted on each side from the fortified city by a deep valley, which makes any difference between them and other cases of temples outside the walls. But that distance is in truth everything. As we now see Selinous, two hills, each covered by vast heaps of ruins, look out on each other. They might almost pass for the sites of separate and rival towns. But this view shuts out the western hill, where the visible remains of the temples no longer show themselves as they still do on the eastern. When all the temples of Selinous on all its hills were standing, when those on the central hill were surrounded by the dwellings of the city, when one valley, perhaps both, had its haven, the central hill and those to the east and west were not isolated from one another as they are now. The city and the hills

Analogies. crowned with temples formed parts of one whole. Selinous had on each side of it a range of holy places, standing to it as Monreale stands to Palermo, as Westminster stood to London when the West Minster was first founded, as the great Roman basilicas outside the walls of Aurelian, as any great minster outside the walls of any city. Only at Selinous there was the double range; there were the wide gaps of the two valleys which had no parallel elsewhere. From either of the valleys, from either of the havens, of Selinous, men looked up to the akropolis rising above them, the cradle of the city, its military stronghold, the seat of the most ancient of its holy places. On each of the other sides they looked up,

The akropolis. at least in the great days of the city, at a sublime range of temples, newly built or still in building. But it was only in the view from the valleys that the akropolis could have been felt as an akropolis. It could have been no akropolis as men looked at it either from the eastern or

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

from the western hill, or again from the northern part of the city, which continued it at a height at least equal to its own. The growth of Selinous, as of other cities, the building of its later temples, belong in strictness to other divisions of our history. But the whole story of Selinous has so directly arisen out of the local circumstances of the ground, and, in its short life, the expansion of the town and its temples must have come so soon after its first foundation, that it was hard to avoid saying something of the later topography of the city, even when the proper subject before us is its first beginnings.

Foundation of Akragas. B.C. 580.

We now come to the birth of a city which we are tempted to call the youngest of Greek cities founded on the mainland of Sicily. And so it practically is. We shall have to record the foundation of more than one Greek town in Sicily in much later times; but they are foundations of quite another class. Creations of particular men, of kings or tyrants, bearing, in one case at least, the name of a personal founder[1], they have more in common with the cities called into being by the Macedonian kings than with Hellenic colonies of the elder type. Of these more ancient cities the last that arose on the Sicilian mainland was all but the greatest. Akragas, Agrigentum, Girgenti—the three forms of the name conveniently mark three periods of its history—has, with many ups and downs, lived through the whole life of Sicily. And in the special story of Greek Sicily Akragas holds the next place after Syracuse[2]. It holds the place that often falls to that city

The last of the old series of colonies in Sicily.

Its position as the second city of Sicily.

[1] Phintiás, the modern Licata, called after Phintías, tyrant or king of Akragas.

[2] Akragas is most clearly described in a short notice of Polybios, ix. 27. Of recent writers, besides Bunbury, Dennis, Holm, we have the special monographs of Siefert, Akragas und sein Gebiet (Hamburg, 1845); Schubring, Historische Topographie von Akragas in Sicilien (Leipzig, 1870); Cavallari, Sulla Topografia di talune Città Greche di Sicilia (Palermo, 1879),

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

Its relations to Syracuse.

or other state among a certain group which is the undoubted second, and which believes that it has been or ought to be the first. Akragas is sometimes the friend of Syracuse; it is more commonly the enemy; most commonly of all it is a rival standing aloof in sullen discontent. It is only at some special call of common danger, when to think of smaller differences would be treason to the whole Hellenic name, that the first and the second of Sikeliot cities are found working side by side. An analogous position, modified of course by special differences in each case, is held by Orchomenos in Boiôtia and by Argos in Peloponnêsos. But the bitterness between the two Sikeliot cities never reached such a height as that which raged between Thebes and Orchomenos. Syracuse and Akragas were rivals; but they were not rivals striving for the headship of a confederation; and, when Akragas was overthrown, it was not by Syracusan hands.

The south coast at the time of its foundation.

The fairest of mortal cities—so Pindar calls it when singing the praises of an Akragantine victor [1]—was another example of settlement by migration from one Sikeliot city to another. The settlement of Selinous by the Megarians of Hybla left a large extent of the south-western coast of Sicily unoccupied by any Greek city. There was no independent Greek settlement between Selinous and Gela. The town at the mouth of the Halykos —Makara, Minôa, Hêrakleia, *Ras Melkart* — if it was

p. 73. Schubring is undoubtedly the safest guide, though I have had once or twice to part company with him.

[1] Pyth. xii. 1;

αἰτέω τε, φιλάγλαε, καλλίστα βροτεᾶν πολίων,
Φερσεφόνας ἕδος, ἀπ' ὄχθαις ἔπι μαλοβότου
ναίεις Ἀκράγαντος εὐδμάτου κολάναν.

By Pindar's time, we must remember, the city must have spread far beyond the akropolis, and the extended walls must have been built or in building.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

already in Greek hands, was merely an outpost of Selinous[1]. From the Halykos to the southern Himeras, the coast lay open for settlement, and since the foundation of Selinous it lay yet more invitingly open than before. But when Gela determined to win this unoccupied land for Hellas, the course taken was not that which would now be taken by any modern kingdom or commonwealth. There was no thought of a simple enlargement of the Gelean territory to the north-west. What was done was to fill up the gap with an independent colony of Gela, owing to Gela only the reverence due from colony to metropolis, and in whose foundation Gela did not forget to show all due reverence to her own metropolis. The vacant space was filled up by the new Greek city of Akragas and its territory. It was a colony of Gela, carrying on the laws and traditions of Gela; but, according to rule, it had to its formal founders the Rhodians Aristonous and Pystilos, whose presence caused it to be sometimes spoken of as a Rhodian settlement[2]. Other settlers from Rhodes[3], some perhaps from other islands[4], joined in the plantation. Thus, while in the case of Megara and Selinous parent and child sat far apart, in the case of Gela and Akragas they sat side by side. The happy relations of Greek colonial life could bear such a strain.

CHAP. IV.

Akragas founded by Gela.

An independent neighbour of Gela.

The Rhodian founders, Aristonous and Pystilos.

The site of Akragas, lofty Akragas, spreading its walls

Position of the city;

[1] We shall come to this point in the story of Dôrieus. See Herod. v. 46, Μινάην τὴν Σελινουσίων ἀποικίην, and above, p. 115.

[2] Thuc. vi. 4; ἔτεσι δὲ ἐγγύτατα ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ τὴν σφετέραν οἴκισιν Γελῷοι Ἀκράγαντα ᾤκισαν, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος ποταμοῦ ὀνομάσαντες, οἰκιστὰς δὲ ποιησαντες Ἀριστόνουν καὶ Πυστίλον, νόμιμα δὲ τὰ Γελῴων δόντες. One migh almost infer from these last words that the founders were Rhodian, to say nothing of the universal custom. Polybios (ix. 27) speaks of Akragas as ὑπὸ Ῥοδίων ἀποικισμένος. In Strabo, vi. 2. 5, Ἀκράγας δὲ Ἰώνων οὖσα, we must surely read Ῥοδίων.

[3] As the forefathers of Thêrôn are said (Schol. Pind. Ol. ii. 29) κεκμηκέναι κατὰ τὴν Ῥόδον, τῶν πραγμάτων στασιαζομένων καὶ οὕτω τὴν εἰς Σικελίαν μετοικεσίαν στειλαμένων. Cf. on ii. 15.

[4] As most likely Phalaris himself. See Appendix VII. vol. ii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. far and wide[1], is one of the stateliest on which any city was ever planted. But, compared with the sites of most other Sikeliot cities, it seems like a falling back upon an elder state of things. The city set on an hill was no longer the model commonly followed by Greek founders. Save Leontinoi only, the other Greek cities of Sicily were close on the sea; Naxos and Syracuse were actually in the sea. Akragas arose on the top of a high hill, with the sea full in sight, and with hill and city sloping down towards it. But the sea nowhere came near to its walls, and no haven brought ships close up to the city itself. Akragas had its haven at no great distance; but it was quite apart from the city, and it was small compared with the havens of Syracuse and Zanklê. In truth Akragas never grew to any importance as a seafaring power. She grew rich by an easy trade with the opposite coast of Africa; but she had nothing of the wide-reaching commerce of Corinth or Massalia, and her military strength was wholly by land. We hear often of the horsemen of Akragas; of her triremes never a word.

Akragas not a seafaring power.

The rivers. The city took its name from the smaller of two rivers of no great size between which it stands[2]. At a little distance from its later walls they join to flow into the sea with a single mouth. The western stream, the modern Drago, bore the same name as the Selinuntine Hypsas; the eastern, whose muddy waters were called yellow by local poets, once Akragas[3], is now the stream of Saint

[1] Virgil, Æn. iii. 703;

"Arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe
Mœnia, magnanimûm quondam generator equorum."

[2] So Thucydides, vi. 4. Cf. Steph. Byz. in 'Ακράγαντες, who mentions other rivers of the name. (Why he says πόλεις πέντε Σικελίας it is hard to understand.) Cf. Pindar, Pyth. vi. 6; ποταμίᾳ τ' 'Ακράγαντι. Schubring has gone fully into all matters about the rivers. See Polybios, ix. 27.

[3] So Empedoklês in Diog. Laert. viii. 2;

ὦ φίλοι, οἱ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ 'Ακράγαντος
ναίετ' ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεως.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Blaise. The meaning of the name must be looked for in some other tongue than Greek[1]; but it was naturally played upon in Greek mouths, and was made to refer to the lofty position of a city which still bears the name of "La Magnifica[2]." Each stream runs down its own deep ravine among the hills to meet its fellow in a plain, broken by some smaller hills, which lies between the high ground and the sea. The haven at their mouth, a mere open and stony beach, is now forsaken; the new haven of Girgenti, called in modern fashion the haven of Empedoklês, is placed further to the west. The traveller who comes fresh from the waters on each side of Syracuse, from the havens and bays which range from Plêmmyrion to Xiphonia, is amazed at the contrast. Even the first point to which Lamis took his Megarians, the little bay of Trôtilon, seems a worthier site for the haven of a Greek city than the joint mouth of Hypsas and Akragas. But, as an inland site, the position chosen by Aristonous and Pystilos could hardly be surpassed. As we look up from the coast, or indeed from any lower point, even the modern city, shrunk up again, like Syracuse, within the oldest circuit, seems fully to deserve its surname. Of the hill between the ravines of the two rivers, the modern town, the old akropolis, occupies, not quite the highest point, but the highest point at all suited for the foundation of a town and fortress. It is slightly outtopped by a height somewhat to the east, a small platform of rock, which now bears the name of the Rock of Athênê[3]. But no akropolis could ever have arisen on that small ledge, while the spot on which modern Girgenti actually stands is admirably fitted

CHAP. IV.

The haven.

The akropolis.

[1] Steph. Byz. in *Ἀκράγαντες*; *Πολύβιος δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὀνομάσθαι Ἀκράγης διὰ τὸ εὔγειον.*

[2] As by Empedoklês just above.

[3] Diod. xiii. 85; *τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λόφον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ὀνομαζόμενον κατὰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως εὐφυῶς κείμενον.* This, there can be no doubt, is the point now called, but hardly by a continuous tradition, *Rupe Atenea.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. for such a purpose. It is nearly isolated; a narrow neck of land lower than the ground on either side joins it to the mass of the hill to the east. Rising steeply on the north, the inland, side, it rises no less steeply over the ravine formed by a small tributary of the Hypsas, and now known as the valley of Saint Leonard [1].

The later city on the slope.

Neither the Hypsas nor the Akragas comes near this earliest site of the city. Akragas flows far to the east, and Hypsas is parted from the akropolis by another hill which was always kept without the walls to form the *nekropolis* or burying-ground of the city. From the isthmus of the akropolis, the inhabited town spread itself over the whole southern side of the eastern part of the hill, over the whole space between the narrow ravine of Saint Leonard and the wider valley of Saint Blaise. The northern and steeper side of the hill remained untouched; it was on the southern slope that the enlarged city grew up. Its downward growth stopped pretty much where the slope of the hill stops, where a wall of rock running east and west stood ready to form the southern defence of an enlarged Akragas. In this part the whole hill slopes towards the sea; but the ground is irregular and broken. It is of much the same character as many of the neighbouring hills. Downs, with the rock cropping out here and there, are broken up by the deep gullies of small streams, and by better defined hills thrown up at one or two points of the descent. As for the north side, he who looks up at Akragas from the low ground towards the sea

Character of the hill.

[1] Pol. ix. 27; ἡ δ' ἄκρα τῆς πόλεως ὑπέρκειται κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς θερινὰς ἀνατολάς, κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἔξωθεν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀπροσίτῳ φάραγγι περιεχομένη, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς μίαν ἔχουσα πρόσοδον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. That this ἄκρα is the present Girgenti is clear from the φάραγξ and the μία πρόσοδος. But the θερινὰι ἀνατολαί are puzzling, as the akropolis lies north-west of the later city. See Schubring, p. 22. But it is dangerous to alter the text. It is far more likely that Polybios, like many of us, had the weakness of calling east west and west east. Anyhow he does not mean that the akropolis "overlooks the city exactly at the south-east."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

has no thought of the existence of any north side or of the need for one. The hill of Akragas, if it does not lift its head to heaven like the hills of Henna and Eryx, at least shuts out all sight and thought of everything beyond itself. To the east and west it has supporters or rivals; to the north it might be itself the end of the world. As a matter of fact, the hill on its northern side is of the same general character as it is to the south. The northern side is also largely a sloping down, but the slope is much steeper, the ground is far more broken up with small gullies. And its upper part takes the shape of a wall, a ruined wall, one might say, in many parts, as huge masses of rock have been hurled away from the general mass. There is, so to speak, no top to the hill, only sides. The north side knows as little of the existence of the south as the south does of that of the north. When the southern slope was covered with buildings, nothing could have been seen of them from the northern slope of the hill. He who climbs up from either side, comes, when he reaches the ridge, on the sight of a world which below there was nothing to suggest. The akropolis alone, steeper on the south side, but loftier to the north, has a being on both sides. It looks down on the deep valley just below; it looks on other hills to the north, nearer and further off; but to the enlarged city on the great southern slope to the east of it, the inland parts of Sicily must have been as though they were not. From thence the eye looks out only on the sea, the sea of Libya. Over that sea fancy wanders to the land beyond it, the land from which Akragas drew her wealth and from which came her overthrow. CHAP. IV.

Analogies and contrasts with Syracuse.

The general view of Akragas is only less striking than the general view of Syracuse. Between the two there is something of likeness, or rather of analogy, but far more of contrast. In each case the most modern town has shrunk up within the bounds of the oldest, leaving a vast

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. space, once inhabited, but now again forsaken. In each case imagination fails to call up the image of the huge city which must once have been, when dwellings or buildings of men covered the whole or the more part of the vast space which was fenced in when Syracuse and Akragas were at their greatest. But between the actual character of the two cities thus seen or imagined there is the most marked contrast. At Syracuse the oldest and newest town floats on the waves;—the city grew on to the mainland, and in so growing it partly forsook the immediate neighbourhood of the sea. At Akragas the oldest and newest town stands on the height; from that height the city has grown downwards, spreading towards the sea, but never reaching it. At Syracuse the site of the city itself is made by its havens; at Akragas the haven, such as it is, stands quite apart, not an afterthought—for its presence must have helped to fix the choice of the site—but as something altogether secondary from the beginning. Add to this that Syracuse, as is implied by its proudest epithet[1], is made up of several towns added one to the other. At Akragas we can at most reckon two. There is the old akropolis, and there is the later city, added, it would seem, by a single effort. All Akragas then, save the akropolis only, lies in a compact mass on one side of a hill. There is nothing like the variety, the ever-shifting relations, of the several parts of Syracuse.

English analogies.

To take comparisons from our own cities, comparisons in which the important element of the sea must be left out, Syracuse, like Bath, has climbed its hill from the bottom; Akragas, like Lincoln, has crept down its hill from the top. Yet in the actual view, whatever likeness there is must have been the other way. Akragas on its hill-side must have had some likeness to Bath on its hill-side; it must have risen above its Olympieion some-

[1] Μεγαλοπόλεις. See above, p. 352.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

what as Bath rises above its abbey of Saint Peter. If Lincoln has crept down its hill like Akragas, it has so crept down it as to leave the same kind of gap between the highest and the lowest ground which is left between the upper and the lower level of Achradina.

The first city the akropolis only.

I have throughout taken for granted that the original town of Aristonous and Phystilos took in only the akropolis of the enlarged Akragas, answering to the modern town of Girgenti. When Akragas was founded, Syracuse, after a life of a hundred and fifty years, still consisted only of the Island and some detached outposts in no way fused together into one whole. It is hard then to believe that the founders of Akragas laid out from the first so gigantic an enclosure as that of the Akragas of the fifth century before Christ. It is still less likely in the case of founders whose ideas seem to have gone back to an earlier time, who took for their model the Sikan perched on his hill-top rather than the Phœnician dwelling at the haven of the sea. Even if such thoughts came into their heads, they were assuredly not carried out at once. We shall find, as is not wonderful, that, ten years after the first plantation, the oldest temple on the akropolis was only beginning to be built, and that the akropolis itself was not fully surrounded by its wall [1]. We must not forget within how short a time the first history, so to speak, of Akragas is shut up. From the first settlement to the Carthaginian overthrow we number only a hundred and seventy-four years. At the time of that overthrow Akragas was far younger than New York is now. To an Athenian, even to a Spartan, of the time of the Persian wars, the greatness of Akragas must have sounded as the greatness, it would hardly be fair to say of Chicago, but certainly of Cincinnati, sounds to us. I know of no record of the growth of Akragas such as we have of the growth

Short life of the Greek city.

B.C. 580–406.

Extension of the town.

[1] Polyænos, v. 1. See the next Chapter.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. of Syracuse; but we may assume with confidence that the town first founded took in the akropolis only, that dwellings gradually spread beyond the walls, and that at last it was found needful to defend the newly settled quarter with an extended line of fortification. And we shall see as we go on that we can hardly be wrong in c. 480. fixing it to a time as nearly as possible a hundred years after the first settlement[1]. The akropolis always remained a separate fortress. It had two gates, one to the west, leading outside, the other to the east, on the neck of the isthmus that joins the akropolis to the main body of the hill, leading to the later city. This last gate was long represented by a mediæval successor called *Porta del Ponte*, which has been swept away in recent times. And within the akropolis, within the modern town, we certainly see something like a higher and a lower range, an akropolis within an akropolis. The oldest temple of Akragas, that of Zeus Polieus, Zeus of the City, Zeus of the Atabyrian hill of ancestral Rhodes, stood on the highest point of all, well seen doubtless from every quarter, even from the forgotten north[2]. We shall in time come to the story of its building, a notable point in the history of Akragas.

Temples in the akropolis.

Older inhabitants Sikan.

We may assume that the founders of Akragas, like other founders of Greek colonies, found older inhabitants to dispossess. And we may assume with hardly less confidence that those older inhabitants were of the Sikan stock. There is no ground for connecting the hill of Akragas

[1] That is, in the time of Thêrôn. We shall come to this in a later Chapter.

[2] Polybios, u. s.; *ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἵδρυται καὶ Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίοις· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀκράγαντος ὑπὸ Ῥοδίων ἀπῳκισμένου, εἰκότως ὁ θεὸς οὗτος τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσηγορίαν, ἣν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις.* But because we have got a Zeus of Mount Tabor, it does not follow that he was altogether Moloch. See Appendix XIII. The *κορυφή* is the highest part of the *ἄκρα*. Siefert (23) confounded this *κορυφή* with the *λόφος Ἀθηναῖος*. So Dennis (203) places Zeus Atabyrios here and Athênê also.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

with the name of any Sikan town that has come down to us, with Kamikos for instance or Omphakê[1]. But the hill of Akragas is exactly the kind of spot which that people was sure to occupy. In the earliest days of Akragas, we find the city enlarging its territory at the cost of Sikan enemies[2]; and we may be sure that its first establishment was the fruit of warfare of the same kind. For Phœnicians the site of the Akragantine akropolis could have no charm; nor is there in its near neighbourhood any island or peninsula or spot of any kind at all likely to suggest the plantation of a Phœnician colony or even of a Phœnician factory. That coast of Sicily on which, in after days, the busiest intercourse went on between the Greek settled in Sicily and the Phœnician settled in Africa was the very part of the island which had least to attract colonists from the old Phœnicia at an earlier time. Phœnician influence may have made its way into Akragas as it did into other places. The famous tale of the brazen bull which we shall have to discuss hereafter, whatever we make of it, points to Phœnician influence of some kind. But there is no place in Greek Sicily where we are less tempted to think that the Greek settlers found either armed Phœnicians to drive out or peaceful Phœnicians to come to terms with. The same reasons which caused Akragas to be so long neglected by Greeks had doubtless caused it to be neglected by Phœnicians also. The city, when once founded, became great and prosperous, but the site was in itself much less attractive than others to either of the colonizing nations.

Probably no Phœnician settlement.

The Akragantine coins are for the most part clearly marked by the favourite emblems of the city. The eagle and the crab, alone or together, are the badges of Akragas. Few pieces of its money are without one or the other, and

Coins of Akragas. The crab and the eagle.

[1] Schubring has finally settled every question of this kind.

[2] Polyainos, v. 1. We shall come to this again.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. of the two the crab is the most distinctive. Other forms, the youthful river-god [1] and other deities, are found, and other human and animal forms. But either alone or in their company the crab still marks Akragas as the cock marks Himera. In so late a foundation the legends are on the whole less archaic than those of some other cities; from the very beginning the letters run from left to right; but there are some occasional fallings back into the older fashion at a later date than one would have looked for [2]. And from the coins the badges of the city have made their way to the weights. Where there was not room for the whole animal, the beak of the eagle, the claw of the crab, could at least be graven [3].

Extent of the Akragantine territory.

The territory of Akragas doubtless grew by degrees as the city increased in power. In later times its boundaries shifted somewhat to and fro; but we may generally assign to it the coast from the mouth of the modern river of Caltabellotta to the mouth of the southern Himeras [4]. It thus filled up the gap between Gela and Selinous; its foundation made the whole south coast of Sicily Greek. That coast had now become a fortified line of defence for Europe against Africa, a line of which Akragas formed the central citadel. The history of the city was such as became its position.

[1] The river-god seems to come in late. Coins of Sicily, 19, Head. Ælian (V. H. ii. 33) has something to tell about him; Ἀκραγαντῖνοι δὲ τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆς πόλεως ποταμὸν παιδὶ ὡραίῳ εἰκάσαντες θύουσι· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνέθεσαν, ἐλέφαντος διαγλύψαντες ἄγαλμα, καὶ ἐπέγραψαν τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄνομα· καὶ παιδός ἐστι τὸ ἄγαλμα. River-gods were commonly older. His parents, according to Stephen, were Zeus and Asteropê daughter of Ocean.

[2] Coins of Sicily, p. 19; Head, 104, who suggests that the crab is a fresh-water crab, representing the river.

[3] Coins of Sicily, p. 23.

[4] Eknomos was Akragantine. See Diod. xix. 108.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

§ 7. *The Expedition of Pentathlos.* B. C. 580–577.

Expedition of Pentathlos. B.C. 580.

With the foundation of Akragas the tale of the first set of Greek cities on the Sicilian mainland is made up, as the foundation of Gela made up the tale of Sikeliot cities founded directly from old Greece. Yet the spirit of colonization had by no means died out in the elder Greek lands; and though no further settlements were actually made on Sicilian soil, yet there were two very remarkable attempts at such settlement. And one of these led to the foundation of a Greek colony so near to the coast of Sicily as to form a real part of Sicilian history. These two are the enterprise of the Knidian Pentathlos in the first quarter of the sixth century before Christ, and the enterprise of the Spartan Dôrieus towards the end of that century. The two stand in a certain relation to each other. They were made in the same part of the island. It is not unlikely that the same religious motive was at work in both cases, and it may well be that the second enterprise was suggested by the first. Both attempts were defeated by the same enemies. But the attempt of Pentathlos, as leading to a real settlement which was all but Sikeliot, will fittingly wind up the story of Greek colonization in Sicily. The attempt of Dôrieus seventy years later was so closely connected with other events both in Sicily and elsewhere that it will find its place among the records of Sicilian history at a later stage. It comes in the days between the end of Greek settlement in the island and the beginning of the great struggle with Carthage.

Its connexion with that of Dôrieus.

Both are attacks on Phœnician Sicily.

Of that struggle in truth both enterprises were forerunners. We now, at the very end of the story of Greek settlement in Sicily, come for the first time to a distinct record of Greeks and Phœnicians meeting as enemies on

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. Sicilian soil [1]. Up to this time, as the Phœnicians gradually withdrew westward before the Greeks, the two nations seem to have silently agreed on a kind of partition of the coast, a partition in which the Greeks took by far the greater share. Panormos, Solous, and Motya, as independent Phœnician colonies, seem to have been in no way threatening to the Greek cities in the island. On the other hand, the Greeks of Sicily abstained from all attempts on that western side of the island which the Phœnicians had made specially their own. The two enterprises of Pentathlos and Dôrieus were attempts made by Greeks out of Sicily on that specially barbarian corner which the earlier settlers had left to the Phœnicians. And in the second struggle the Phœnicians in Sicily, attacked by Greeks from beyond Sicily, found support from Phœnician allies or masters elsewhere.

Knidian and Rhodian enterprise. B.C. 580–577.

At last then the two great colonizing nations of Sicily met in arms in their common field of enterprise. About the fiftieth Olympiad, very soon therefore after the foundation of Akragas [2], a body of Rhodians and Knidians set forth to found a settlement on the western coast of Sicily. So far as the settlement was Rhodian, we might fancy that the metropolis of Gela was stirred up by the foundation of her daughter, a foundation in which she herself had a certain share, to another attempt at Sicilian settlement in which the Rhodian element should be more distinctly seen. Yet in the result at least, the present enterprise was more Knidian than Rhodian, and the leader was the Knidian Pentathlos, who claimed a Herakleid descent [3]. When we come to the story of Dôrieus, we shall see that

Pentathlos a Herakleid.

[1] The remarks of Grote (v. 277), which show how fully he grasped the great lesson of Sicilian history, would have come better as a comment on the enterprise of Pentathlos than on that of Dôrieus.

[2] See Appendix XXI.

[3] Diod. v. 9; Πένταθλον τὸν Κνίδιον, ὃς ἦν ἀναφέρων τὸ γένος εἰς Ἱππότην τὸν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγονότα.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

with the Herakleid of Sparta the enterprise took a shape of religious and filial duty. Dôrieus set forth to win back from the barbarians those lands of western Sicily which his deified forefather had made specially his own [1]. Whether the same feelings worked in the mind of the Herakleid of Knidos we are not told; but such motives would be thoroughly in character, and in any case the undertaking of Pentathlos led him to the same quarter of Sicily which was afterwards sought by Dôrieus. Pentathlos sailed to the most western point of the whole island, to the so-called promontory of Lilybaion [2]. It must be remembered that there was as yet no town on that site; but such a point was assuredly not left unoccupied or defenceless; and a Greek settlement on Lilybaion would have been more than threatening to the Phœnician settlement on Motya. In truth it was for all the Phœnicians of Sicily nothing short of a question of life or death to keep all Greek intruders out of that specially reserved possession of Canaan. The tale is told only meagrely and incidentally. In one account Pentathlos seems actually to found a city [3]; in another he seems not to have reached that stage, but only to have taken a part in warfare which he found going on between Greeks and barbarians hard by. At the time of the landing of Pentathlos, the Greeks of Selinous, then a city of no great age, were, as we so often find them in later times, at war with the Elymians of Segesta. At that stage the relations between Elymians and Phœnicians were at least those of close friendship [4]. The new-comers, Dorian Greeks, naturally threw in their lot with other Dorian Greeks engaged in such a struggle, and thereby laid themselves open to Phœnician enmity. In the battle

His attempt at Libybaion.

Danger to Phœnician interests.

War between Selinous and Segesta.

[1] See above, p. 211.

[2] The details of the story are discussed in Appendix XXI.

[3] In the version of Pausanias; see Appendix XXI.

[4] See above, p. 201.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV.

Pentathlos helps the Selinuntines, but is defeated and slain.

which followed, while Pentathlos and his companions fought on the side of Selinous, the men of Segesta were strengthened by Phœnician help[1]. But the fates were against Hellas, and the barbarians had the victory. Not a few of the Knidian and Rhodian adventurers fell, and among them their leader Pentathlos. How the growing fortunes of Selinous were affected by this check we are not told; but all hopes of a Greek settlement yet more directly in the teeth of the Phœnician than Selinous, a settlement on Lilybaion itself or elsewhere on the west coast of Sicily, were for a while at an end.

The survivors set out to go back.

The Knidian and Rhodian survivors of the battle now thought only of going back to their own homes. They took as leaders three kinsmen, perhaps sons, of Pentathlos, Gorgos, Thestôr, and Epithersidas, and steered their way through the Tyrrhenian sea, along the north coast of Sicily. To us this seems a roundabout way of sailing from Lilybaion to Asia; but for the coasting navigation of those days it was really the nearest way. On their course they came to the Isles of Fire, inhabited, so the story went, by five hundred descendants of the stock of Aiolos. Whoever they were, they received the new-comers friendly, and the welcome guests went no further. The wandering Knidians and Rhodians founded a colony on Lipara, the chief island of the group, a colony founded, not by driving out the elder inhabitants, but by entering into partnership with them. Lipara was added to the roll of the cities of Hellas, a city which looked to Knidos as its metropolis, and revered the dead Pentathlos as its founder.

They settle at Lipara, and found a Knidian colony.

The city of Lipara and its history.

Lipara was the only town in the whole group of islands. It stood on the greatest, but not the loftiest, of the group,

[1] Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐλύμων in Pausanias, x. 11. 3. Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐγεσταίων, says Herodotus (v. 46) when speaking of Dôrieus. But the Φοίνικες of the first date are independent; those of the second are Carthaginians or dependents of Carthage.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

with the two special isles of fire standing as beacons on each side of it. The soil of the other islands was the property of the Liparaian commonwealth or of its citizens[1], and we hear of more than one experiment in the way of distribution and of common possession of lands[2]. Lying where they did, ranked specially as islands between Italy and Sicily[3], the Isles of Fire were yet more exposed to the attacks of the Tyrrhenian pirates than Sicily itself. The Liparaian state was driven, in its own defence, to become a seafaring power, in which character we are told, but without any details, that its fleets won many victories over the barbarians[4]. But in Sicilian history it appears but seldom, and sometimes at least as the victim of harryings on the part of other Greeks. And the story of its sufferings tells us one notable physical detail. Lipara had to be harried in the winter; the work could not be done in the summer by reason of the lack of water[5]. The crops then would seem to have been safe. CHAP. IV.

Lipara thus winds up the list of Hellenic colonies founded straight from old Greece, or from Sikeliot cities while the colonizing impulse was still a living thing, in the island with which we are concerned or in the lesser islands close around. Lipara became Greek; Aigousa, like more distant Melitê and Gaulos, entered the world of European civilization only when the Roman became its representative. But, if our clearest narrative is to be trusted, the Hellenism of Lipara must have been far from pure; many of its citizens must from the first have been Greeks only by

Lipara the last settlement from old Greece.

[1] See above, p. 88. [2] See Appendix XXI. [3] Polyb. i. 63.

[4] Diod. v. 9; *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλαῖς ναυμαχίαις ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Τυρρηνούς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων πλεονάκις ἀξιολόγους δεκάτας ἀνέθεσαν εἰς Δελφούς.* Some of these were the offerings seen by Pausanias (x. 11. 3); *ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας Λιπαραῖοι ναυμαχίᾳ κρατήσαντες Τυρρηνῶν.* He then goes on to explain who the *Λιπαραῖοι* were.

[5] Thuc. iii. 88; *θέρους δι' ἀνυδρίαν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιστρατεύειν.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CHAP. IV. adoption. We long to know who the so-called Aiolids of Lipara really were, Sikans or Sikels or men of any other race. Whoever they were, they doubtless soon yielded to the influence of Greek culture; they spoke the Doric tongue, and they likely enough, in the course of two or three generations, learned to speak of Knidos as the land of their fathers.

Knidos the metropolis of Lipara.

Extent of Greek settlement in Sicily.

In the course then of about one hundred and sixty years, the work of Greek settlement in Sicily was carried very nearly as far as it ever was carried. It has been said, with some exaggeration, that the Greeks everywhere kept the barbarians from the sea[1]. They certainly strove to do so as far as they had the power; and, as far as touched the native races of the eastern and southern coast, they thoroughly succeeded. But the barbarian corner remained barbarian, and independent Sikels still held a good deal of the northern coast. Sicily had not been made a Greek island, but a good foundation had been made for making it such in times to come. And it was further shown what were the only means by which Sicily could become Greek. The *quasi*-continental character of the island shut out all chance of making it Greek by actual Greek occupation everywhere. A solid piece of mainland, even though it had the sea all round it, could not be as the insular and peninsular lands of old Greece or of the Ægæan coasts, or even as those of southern Italy. Sicily was to become Greek by the process of turning the Sikel into the Sikeliot, modified by the counter-process of making the Sikeliot in some measure turn into a Sikel. That process began from the very first days of Greek settlement. Each people began to modify the other, the Greek taking a little from the Sikel, the Sikel taking much from the Greek, till

Sicily hellenized by assimilation.

Mutual influence of Greeks and Sikels.

[1] Strabo, vi. 2. 4; *τῶν βαρβάρων . . . οὐδένα τῆς παραλίας εἶων οἱ Ἕλληνες ἅπτεσθαι, τῆς δὲ μεσογαίας ἀπείργειν παντάπασιν οὐκ ἴσχυον.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

he practically became a Greek. In the next chapter we shall see further advances in this process, as we shall see further advances still at every later stage. Of Elymians and Sikans we have less to say; but the same work must, to some extent, have been going on with them also. But the Phœnician, representative of a wholly distinct life, as yet remains obstinate. For the present we have little to say of him, beyond noticing the remarkable fact that we have so little to say. We have had as yet directly to speak of him once only when Elymians and Phœnicians cut short the enterprise of Pentathlos. In our next chapter we shall hardly have to speak of him, except when we have to tell the same story again in the case of Dôrieus. We have now to tell the story of the Greek cities, during a period longer in some cases, shorter in others, according to the date of their settlement. What is more than two hundred and fifty years in the case of Naxos is little more than a hundred years in the case of Akragas. We shall have to speak of the growth of the cities, in their territory and in their buildings, of their internal revolutions, of their dealings with one another and with the native races, till the days when the great barbarian alliance threatens Hellas in all her homes, and when Hellenic Sicily has at last to deal with the Phœnician in his might.

Relations of the Greeks to the other races.

Rare mention of the Phœnicians.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

APPENDIX.

NOTE I. p. 49.

The Authorities for Early Sicilian History.

The history of Sicily, during those ages in which Sicilian history is mainly a branch of Hellenic history, carries one feature of the general subject to a marked extreme. This is the grievous lack of contemporary narrative. It is not too much to say that we have none whatever in a perfect state, with a single exception, which is indeed a precious one. This is the narrative which Thucydides has left us of the wars of Athens and Syracuse. Next to that, not strictly contemporary but the work of writers not very far from the time, comes what Herodotus tells us at one end and Polybios at the other. For the earliest ages, owing immediately to the gap between the fifth and the eleventh book of Diodôros, we have no continuous narrative at all. In the same way the fragmentary state of his books after the twentieth leaves us without any continuous narrative from the last facts which he records under the reign of Agathoklês to the first facts which Polybios records in his narrative of "the War for Sicily," the first war between Rome and Carthage. From Gelôn then, or rather from Hippokratês of Gela, to Agathoklès we have a fairly continuous story; but it is only for a few years in the fifth century before Christ that it is a contemporary story. Before Hippokratês everything has to be patched together from scraps of all

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

kinds in authors of all manner of dates and of all manner of degrees of value. In the latter time just spoken of, from the last days of Agathoklês to the first Punic war, if we have not the complete history of Diodôros, we have large fragments which go far to fill up the gap. We may say then on the whole that, till the beginning of Roman intervention, Diodôros is our chief guide. At all dates we have to illustrate and enlarge his story from endless incidental and fragmentary sources; for a few years we are able to exchange him for one who was not only a contemporary narrator, but the greatest master of contemporary narrative that the world ever saw.

This last fact has perhaps done something to disturb the proportions of Sicilian history in a good many minds. It is hard indeed to avoid looking on Syracuse, and in some measure on all Sicily, as before all things the scene of the great Athenian invasion. Next to that, Sicily is the island, and Syracuse the city, which fill so large a place in the odes of Pindar. These last do indeed give us a glimpse of one side of one of the most brilliant and memorable periods in Sicilian history, and they fit in well with the small but precious amount of Sicilian narrative which we get from Herodotus. Nor can anything surpass the thrilling interest of the tale of the Athenian invasion, told as no other tale ever was told. But its main historic importance is more Athenian than Sicilian or even Syracusan. The time of prosperity and comparative peace which went immediately before, the struggle against tyrants and barbarians which came immediately after, are, from the purely Sicilian point of view, of greater moment. These are the very life of the story. What might have come if the Athenian invasion had succeeded is another matter. As it failed, it is in Sicilian history little more than a wonderful episode, the chief result of which was to bring Sicily into closer relations with old Greece than before.

Till then we reach the times dealt with by Polybios, our materials for Sicilian history consist mainly of the History of Diodôros, with incidental illustrations which carry us over the whole range of Greek literature. When we compare these materials with our materials for the history of old Greece, it is perhaps in the nature of the illustrative matter that we have to acknowledge the greatest measure of inferiority on the Sicilian side. It is true that in the history of old Greece we have, in those parts of the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

History of Herodotus which may pass as contemporary, in the Histories of Thucydides and Xenophôn, a much longer spell of continuous contemporary narrative than we can at any time find in Sicily. But the difference comes out yet more strongly when we think of writers who are not strictly narrative. Of the whole of the Sicilian literature, historical and otherwise, of the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ, we have nothing but fragments. We have no whole work of any kind. We have nothing to set against those writers of old Greece who give us history in another form than that of narrative. We have nothing that throws such light on the democracy of Syracuse as is thrown on the democracy of Athens by the plays of Aristophanês, by the real speeches of Lysias, Dêmosthenês, and Aischinês, by the pamphlets which Isokratês wrote in the shape of speeches. But the illustrative materials of other kinds are endless. Sicily of course comes in among other lands for its share of mention at the hands of general historians, geographers, political philosophers, and other graver writers. No land supplied a greater store of marked incidents, of marked men, of instructive political changes. Strabo gives his picture of the island, though insular feelings are perhaps a little annoyed at finding Sicily dealt with rather too much as an appendage to Italy. The rich offerings which men and cities of Sicily made to the holy places of old Greece led Pausanias to say more of Sicilian matters than we might have expected from his main subject. The political history of the Sikeliot commonwealths supplied Aristotle with large materials for his surviving Politics as well as for his unhappily lost Polities. Of the Lives of Plutarch two, those of Diôn and Timoleôn, are specially Sicilian; those of Nikias and Alkibiadês are Sicilian only incidentally; but that of Nikias is so to a memorable degree. The tyrants, earlier and later, naturally supplied much food for Plutarch in his lesser works, as also for Polyainos and other collectors of anecdotes and stratagems. The physical features of the country were equally attractive to the collectors of physical wonders. In the strange collections of the Παραδοξογράφοι Sicily holds a distinguished place. To general collectors the island had the special characteristics of a colonial country. Its customs, writings, language, and so forth, had just that measure of likeness and unlikeness to older Greek things which was sure to draw to them special interest and attention. And the peculiar tastes of the head-compiler Athênaios specially drew him to a land which

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

had been so famous for all the arts of luxury, and specially for those of eating and drinking. In short there is hardly any Greek writer, great or small, we may say from Homer onwards, from whom the historian of Sicily may not draw something for the illustration of his subject.

It is further remarkable how much, on some branches of the subject, may be drawn from Latin writers, and specially from late Latin writers. This is specially true with regard to the primitive mythology of the island. The older poetry of Sicily is lost; Stêsichoros and Epicharmos exist only in fragments. For anything local we must go at a later time, to that one side of Sicilian life which is shown us in the poems of Theokritos. But it was the Latin poets whose minds seem to have been most deeply impressed by the physical features of Sicily and the legends which rose out of them. Ætna supplied the subject of a poem to the younger Lucilius; and of the sacred legends of the island we should know little indeed if we were confined to Greek writers only. Virgil tells us something, Ovid more; Claudian, as far as the head legend of Sicily is concerned, most of all. For this earliest side of the subject we have therefore, from the very beginning, to go to authors who deal with the second period of our history, some of them authors of quite late date. We may notice too among the writers just mentioned that Ovid had been in Sicily, and had used his eyes to good purpose when he was there. Silius too had worked hard at Sicilian geography for his list of Sicilian places in the Hannibalian War.

Sicilian history then, during the Greek days of Sicily, shows us the features of ordinary Greek history in a somewhat exaggerated shape. One who comes back to either from the study of so-called mediæval times, whether in Sicily or elsewhere, is struck by some contrasts of other kinds. In mediæval history we are never either so well or so badly off as we sometimes are in the so-called classical times. If we never have guides like Thucydides and Polybios, we are never left without any guides at all. We almost always have something of a narrative, even if it takes only the form of "annales brevissimi." We complain if we have, as we now and then do have, a few years without any recorded events. In the earlier history, above all in Sicilian history, we have to live for centuries on scraps gathered where we may find them. Take for instance so well-known a name as that of Phalaris of

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Akragas. The incidental references to him are endless; no man seems to have made a deeper impression on all ages that came after him. But we have nothing but incidental references. We should be thankful indeed for the dullest and most meagre of contemporary annals to make us sure of a fact or two and a date or two; we should be hardly less thankful for a continuous narrative of any kind or any date. We should better like Hippys or Antiochos, if they were to be had; but we should gladly put up with Diodôros. Another point that strikes us is the far greater richness of documentary evidence in the mediæval times. The documents of Greece were graven on stones. Thucydides has kindly given us the text of several treaties; but, as a rule, the *diplomata* of Greek history are to be found in inscriptions, inscriptions which have taken their chance along with the general mass of buildings and works of art. We feel the difference when we compare the great collections of Old-English and Frankish documents with the inscriptions, precious when there are any, but very few of them, which throw some light on the early history of Sicily. One might really be glad to part with a good many acts of Merowingian kings and mayors, if we could get in exchange a single Syracusan document of the days of Gelôn.

The history therefore of independent Sicily, of Sicily before the Roman dominion, has, save during a few memorable years, to be written almost wholly from second-hand narratives. In the stage of it with which we have to deal in the present volume, we have hardly anything to do with narrative at all. We have nothing at all like it except in those accounts of the foundation of the Greek cities which after all do not form a continuous story. It will be well therefore to keep the full examination of our narrative writers till a stage nearer to the times with which they chiefly deal. It may be better to speak here only of such writers as specially concern the earliest times, and of writers of later history only so far as they treat of them. Diodôros himself, afterwards our nearest approach to a continuous guide, is at this time little more than one out of many compilers and speculators about the state of the island in præ-historic times. At this stage we find almost as much, such as it is, in the Roman Antiquities of Dionysios of Halikarnassos, who naturally soon fails us. Some of the chief historians of Sicily in later times, as Philistos and Timaios, though they supply us with fragmentary notices from the beginning, are

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of so much more importance at later stages that it will be more convenient to speak of them then.

The direct original materials for Sicilian history must once have been very great. There was a great number of writers, some of whom dealt with Sicily only in its place as part of a wider whole, while others put together special histories of Sicily, or of Sicily and the neighbouring land of Italy. We may begin early, with the Milesian HEKATAIOS himself (B.C. *c.* 550–476). From his two works, the Circuit of the Earth (Γῆς Περίοδος) and the Genealogies, we do not learn very much about Sicilian matters; yet, besides his legends about Zanklê, Motya, and Solous, it is something to know that in his day Syracuse was already held to be the greatest of Sicilian cities (Steph. Byz., Συράκουσαι, πόλις Σικελίας μεγίστη, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ), and that Lilybaion had already put on its character as ἡ πρὸς δύσιν ἄκρα τῆς Σικελίας (Steph. Byz. in Λιλύβαιον). His approximate date doubtless makes Hekataios an older man than our first special historian of Sicily, HIPPYS of Rhêgion (B.C. *c.* 490). Hippys (called also Hippôn) may, I think, fairly be put first, as there is hardly evidence (see Brunet de Presle, 5; C. Müller, ii. 13) for a certain Theagenês, also of Rhêgion, as earlier still, and in any case we have no remains of him. The date and works of Hippys are vaguely recorded by Souidas (γεγονὼς ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν, καὶ πρῶτος ἔγραψε τὰς Σικελικὰς πράξεις, ἃς ὕστερον Μύης ἐπετέμετο). Among his works were a κτίσις Ἰταλίας and Σικελικά in five books. We should be thankful even for the abridgement; but the abridgement itself seems to have perished early, as Plutarch (de Def. Orac. 23) seems to quote Hippys at second-hand. His fragments are not many; but, as we go on, we shall come to one of some importance in its bearing on the early history of Syracuse.

It is not of great moment to Sicilian history to fix the exact date of HELLANIKOS of Mytilênê (B.C. *c.* 496–411), which has been discussed at some length by those whom it more nearly concerns (see Brunet de Presle, 7; C. Müller, i. xxiv, xxv; Dict. Biog. art. Hellanicus). It is hard to see on the one hand that the reference of Thucydides (i. 97) shows that Hellanikos was dead in 404 or 403, and it is dangerous to trust the casual statement of the Scholiast on the Frogs (706) as proving that he was still writing after the battle of Arginousai. Whatever was his exact relation in date to Herodotus and Thucydides, he belongs, as far as we are concerned,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

to an earlier stage than theirs. He is often quoted by our immediate guides, but chiefly for legendary and præ-historic matters. His name will often come in discussing the early inhabitants, and even the Greek colonists, of Sicily; but we learn nothing from him as to strictly historical events.

For them our first teacher, the first from whom we now have any continuous narrative of any part of Sicilian history, is HERODOTUS (B.C. *c.* 484–408). That so it should be is of course owing to the loss of other writers, and immediately to the loss of the authorities followed by Diodôros between his fifth book and his eleventh. As it is, Herodotus is the first writer who gives us any considerable piece either of Sicilian history or Sicilian legend in a shape other than that of allusion or anecdote. He deals with Sicilian matters only incidentally; his Sicilian narratives are mere digressions from his main subject; still they are narratives. It suited his purpose to tell the legend of Minôs at Kamikos, and to tell the history of the expedition of Dôrieus and the growth of the power of Hippokratês and Gelôn. And we are thankful to be able to make such a beginning.

We next come to the first native Sicilian writer who distinctly gave himself to record the history of his own island. He is the first of whose writings we are likely to have before us any considerable part, even in an indirect shape. This is ANTIOCHOS of Syracuse, the loss of whose history of the sixth and early part of the fifth century before Christ is as much to be deplored as the loss of the history of Philistos at a later time. We have however to deal with him as yet only as one of our endless incidental sources for præ-historic times, and specially as being the possible author of our first approach to a narrative of the early times of Greek Sicily. That is to say, the question comes whether we are to look on the sketch of the foundation of the Sikeliot cities with which the sixth book of Thucydides opens as in any way copied from or grounded on the lost work of Antiochos. If so, Thucydides, as an original authority, belongs to a later time. If the sketch is to be looked on as the result of original research on the part of Thucydides, he takes the place of our earliest narrative historian of any events that can claim to be historical.

Antiochos, son of Xenophanês, wrote two works, one of them on the history of Sicily down to his own time. Under the year 424 before Christ, Diodôros (xii. 71) tells us that the Sicilian History

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of Antiochos was in nine books, and began with the mythical Sikan king Kôkalos (*τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ἀντίοχος ὁ Συρακούσιος τὴν τῶν Σικελικῶν ἱστορίαν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατέστρεψεν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Κωκάλου τοῦ Σικανῶν βασιλέως, ἐν βιβλίοις ἐννέα*). Of his other work, on the Settlement of Italy, the opening words are preserved by Dionysios of Halikarnassos (A. R. i. 12). He introduces Antiochos as *συγγραφεὺς πάνυ ἀρχαῖος, ἐν Ἰταλίας οἰκισμῷ τοὺς παλαιοτάτους οἰκήτορας διεξιών*. His account of himself is: *Ἀντίοχος Ξενοφάνεως τάδε συνέγραψε περὶ Ἰταλίας, ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγων τὰ πιστότατα καὶ σαφέστατα*. In this character there are other references to him in Dionysios, and a good many in Strabo, and we shall come across some of them which concern Sicily. But of his Sicilian history we seem to have only two certain fragments preserved, one by Dionysios in the passage just quoted and another by Pausanias (see p. 443 and Appendix XXI). Why Diodôros should be thought incapable of using Antiochos for himself (Wölfflin, Antiochos von Syrakus. Winterthur, 1872, p. 17), is one of those mysteries of the higher criticism to which the insular mind hardly reaches. He must, it seems, have copied his account of Antiochos from the *Χρονικά* of Apollodôros.

Antiochos, both in his own account and in those of others, appears as a *συγγραφεύς*, like Thucydides, as distinguished from the earlier *λογογράφοι*. His history would most likely have given us exactly what we want and have not got, from the beginnings of Greek settlement to the Peace of Gela. For the time of Sicilian prosperity after the fall of the tyrants, for the growth of the Syracusan and other democracies, for the enterprise of Ducetius, he must have been an absolutely contemporary writer. He must have been an elder contemporory of Thucydides, and the question now comes, whether Thucydides really did use him as a guide in Sicilian matters, specially in the opening chapters of the sixth book. This was long ago suggested by Niebuhr, and it has been carefully argued by Wölfflin in the tract already referred to (see more in Busolt, i. 224). The case is of the usual kind. It may be so; it is perfectly likely; one has no strong reason to say that it is not so; but one cannot say that it is convincingly proved that it is so. The slightest piece of positive evidence would settle the question either way; only there is none. It is certainly worth noticing, though I had not remarked it for myself save in a single case, that Thucydides in this part of his work uses several words and idioms which he does not use elsewhere. I had

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

long ago noticed the word *περικλυζομένη* in the description of Syracuse in vi. 2, as compared with *περίρρυτος* in the speech of Hermokratês in iv. 64. They are hardly like Thucydides, and they hang curiously together. But I should hardly venture to found a theory on them. It surely does not prove much if Thucydides speaks (Wölfflin, 3) of *σχεδία*, *δρέπανον*, and *δρεπανοειδής* nowhere but in vi. 4, if he had no need elsewhere to write about such things. And it hardly proves more, if he uses *ἑσπέρα* in vi. 2, while he uses *ἡλίου δύσις* in ii. 96. In the account of the passage of the strait by the Sikels given by Dionysios in i. 22, and very likely taken from Antiochos, the likeness to the passage in Thucydides vi. 2 is really no greater than there is likely to be when two people independently tell the same story. I am far from saying that Thucydides did not follow Antiochos; it is very likely that he did; but I cannot go quite so far as C. Müller (i. xlv), when he says, "Opera ejus a Thucydide ... in rebus Siculis consulta esse pro certo fere affirmare licet." I can more boldly accept what follows; "Diodorum haud pauca ex eo mutuatum esse satis liquet, etsi quænam illa fuerint, quum Philistum quoque et Timæum ante oculos haberet, plerumque non potest dijudicari."

For the purposes of Sicilian history, we are perhaps better off if we suppose that Thucydides did copy Antiochos. Antiochos alone would be very high authority; Antiochos approved by Thucydides would be still higher. Thucydides was quite able to inquire for himself; but if he found that the work had been lately done by a competent hand, there was no reason why he should not adopt the results. For elaborate references and acknowledgements we are not to look in his day. In truth whenever either Herodotus or Thucydides quotes, or rather alludes to, anybody, it is commonly to find fault.

This about ends our list of special authorities for the time with which we are immediately engaged. Incidental scraps of knowledge we may of course find anywhere. Strabo, in describing the geography of Sicily, naturally lets fall a good deal about its early history. So Cicero, giving a picture of Sicily at a later stage for a special end, also lets fall a good deal that is precious for earlier times also. But of anything that can in the faintest way claim the name of historic narrative, the history of the foundation of the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Sikeliot cities, whether we settle to call it Antiochos or Thucydides, is our beginning and our ending in the present volume. And we can hardly be said to add any new names to our stock in the second volume. Herodotus, who has now told us the mythical story of Minós, will then go on to tell us the history of Dôrieus, of Hippokratês, and of Gelôn. In some stages of that history, he has come within the range where the most straitest sect of critics allow a narrative to be credible, namely when it could have been heard from contemporaries and actors. And our second volume will open to us, if not a new narrative, at least a new source of knowledge. The older contemporary of Herodotus, the Boiotian PINDAR, is no professed historian, and he writes no continuous narrative. Yet the many allusions to Sicilian events in his odes addressed to Sikeliot victors, tyrants and others, are of direct historical authority. All that he says of the days of Hierôn, and indirectly of those of Gelôn, is the saying of a well-informed contemporary, whose witness is of course somewhat impaired in value by being the witness of a laureate or panegyrist. Still he helps us to some facts and to some important views of facts. His scholiasts are full of historical comments by way of explanation of his often somewhat dark allusions. Their value we shall often have to appraise as we go on. But there is no doubt that, with careful and critical handling, a good deal may be learned from them.

But it is when we come to the Athenian wars that we shall best consider the main authors of the narrative history of Sicily, preserved, lost, and reproduced, even those among them who dealt with the earlier times also. As yet we must pick our way among scraps. It is something when we come to a story of anything, be it even the visit of Hêraklês to Agyrium or the slaying of Minôs in the bath at Kamikos.

NOTE II. p. 51.

THE BREACH BETWEEN SICILY AND ITALY.

THE comparison which Polybios draws (see above, p. 51) between the geographical relations of Sicily to Italy and those of Peloponnêsos to the rest of Greece (i. 42; *τὴν μὲν οὖν σύμπασαν Σικελίαν τῇ θέσει τετάχθαι συμβαίνει πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τἀκείνης πέρατα παρα-*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

πλησίως τῇ τῆς Πελοποννήσου θέσει πρὸς τὴν λοιπὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ ταύτης ἄκρα, τούτῳ δ' αὐτῷ διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων, ᾗ ἐκείνη μὲν χερρόνησός ἐστιν, αὕτη δὲ νῆσος· ἧς μὲν γὰρ ὁ μεταξὺ τόπος ἐστὶ πορευτός, ἧς δὲ πλωτός) suggests the very general belief that Sicily and Italy were once joined, and that they were split asunder by some convulsion of nature. This belief is as old as Æschylus, and so is the connexion of this belief with the name of Rhêgion. This comes from a fragment of an uncertain play quoted by Strabo, vi. 1. 6;

ὠνομάσθη δὲ Ῥήγιον, εἴθ', ὡς φησὶν Αἰσχύλος, διὰ τὸ συμβὰν πάθος τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ· ἀπορραγῆναι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου τὴν Σικελίαν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν, ἄλλοι τε κἀκεῖνος εἴρηκεν·

ἀφ' οὗ δὴ Ῥήγιον κικλήσκεται.

He then goes on to discuss the volcanic character of Sicily and southern Italy; but he adds another strange derivation of the name; διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἂν βασίλειον τῇ Λατίνῃ φωνῇ προσαγορευσάντων Σαυνιτῶν διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας αὐτῶν κοινωνῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ χρήσασθαι τῇ Λατίνῃ διαλέκτῳ. (Whence came the name of the northern Regium?) But the ἐπώνυμος crept in even here, as we see from Hêrakleidês, 25 (C. Müller, Fr. Hist. Græc. ii. 219); τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ τὴν πόλιν ᾤκισαν Ῥήγιον ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπό τινος ἐγχωρίου ἥρωος.

Diodôros (iv. 85) mentions the breaking off of Sicily by earthquakes; φασὶ γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ μυθογράφοι τὴν Σικελίαν τὸ πρότερον χερρόνησον οὖσαν, ὕστερον γενέσθαι νῆσον, διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας· τὸν ἰσθμὸν κατὰ τὸ στενώτατον ὑπὸ δυοῖν πλευρῶν θαλάττης προσκλυζόμενον ἀναρραγῆναι, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἀπὸ τούτου Ῥήγιον ὀνομασθῆναι . . . . ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι, σεισμῶν μεγάλων γενομένων διαρραγῆναι τὸν αὐχένα τῆς ἠπείρου, καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν πορθμὸν διειργοῦσης τῆς θαλάττης τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου. He goes on to say that Hesiod had an opposite story, seemingly that Oriôn dammed up the strait (φησὶ τοὐναντίον ἀναπεπταμένου τοῦ πελάγους Ὠρίωνα προσχῶσαι τὸ κατὰ τὴν Πελωρίαδα κείμενον ἀκρωτήριον). One is reminded of the successive openings and shuttings of the channel between Ortygia and the mainland of Sicily.

Justin (iv. 1) has a slightly different account; "Siciliam ferunt angustis quondam faucibus Italiæ adhæsisse diruptamque velut a corpore majore impetu superi maris, quod toto undarum onere illuc velitur." So Pomponius Mela (ii. 7); "Sicilia, aliquando, ut ferunt, continens et agro Bruttio adnexa, post freto maris Siculi abscissa est."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Dionysios Periêgêtês (472) describes the strait and its origin with some vigour, and gives occasion to a rather long discourse of his commentator Eustathios. His own lines are;

> τῆς μὲν πρὸς βορέην ὁλοὴ ναύτῃσι κέλευθος
> στεινή τε σκολιή τε καὶ ἄσχετος, ᾗχι θάλασσα
> συρομένη μακρῇσι περιβρέμεται σπιλάδεσσιν,
> Ἀονίῳ τμηθεῖσα πολυγλώχινι σιδήρῳ.

Eustathios (Müller, ii. 307) seems to have got hold of Polybios' analogy of Peloponnêsos when he says, ὅτι ἡ Σικελία χερρόνησός ποτε ἦν συνεχὴς κατὰ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῇ τῶν Αὐσόνων γῇ. The parting was made by an earthquake, after which the sea ran through. The mythical explanation (ὅθεν καὶ μῦθος φέρεται) of this fact was that Poseidôn parted the two lands. He made the peninsula an island, that Iokastos son of Aiolos might have a safer dwelling-place (χαριζόμενος Ἰοκάστῳ τῷ τοῦ Αἰόλου παιδί, ὡς ἂν ἔχοι ταύτην οἰκεῖν ἀσφαλῶς). This seems opposite to Diodôros' account (v. 8), who makes Iokastos reign in Italy. Eustathios then explains the name Rhêgion; ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ῥηθείσης ῥήξεως, ὡς προείρηται, καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ λέγεται παρονομασθῆναι Ῥήγιον. He speaks of other instances of lands being parted in the like way, and seems to imply a Thracian Ῥήγιον. Dionysios' epithets for the trident (Ἀονίῳ πολυγλώχινι σιδήρῳ) do not altogether please him. Aonian=Boiotian; the Aones were a barbarous people who once dwelled in Boiôtia and worshipped Poseidôn; but Dionysios should rather have called the iron Chalybian; καὶ οὐ δήπου κάλλιστός ἐστιν ὁ Ἀόνιος σίδηρος· τοιοῦτος γὰρ μάλιστα ὁ Χαλυβικὸς μεμαρτύρηται.

Strabo, on the other hand, who discusses the matter early in his work, does not incline to belief. After casting aside some other alleged cases of the same kind, he says (i. 3. 10); καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἀπορρῶγα τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰκάζοι τις ἄν, ἢ ἀναβληθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰτναίου πυρὸς ἐκ βυθοῦ συμμεῖναι· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὰς Λιπαραίων νήσους καὶ Πιθηκούσσας. He goes on in the next chapter to speak of the currents, and in c. 16 he again casts aside the notion of the breach.

The Latin poets naturally seized on the tradition. Virgil and Ovid speak of the in-rushing of the waters. The former (Æn. iii. 414) tells us;

> "Hæc loca, vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina,
> (Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Dissiluisse ferunt, quum protenus utraque tellus
Una foret: venit medio vi pontus, et undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque et urbes
Litore diductas angusto interluit æstu."

Ovid (Met. xv. 289) gives it in a list of such changes;

"Leucada continuam veteres habuere coloni;
Nunc freta circueunt. Zancle quoque juncta fuisse
Dicitur Italiæ, donec confinia pontus
Abstulit et media tellurem reppulit unda."

Silius (xiv. 11) more directly brings in Poseidôn in person;

"Ausoniæ pars magna jacet Trinacria tellus;
Ut semel expugnante Noto et vastantibus undis,
Accepit freta, cæruleo propulsa tridente."

He describes the breach in several lines, telling us how the in-pouring sea

"Cum populis pariter convulsas transtulit urbes."

He enlarges further on the narrowness of the strait;

"Sed spatium quod dissociat consortia terræ,
Latratus fama est (sic arta intervenit unda)
Et matutinos volucrum transmittere cantus."

So Claudian (Rapt. Pros. i. 140), whom, from his eloquence about Ætna, we might have expected to go in for the volcanic theory;

". . . . . Trinacria quondam
Italiæ pars una fuit; sed pontus et æstus
Mutavere situm. Rupit confinia Nereus
Victor, et abscissos interluit æquore montes,
Parvaque cognatas prohibent discrimina terras.
Tunc illam, socia raptam tellure, trisulcam
Opponit natura mari; caput inde Pachyni
Respuit Ionias prætentis rupibus iras;
Hinc latrat Gætula Thetis, Lilybæaque pulsat
Brachia consurgens; hinc dedignata teneri
Concutit objectum rabies Tyrrhena Pelorum."

The physical change must have happened before the days of Hêraklês; for Dionysios of Halikarnassos (i. 35) has preserved from Hellanikos a legend of that hero which implies the existence of the strait. Hêraklês has driven the oxen of Gêryonês to the toe of the boot; there a young member of the herd runs away and swims over to Sicily. Hêraklês asks, partly by gesture language, as but little Greek was then known in those parts, and gets answers in a strange tongue; τῇ δὲ πατρίῳ φωνῇ κατὰ τὰς μηνύσεις τοῦ ζώου

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

καλούντων τὸν δάμαλιν οὐΐτουλον, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν λέγεται, ἀπὸ τοῦ ζώου τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαι πᾶσαν, ὅσην ὁ δάμαλις διῆλθεν Οὐϊταλίαν. This, seemingly by a slight change, but one involving the whole history of the letters F, V, and W, became Ἰταλία. Apollodôros (Bibl. ii. 5) has much the same story, with another derivation of Rhêgion, though from the same root as the old one; ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου εἰς ἀπορρήγνυσι ταῦρος καὶ ταχέως εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμπεσὼν καὶ διανηξάμενος εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν πλησίον χώραν διελθών, τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ταχέως εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμπεσὼ κληθεῖσαν Ἰταλίαν (Τυρρηνοὶ γὰρ ἰταλὸν τὸν ταῦρον ἐκάλεσαν), ἦλθεν εἰς πεδίον Ἔρυκος ὃς ἐβασίλευεν Ἐλύμων.

In this version it is not very clear why Italy should be so called because any creature ran through Sicily; but it is pleasant to find *vitulus* in the implied shape of *ϝιταλός*, though this is hardly a fragment of the tongue of the Rasena.

John Lydus, writing in Christian times, gives (De Mensibus, iv. 60) the story a new turn by connecting it with Noah's flood; πρὸ τοῦ μεγάλου κατακλυσμοῦ τὴν Σικελίαν μὴ νῆσον εἶναί φασιν ὡς σήμερον, ἀλλ' ἤπειρον γενέσθαι συνημμένην τῇ ὕστερον Ἰταλίᾳ, ἐκ δὲ τῆς φορᾶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπικλύσεως ῥευμάτων τῶν ῥιζῶν ἀποσπασθεῖσαν νῆσον ἀποκαταστῆναι. He adds the usual derivation of Ῥήγιον, and the order of the names Σικανία and Σικελία.

The good Fazello (i. 15) is naturally of the same belief.

NOTE III. p. 53.

THE NAME *TRINAKRIA*.

I HERE make two remarks, closely connected, but still distinct. That Sicily really has four sides, and not three only, becomes clear enough when you stand on the fourth side; but it is a truth of no great consequence. The fourth side is so very short as compared with the other three that practically Sicily is triangular. But the notion that Sicily is an exact triangle, with a lofty promontory at each angle, is sheer delusion, and a delusion which seems to have sprung out of tricks played with a name. The notion is well nigh as old as our first distinct notices of Sicily. Thucydides (vi. 2) brings in Τρινακρία as a name of the island, older than either Σικελία or Σικανία. Herodotus however (vii. 170) does not seem to know the name Τρινακρίη, but only Σικανίη as an older name than

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Σικελίη. This is most likely because nothing in his story led Herodotus across the name, while his story did lead him across both Sikans and Sikels. But Thucydides, giving a formal sketch of the early history of the island, naturally brought in the name, which he may have found in Antiochos or in the older Hippys. One can hardly doubt that the name Τρινακρία was suggested, though perhaps not immediately, by the Θρινακίη of Homer (Od. xii. 106), according to the usual way of attempting to find places on the real earth for the spots recorded in the mythical geography of the Odyssey. It is the same spirit which peopled Sicily, and Italy too, with Laistrygones and Kyklôpes. Homer places Thrinakiê near Skylla and Charybdis; that, in his conception of it, it was clearly a small island, inhabited only by the daughters and the cattle of Hêlios (see p. 105), is perfectly clear. But, being near Skylla and Charybdis, it must be Sicily or some part of Sicily. Timaios, or somebody else who is quoted by the scholiast on Apollônios (iv. 965, C. Müller, i. 192), had got hold of an explanation one degree less unreasonable than some, when he planted the sacred flocks and herds on a Sicilian peninsula. Μύλας δὲ χερρόνησον Σικελίας, ἐν ᾗ αἱ τοῦ Ἡλίου βόες ἐνέμοντο. But here is nothing touching the name Trinakria. Whence is that? It is not to be forgotten that there was a Sikel town called Trinakia (Diod. xii. 29; see p. 158, and below, Appendix VIII), and another, or the same, called Tyrakinai (Steph. B. Τυρακῖναι), with other possible forms, Tyrakê (Steph. B., u. s.) and Tirakia (Plin. N. H. iii. 14). Of these, Thrinakiê and Trinakia can hardly fail to be connected. We may make any number of guesses. The existence of a real town of Trinakia in Sicily may have helped to strengthen the notion of Sicily being the Homeric Thrinakiê. Or the name may have been given to the town after that belief had got afloat. All this does not much matter; the point is that in Θρινακίη, or something like it, we have the oldest form of the word.

But we must not leap at once from Θρινακίη to Τρινακρία. There is an intermediate set of forms applied to the island. Strabo (vi. 2. 1) describes Sicily; ἔστιν ἡ Σικελία τρίγωνος τῷ σχήματι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Τρινακρία μὲν πρότερον, Θρινακὶς δ' ὕστερον προσηγορεύθη, μετονομασθεῖσα εὐφωνότερον· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα διορίζουσι τρεῖς ἄκραι. But it is much more likely that the form without the ρ, Τρινακία perhaps rather than Τρινακίς, is the older of the two. And we are not without other signs of Τρινακία. It lurks in a most curious

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

way in the entry of Τρινακρία in Stephen of Byzantium; ἐκλήθη δ' οὕτως ἢ ὅτι τρεῖς ἄκρας ἔχει ἢ ὅτι θρινακί ἐστιν ὁμοία. This derivation from θρῖναξ or τρῖναξ points to the triangular shape, but has as yet no suggestion of ἄκραι, of anything with ρ; ἀκή is the more likely source. We find the form Τρινακία in Dionysios Periêgêtês, 467 (Geog. Græc. ii. 131). After the Aiolian islands comes Trinakia;

Τρινακίη δ' ἐπὶ τῇσιν ὑπὲρ πέδον Αὐσονιήων
ἐκτέταται, πλευρῇσιν ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἑστηκυῖα.

He adds,

ἄκρα δὲ οἱ Πάχυνός τε Πελωρίς τε Λιλύβη τε,

and goes on to describe them as usual, but he does not hint at any connexion between the words ἄκρα and Τρινακίη.

The ρ in truth came in very easily. One might say that the process took the exactly opposite course to that spoken of by Strabo. It does not greatly matter whether Τρινακία slided into Τρινακρία and the ἄκραι were then thought of to explain it, or whether the ἄκραι suggested themselves as the fitting endings of the triangle, and the name was changed to bring them in. The nature of the process by which the name came about is shown by the presence of the ν. If a man were called on to coin a Greek name to express τρεῖς ἄκραι, he would certainly not coin Τρινακρία; the word would more likely be Τριακρία. The ν gives the name a curiously Latin sound. It suggests the Latin (and Sikel) ending in *-inus*, common in Sicilian gentile names. But this likeness is pretty sure to be quite accidental; the ν has lived on from Θρινακίη. Its presence in all cases, the absence of the ρ in some cases, surely shows that Τρινακρία was made out of Ορινακίη by a piece of *Volksetymologie*, with the intermediate form Τρινακία going between.

Still, as the Introduction of Thucydides witnesses, by the time that Sicilian history began to be written, Τρινακρία was accepted as the ancient descriptive name of the island, which had been supplanted by the two names formed from the successive settlements of Sikans and Sikels. Diodôros sets this forth at the beginning of his description (v. 2); ἡ νῆσος τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ σχήματος Τρινακρία κληθεῖσα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κατοικησάντων αὐτὴν Σικανῶν Σικανία προσαγορευθεῖσα, τελευταῖον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας πανδημεὶ περαιωθέντων ὠνόμασται Σικελία. (Cf. Justin, iv. 2.) It does not seem to have struck any one as odd that the island should have got a name of a sound so thoroughly Greek as Τρινακία

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

or Τρινακρία, before even Sikans or Sikels came into it. The difficulty is hardly solved by the writer who goes by the name of Skymnos (264);

> ἐξῆς Σικελία νῆσος εὐτυχεστάτη,
> ἣν τὸ πρότερον μὲν ἑτερόγλωσσα βάρβαρα
> λέγουσι πλήθη κατανέμεσθ' Ἰβηρικά,
> διὰ τὴν ἑτερόπλευρον δὲ τῆς χώρας φύσιν
> ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰβήρων Τρινακρίαν καλουμένην.

Then the name is changed to *Sikelia* from a king Sikelos, of what nation we are not told. Then come the Greeks, who were hardly needed, if the Iberians were capable of coining such a name as Τρινακρία.

One hardly knows what to make of the Scholiast on Apollônios, iv. 965, in the passage just before that which was quoted in p. 463, at least in the version in which he is made to say, Τίμαιος Θρινακίαν φησὶ καλεῖσθαι τὴν Σικελίαν, ὅτι τρεῖς ἄκρας ἔχει. No doubt the real reading of Timaios is preserved in the other form (C. Müller, i. 103), Τρινακρία δὲ ἡ Σικελία, κατὰ μὲν Τίμαιον, διὰ τὸ τρεῖς ἔχειν ἄκρας.

Still, though the name was generally held to be descriptive, there were some to whom the ἐπώνυμος was so dear that he made his way in here also. Of the two scholiasts just quoted the first goes on to say; Οἱ δὲ ἱστορικοὶ [a class seemingly distinct from Timaios] Θρίνακον φασὶν ἄρξαι τῆς Σικελίας. The other goes on, κατὰ δέ τινας τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἀπὸ Τρίνακος τοῦ τῆς Σικελίας ἄρξαντος. So also Stephen of Byzantium, besides his τρεῖς ἄκραι and his θρίναξ, goes on to quote the Sibyl as speaking of

> Τρινακρίης νήσου, ἣν ἔκτισε Τρίνακρος ἥρως,
> υἱὸς ποντομέδοιο Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος.

One is here tempted to see an older ἐπώνυμος called Τρίνακος, who was afterwards improved, just as the name of the island was. And we shall presently find him in more places than one. Servius (Æn. i. 196) preserves more than one curious notice. On Virgil's words "Litore Trinacrio" his comment is, "Græcum est propter tria ἄκρα, id est promunturia, Lilybæum, Pachynum, Pelorum. Latine autem *Triquetra* dicitur. Sane Philostephanus περὶ τῶν νήσων sine r litera Trinaciam appellat, ὅτι Τρίνακος αὐτῆς πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσεν." But in another fragment of Philostephanus (Hist. Græc. Frag. iii. 31) he brings in the ρ; γαίῃ δ' ἐν Σικελῶν Τρινακρίδι.

The ἐπώνυμος Trinakos appears also in the commentary of Eusta-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

thios on Dionysios Periêgêtês (Geog. Græc. Min. ii. pp. 305, 306). Eustathios has a good deal to say of which we have heard already, and he quotes Strabo; ὁ Γεωγράφος λέγει ὅτι ἀπὸ Τρινακρίας Θρινακία προσηγορεύθη, μετονομασθεῖσα εὐφωνότερον, which is not exactly what he does say. But in his own person, as a dutiful commentator, he uses the same form Τρινακία as his original, and he quotes (with the needful change) the Sibyl quoted by Stephen; he also brings in the θρίναξ;

Ἄλλοι δέ φασιν ὅτι Θρινακία λέγεται διὰ τὸ ἐοικέναι θρίνακι· ὅπερ ἀπᾴδει τῇ τῶν παλαιῶν δόξῃ· οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖ τοιούτου σχήματος εἶναι ἡ Σικελία. Σίβυλλα δέ φησιν ἀπὸ Τρινάκου βουκόλου κληθῆναι, εἰποῦσα

Θρινακίη νῆσος, τὴν ἔκτισε Τρίνακος ἥρως,
υἱὸς τοντομέδαο Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος.

It is needless to heap together instances of the use of the name Τρινακρία. It seems after all not to have been much in favour with the Greeks. One is rather startled when one finds in Kallimachos' Hymn to Artemis, 57;

αὖε δὲ Τρινακρίη, Σικανῶν ἕδος.

It seems to be found only in one passage of Theokritos, xxviii. (xxii.) 17;

καὶ γάρ τοι πατρὶς, ἃν ὦξ Ἐφύρας κτίσσε ποτ' Ἀρχίας,
νάσῳ Τρινακρίας μνελὸν, ἀνδρῶν δοκίμων πόλιν.

Other Greek names or epithets to the same effect are the τρίγλωχις of Pindar in a fragment quoted by Eustathios in the note just referred to (ii. 305), and the line of Lykophrôn (966),

ἄξει τρίδειρον νῆσον εἰς ληκτηρίαν.

With Lykophrôn it is good to look to the Scholiasts. At the meaning of τρίδειρος we might have guessed; τρίδειρος γὰρ ἡ Σικελία, τρεῖς ἔχουσα ἄκρας, κ.τ.λ. But ληκτηρία did indeed need a commentator; perhaps the commentator himself does also. λήγειν γὰρ δοκοῦσιν αἱ νῆσοι, ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης περιεχόμεναι, εἰς τὰ τρία ἀκρωτήρια ἔχουσαν Σικελίαν τὴν ὑπὸ θαλάσσης τερματουμένην. John Tzetzês makes the matter a trifle clearer, and helps us to a form of the name which one feels (see above, p. 465) that we ought to have had before; τὴν Σικελίαν λέγει, ἣν καὶ Θρινακίαν καὶ Τρινακρίαν καὶ Τριακρίαν λέγουσι. τρία γὰρ ἀκρωτήρια ἔχει, κ.τ.λ. And directly; ληκτηρίαν εἶπεν ὅτι νῆσος ἡ Σικελία· αἱ δὲ νῆσοι ὑπὸ θαλάσσης περιέχονται καὶ λήγειν δοκοῦσιν ὑπὸ ταύτης περιεχόμεναι. In 1181–2 we hear of the νησιωτικὸς στόνυξ Πάχυνος.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

One of the oddest applications of the triangular notion comes out in the Ὑπόθεσις of the Odyssey prefixed to the Scholia (i. 4). Odysseus comes to *νῆσον λεγομένην Σικανίαν, τὴν νυνὶ λεγομένην Σικελίαν.* And he goes on; *ἡ δὲ νῆσος αὕτη τρίγωνος οὖσα ἀπὸ τριῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐκρατεῖτο ἀλλήλοις συνερχομένων, οὓς οἱ τῆς χώρας ὠνόμαζον Κύκλωπας.* Their distinctive names were Kyklôps, Polyphêmos, and Antiphatês—the third name being a little out of place. Their pedigree is a trifle unlooked for; *οὗτοι γεγόνασι παιδὲς Σικανοῦ ἀνδρος δυνατοὶ καὶ ἄγριοι, κ.τ.λ.* Here we have the triangle without the name Τρινακρία; but it comes, both in the Scholiast and in Eustathios, when Odysseus reaches Θρινακίη (λ. 107). This last name is taken, as it is by Strabo, for a softening of Τρινακρία; *Θρινακίῃ· τῇ Σικελίᾳ· ἐπεὶ τρία ἔχει ἀκρωτήρια, κ.τ.λ. καὶ ἔδει μὲν Τρινακρίαν λέγεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὸ εὐφωνότερον οὕτως ὠνόμασται.* Another Scholiast adds, Τρινακίη—the form used by Dionysius Periêgêtês—*λέγεται ἡ Σικελία ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔχειν ἀκρωτήρια τρία.* And Dionysios' commentator, without bringing in the form Τρινακίη, dutifully adds, *γέγραπται δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Περιηγητοῦ.*

All these confusions and turnings backwards and forwards seem to me to go in favour of the belief that Τρινακρία was made out of Θρινακίη, with the intermediate form Τρινακία.

The name *Trinacria* took much more root among the Latin poets than it ever did among the Greeks. With them it might almost be called the received name of the island. It suited the metre better than "Sicilia." But the Latin tongue had a name ready made. It had only to use the feminine of its own adjective "triquetrus" as the name of the island, or to use "triquetrus" in any form as the equivalent of Sicilian. (See the extract from Servius, above.) So Pliny, Hist. Nat. iii. 14; "Sicilia, Sicania Thucydidi dicta, Trinacria pluribus, aut Triquetra, a triangula specie." So Lucretius, i. 718, speaking of Sicily as the birth-place of Empedoklês, says,

"Insula quem triquetris terrarum gessit in oris."

Horace (Sat. ii. 6. 55) makes it more distinctly a geographical name;

"Militibus promissa Triquetra
Prædia Cæsar an est Itala tellure daturus."

Sicily and Britain must go together. Cæsar (B. G. v. 13) already speaks of the island of the Ocean as "natura triquetra."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Mela (iii. 6) distinctly compares the shape of the two, showing a somewhat wild notion of the outline of Sicily and a yet wilder of that of Britain. Britain, "inter septemtrionem occidentemque projecta grandi angulo Rheni ostia prospicit, dein obliqua retro latera abstrahit, altero Galliam altero Germaniam spectans, tum rursus perpetuo margine directi litoris ab tergore abducta iterum se in diversos angulos cuneat *triquetra et Siciliæ maxime similis.*" Sicily, τρίγωνος, "triquetra," thus came to be looked on as a regular triangle, with its three angles pointing severally to the north, south, and west. In short (see p. 53), all the elder writers misconceived the position of Sicily with regard to Italy. They not only did not take in the existence of the short fourth side, but they did not know how nearly due east and west the north coast of the island runs. The three angles were assumed to be ἄκραι, a name which can be applied to any of them only in the sense of the point or angle of the supposed triangle, not in the sense of lofty headlands running into the sea. Pelôros has high ground near it, but the actual angle is low indeed; the other two are also distinctly low. Pachynos can be saved only by making it to be (see p. 64) Cape Passero, which is not an angle of Sicily. When Strabo, after the passage quoted above, goes on to describe the ἄκραι, we may give him the benefit of the doubt, as also to Dionysios Periêgêtês, where the passage quoted above is followed by the line

ἄκρα δέ οἱ Πάχυνός τε Πελωρίς τε Λιλύβη τε.

But the ἄκραι grow into ἀκρωτήρια in Skylax (13), though he does seem to shrink from calling Lilybaion an ἀκρωτήριον, and into "promontoria" in Pliny (Hist. Nat. iii. 14). Yet more distinctly says Mela (ii. 115); "Sicilia ipsa ingens et tribus promunturiis in diversa procurrens Græcæ literæ imaginem quæ delta dicitur efficit." But before them Polybios (i. 42) had set forth his notion of Sicily in full. We have seen (see p. 51) that he held that it stood to Italy in the same relation in which Peloponnêsos stands to the rest of Greece, except that there was an isthmus in one case and a strait in the other. The shape of Sicily, he adds, is triangular, and there is a headland at each angle (τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς Σικελίας ἐστὶ μὲν τρίγωνον, αἱ δὲ κορυφαὶ τῶν γωνιῶν ἑκάστης ἀκρωτηρίων λαμβάνουσι τάξεις). Of these Pachynos points to the south; Pelôrias to the north (τὸ εἰς τὰς ἄρκτους κεκλιμένον, ὁρίζει μὲν τοῦ πορθμοῦ τὸ πρὸς δύσει μέρος); of Lilybaion there is this fuller account;

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

τὸ δὲ τρίτον τέτραπται μὲν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν Λιβύην, ἐπίκειται δὲ τοῖς προκειμένοις τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀκρωτηρίοις εὐκαίρως, διέχον ὡς χιλίους σταδίους, νεύει δ' εἰς χειμερινὰς δύσεις, διαιρεῖ δὲ τὸ Λιβυκὸν καὶ τὸ Σαρδῷον πέλαγος, προσαγορεύεται δὲ Λιλύβαιον.

Nothing can be plainer than that Polybios placed Lilybaion to the south of its real place, and conceived the northern and southern sides of Sicily to meet there at a sharp angle. The scientific seal was set on the mistake by Ptolemy (ii. 4), whose whole description—Lilybaion and Mazara being placed on the south side (§ 5)—shows that he saw with the same eyes as Polybios. A Latin poet meanwhile, though accepting the traditional points of the heavens, had better grasped the nature of the country. Ovid (Met. xiii. 74) says;

> . . . "Intrant
> Sicaniam, tribus hæc excurrit in æquora *linguis*,
> E quibus imbriferos obversa Pachynos ad Austros;
> Mollibus expositum Zephyris Lilybæon; ad Arctos
> Æquoris expertes spectat Boreasque Peloros."

The three *linguæ* here are much more to the purpose than *ἀκρωτήρια*, *κορυφαί*, or "promontoria." He is less lucky in his other description in the Fasti, iv. 419;

> "Terra tribus scopulis vastum procurrit in æquor
> Trinacris, a positu nomen adepta suo."

Another poet, a little later, attempts a more minute picture. Silius, always careful in his geography, tells us (xiv. 72);

> "Hic versi penitus Pelopea ad regna Pachyni
> Pulsata Ionio respondent saxa profundo.
> Hic contra Libyamque situm Cauroque furentes
> Cernit devexas Lilybæon nobile Chelas.
> At, qua diversi lateris frons tertia terris
> Vergit in Italiam prolato ad litora dorso,
> Celsus harenosa tollit se mole Pelorus."

Whatever we say of the "celsitudo" of Pelôris, the "harenosa moles" at least brings us into the region of fact. The Pachynos of Silius moreover, pointing towards Peloponnêsos, must be Cape Passero, and not anything really to the south.

The whole matter is brought into a nutshell by Eustathios in the Commentary on Dionysios already quoted (Geog. Græc. ii. 305), where he says; *καὶ ἔστιν οἷον ἐτυμολογία τοῦτο τῆς Τριγακίας, οἱονεὶ τριακρίας, ὃ ἔστι τρία ἐχούσης ἄκρα.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

If we may believe Philostratos' Life of Apollônios of Tyana (v. 13), the three corners of Sicily could be put to a strange use. A woman of good family at Syracuse bore a child with three heads. One explanation of the portent was that it was a warning to Trinakria, torn by dissension among its cities, to come to a godly unity (*οἱ μὲν δὴ πάχεως ἐξηγούμενοι τὴν Σικελίαν ἔφασαν, τριναχρία γὰρ, ἀπολεῖσθαι εἰ μὴ ὁμονοήσειέ τε καὶ ξυμπνεύσειε*). Others more daringly said that Typhôs, with his many heads, was again threatening (*οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν τὸν Τυφῶ πολυκέφαλον δὲ εἶναι, νεώτερα ἀπειλεῖν τῇ Σικελίᾳ*). Apollônios scorned these provincial interpretations, and found a meaning in the Imperial politics of the time. Being assured that there really was a male child with three heads, he understood it to mean the fall of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius in a single year.

Measurements of the three sides of the supposed triangle are given by several writers, Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy. Thucydides, it will be remembered, reckons (vi. 1) the whole coast of the island as a matter of eight days' sail. His trireme must have gone nearly, if not quite, as fast as a local steamer. Strabo's figures for the sides, in which he follows Poseidônios, are nearly right. He makes 1720 stadia from Pelôris to Lilybaion, 1130 from Pelôris to Pachynos, 1550 from Pachynos to Lilybaion. Pliny oddly fancied the side from Pelôris to Lilybaion to be the shortest. Skylax (13), if the words be his, looked on the supposed triangle as equilateral; *ἔστι δὲ ἡ Σικελία τρίγωνος· τὸ δὲ κῶλον ἕκαστον αὐτῆς ἐστὶ μάλιστα σταδίων ,αφ'*. Holm (i. 330) goes fully into the figures.

In the course of our inquiries into the name *Trinakria*, we have more than once come across the Latin word *triquetra*. This word, along with the Greek *triskelis* or *triskelê*, seems to be adopted as the name of a form which is to be seen on Sicilian coins of the time of Agathoklês, and on vases at an earlier time. The form, as far as we are directly concerned with it, takes the shape of a central head from which diverge three legs, kicking in three directions. The origin and earlier use of this symbol has been discussed at length in an unpublished lecture by Mr. Arthur Evans, which I have had the advantage of reading in manuscript. It appears that a purely ornamental device, to be seen at Mykênê, became identified with a somewhat similar solar form which may

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

be traced as a religious symbol through many mythologies. In this latter use it appears on Lykian coins of the fifth century before Christ (Head, Hist. Num. 572). It is held to have come into Sicily as an emblem of Phœnician solar worship, and to have been further connected with the worship of the goddesses of Henna, perhaps with some reference to the threefold Hekatê. But the symbol does not become historical till its appearance on the coins of Agathoklês (Head, Hist. Num. 158 et seqq.). Here, there can be no doubt, it is meant as a symbol of dominion over Sicily. Just as the name *Thrinakia* was improved into *Trinakria* with a reference to the supposed three promontories, so the same kind of meaning was put upon this hitherto mysterious symbol. The three legs stood for Pelôris, Pachynos, and Lilybaion, while the central head, we may suppose, stood for Syracuse and her ruler. The symbol is still perfectly well known in Sicily. Why it should have been transferred to Man is less clear.

Since the body of this note was written, I have had the advantage of reading "the last German book" on the subject. This is "Fragen der Ältesten Geschichte Siciliens, von B. Heisterbergk, Berlin, 1889" (published in the series "Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archäologie"). I shall have more to say about this writer's speculations when I come to Sikans and Sikels; but one or two points may be noticed here. Heisterbergk proves, at perhaps needless length, that Τρινακρία cannot be the oldest name of the island, and that the Homeric Θρινακίη need not be Sicily. He mentions (p. 4), to reject them, two speculations which I had not come across;

"Thrinacia bedeutet nicht sowohl ein dreieckiges als ein gabelförmig gestaltetes Land; der Name aus der Odyssee ist neuerdings auf den Peloponnes bezogen worden, der diese Gestalt aufweise. Eine andere neuere Auslegung des Namens hat dessen Beziehung auf Sicilien dadurch aufrechterhalten wollen, dass sie Thrinacia als die Insel des Gottes mit dem Dreizacke erklärte."

This comes from the θρίναξ of which we have heard already; but, as Heisterbergk truly remarks, the trident of Poseidôn is not called θρίναξ. It seems also that Strabo's backward notion of Θρινακίη being made out of Τρινακρία has found followers. The writer then goes on to speak of the Sikel town of Trinakia, or whatever the proper form was. As far as I can follow his conclusions, which

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

are not very clearly put, I do not see that they greatly differ from some things that I have said already. The existence of the town of Trinakia helped on the identification of the Homeric Thrinakiê with Sicily. It passed as the name of Sikel Sicily, as the former name of all Sicily; when the town of Trinakia was destroyed and forgotten, the name was improved into Trinakria. This is much the same process as I have suggested; only I do not see the proof that a man, say of Gelôn's day, if he had occasion to go from Syracuse or Katanê to Sikel Hybla or Centuripa, would have said that he was going into "Trinakia." And if Τρινακρία be the right reading in Thucydides, and if Thucydides took his account from Antiochos, the form Τρινακρία must have come into being before the town of Trinakia was destroyed.

NOTE IV. p. 107.

SIKANS AND SIKELS.

I MAY freely grant to those who look on Σικανοί and Σικελοί as simply dialectical differences of the same name that any one who came across the two names quite incidentally would be irresistibly led to look upon them in that light. The case that way looks stronger when the names take the Latin form. The *ανοί* and the *ελοί* have in Greek no particular force; the two names are in truth Latin names written in Greek letters. In *Sicani* and *Siculi* we at once see words with familiar Latin endings, standing to one another in the same kind of relation as, say, *Romanus* and *Romulus*. We should be inclined to go back from both of them to some form which brought out the common root *Sic-* without either ending. There is no need to pile together instances of either ending; the map of ancient Italy is full of both. It would need some very strong evidence to convince a man who is used to the shapes which Teutonic names take in Latin hands that *Gothi* and *Gothones* are names which have nothing to do with one another. It needs equally strong evidence to convince a man used to the old Italian nomenclature that *Sicani* and *Siculi* are names that have nothing to do with one another. Still the belief that they must be the same name, though a strong presumption, is only

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

a presumption, and it may be upset by positive evidence. And we must further remember where the stress of the presumption lies. It lies in the appearance of two familiar Latin endings, and in their appearance side by side. Had we found Σικανοί at one end of Europe and Σικελοί at the other, standing in no kind of relation to one another, the syllable Σικ- common to the two would hardly have amounted to a presumption of any connexion between them. If we are pretty safe in connecting *Gothi* and *Gothones* and a crowd of other names which appear in the same way in two shapes, we may remember how dangerous it is to connect *Getæ* and *Gothi*, how much more dangerous to connect *Gothi* and *Geatas*. The kings of the Goths and Vandals who still reign in Europe, but who can show no succession from Alaric or Gaiseric, owe their titles to simple confusion of names which are somewhat alike. Schafarik (Slavische Alterthümer, ii. 553, 572), on the strength of the Slavonic *Wiltzi*, and of Slavonic *Wiltaburg* (now Teutonic Utrecht), inferred a Slavonic element in *Wilt*únscír, which he perhaps might not have inferred from the tribal name of the *Wil*sætan. The mistake was pardonable, but it may serve as an useful warning. All this playing with names is dangerous. Servius (Æn. ix. 582) showed his sense when he stopped to remark that the "ferrugo Hibera" of the son of Arcens came, not from the Spanish peninsula, but from lands eastward of the Euxine.

There is then a strong philological presumption in favour of making *Sicani* and *Siculi*, and therefore Σικανοί and Σικελοί, the same word. The question is whether there is evidence enough of other kinds to outweigh that presumption. I hold that there is. And I further make the presumption itself part of the case against the presumption. That is, the ancient writers who plainly assert Sikans and Sikels to be quite distinct people must surely have noticed the likeness of the names. With their vague notions of etymology and of national kindred, they were far more likely to make too much than too little of such likeness. That they make no remark on so obvious a likeness surely strengthens the case for the distinction. That distinction they draw clearly and strongly. They are evidently speaking deliberately, and they show no doubt on the matter. The few passages which may be set on the other side have not the same weight of deliberate judgement. In some we see a distinct confusion; others come nearer to the nature

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of hasty inference or *obiter dicta* than to the grave utterances of Thucydides (vi. 2). After the words about the Sikans there quoted, he goes on to speak of the Elymians, of whom more anon, and then brings in the Sikels;

Σικελοὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἰταλίας (ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὥκουν) διέβησαν ἐς Σικελίαν, φεύγοντες Ὄπικας . . . . . ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν στρατὸς πολὺς, τοὺς δὲ Σικανοὺς κρατοῦντες μάχῃ ἀνέστειλαν πρὸς τὰ μεσημβρινὰ καὶ ἑσπέρια αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀντὶ Σικανίας Σικελίαν τὴν νῆσον ἐποίησαν καλεῖσθαι.

He also speaks of both Sikans and Sikels as remaining as distinct nations in his own time; οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν [οἱ Σικανοὶ] τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν τῆς Σικελίας. Of the Sikels he says; ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν τῆς νήσου ἔχουσι. He says also; εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Σικελοί. And, as every reader of his Sicilian books knows, he has to speak of both nations in his history. In vi. 62 we hear of a Sikan town (Ὕκκαρα πόλισμα Σικανικόν), just as in c. 94 we hear of Κεντόριπα Σικελῶν [al. Σικελικὸν] πόλισμα. The Sikels show themselves oftener in the story than the Sikans; that is all.

Now we may take these passages of Thucydides and look at them from all points. He distinctly asserts, First, that the Sikans were an Iberian people; Secondly, that the Sikels were an Italian people; Thirdly, that both existed as distinct nations in his own day. He records and rejects the tradition of the Sikans that they were αὐτόχθονες, while he accepts the Sikel tradition of a migration from Italy. A claim to be αὐτόχθονες on the part of any people is worth very little. If honest, it proves only that they knew of no earlier home, and no kind of claim is more likely to be sheer invention. The Sikel tradition, on the other hand, has all likelihood in its favour.

The doctrine of Thucydides then, that the Sikans were Iberians, and Iberian settlers from Spain, is not a tradition, but an inference made by himself or by some earlier observer, be it Antiochos or any other. Exactly the same statement is quoted by Diodôros (v. 6) from Philistos; Φίλιστός φησιν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας αὐτοὺς [Σικανούς] ἀποικισθέντας κατοικῆσαι τὴν νῆσον, ἀπό τινος Σικανοῦ ποταμοῦ κατ' Ἰβηρίαν ὄντος τετευχότας ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας. (Either Thucydides or Philistos is quoted by the Scholiast on Od. xxiv. 307.) This is a different account from that which Strabo (vi. 2. 4) quotes from Ephoros. His list of nations in Sicily stands thus; Σικελοὶ, καὶ Σικανοὶ, καὶ Μόργητες, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς νεμόμενοι τὴν νῆσον, ὧν ἦσαν καὶ Ἴβηρες, οὗσπερ πρώτους φησὶ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἔφορος λέγεσθαι τῆς Σικελίας

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

οἰκιστάς. Here Sikans and Iberians are made two distinct sets of settlers, the Iberians being the elder. Skymnos, or whoever bear the name, makes, as we have seen (see above, p. 465), the πλήθη Ἰβηρικά the oldest inhabitants of Sicily, who gave it the name of Τρινακρία. This statement would agree either with that of Philistos or with that of Ephoros; but as Sikels, or at least a King Sikelos, come next, one may think that in this version Iberians are meant to be the same as Sikans. That is, the writer accepts the account of Thucydides and Philistos. That account is of far higher authority than the one which Strabo quotes from Ephoros. That the Sikans were Iberians is a distinct and evidently well-considered statement. Nothing would be more easy than to confuse it into a statement that Sicily contained both Iberians and Sikans.

As we must beware of guessing at names, so we must beware of the other amusement of guessing where an ancient writer found a statement for which he does not quote his authority. Thucydides may very likely have had Antiochos before him, but it does not follow that everything that he says comes from Antiochos. It is worth noticing that Thucydides and Philistos were contemporaries, though Philistos must have been much the younger man of the two. Either might have got the remark from the other; but it was rather the business of the Syracusan to make it. Whoever made it, one half of it is of far more value than the other. That the Sikans were Iberians is an observation, an observation which, when made or approved either by Thucydides or by Philistos, is of great value. But that these Iberians came from the land known in their day as Iberia is a mere inference, which counts for much less. About the river Sikanos, Arnold found something to say (Thuc. vi. 2). But nothing is known of such a river, except these two notices, and the singular one is Stephen, Δηρά, γῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἧς ὁ Σικανὸς ποταμὸς, while in another place he has Σικάνη, πόλις Ἰβηρίας, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. It is dangerous to identify this river Sikanos with the Sicoris or Segre, still more dangerous to make it the Seine (see Holm, i. 357; Schwegler, R. G. i. 268). Nor does it prove much to say (cf. Siefert, Akragas, 55; Holm, u. s.) that cave-dwellings are found in Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic isles, but not in Spain. Anyhow there are plenty along both the Dordogne and the Loire, and at Nottingham also, on which last fact Florence of Worcester

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

had some remarks to make. While one is guessing, it would doubtless be easy to find Sikans on the Trent or Snotingas on the Akragas. The point is that the marking of likeness between Sikans and Iberians by two such men as Thucydides and Philistos, a likeness so strong that they ventured to say that the Sikans were Iberians, proves a great deal, but that it does not prove exactly what they thought it proved. It goes far to prove that Sikans and Iberians belonged to the same general race of mankind; it goes no way at all to prove any special migration from Spain into Sicily. Nor does it prove very much when Thucydides says that these Iberians or Sikans were driven out of Spain by Ligurians (*ὑπὸ Λιγύων ἀναστάντες*). This sounds neither like observation nor like inference, but like a real bit of tradition, however misconceived. One always fancies Ligurians and Iberians as belonging to the same general race of mankind, at least as opposed to Greeks or to Teutons. That race may—one must hint it gently—have taken in the Etruscans, whom John Lydus (p. 119) called *ἔθνος Σικανόν*. But the names doubtless mark wide national differences within the race, and a driving out of Iberians by Ligurians is likely enough. Still, with such meagre notices as we have, we cannot find the time or place for such a fact, so that it does not add much to our knowledge.

The account in Dionysios (i. 22) seems to be founded on that of Thucydides and Philistos, but it has one or two points worth notice. He says of Sicily before the Sikel immigration; *κατεῖχον αὐτὴν οἱ Σικανοὶ, γένος Ἰβηρικὸν, οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον συνοικισάμενοι Λίγυας φεύγοντες· καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν Σικανίαν κληθῆναι τὴν νῆσον, Τρινακρίαν πρῶτον ὀνομαζομένην ἀπὸ τοῦ τριγώνου σχήματος. ἦσαν δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ αὐτῇ οἰκήτορες, ἀλλ' ἡ πλείων τῆς χώρας ἔτι ἦν ἐρῆμος.* This last part of the story is likely enough a mere guess of Dionysios or of anybody else. One is tempted to see a memory of the small Homeric *Θρινακίη* being *ἐρήμη*. The statement that the Sikans had been but a short time in the island goes for a very little more. That is to say, men thought that they had—as most likely they really had approximately—a date for the immigration of the Sikels. They also thought that they had a date for the wanderings of Odysseus, that is, for the presence of Kyklôpes and Laistrygones in the island. The space between the two was not enough to leave any long time for an uninterrupted Sikan occupation. Further, it should be noticed that this account, while calling the Sikans an

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Iberian people, says nothing about their coming from the local Iberia. As far as his story is concerned, they might have come out of Italy. This last origin is implied in the list of nations in Sicily given by Pausanias (v. 25. 3); *Σικελίαν δὲ ἔθνη τοσάδε οἰκεῖ· Σικανοί τε καὶ Σικελοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας διαβεβηκότες ἐς αὐτὴν, Φρύγες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ χώρας τῆς Τρῳάδος.* This seems to bring both Sikans and Sikels from Italy, in opposition to the "Phrygians." By these of course are meant the Trojan Elymians, just as Euripides calls the Trojans Phrygians.

This bringing of Sikans as well as Sikels from Italy at once leads to the question which I have stated in the text (see p. 110) as to the presence of Sikans in Italy, and as to the passages in which they are mentioned there. Pliny (N. H. iii. 9) reckons "Sicani" among the tribes that met on the Alban Mount, and Aulus Gellius (i. 10) quotes Favorinus the philosopher of Hadrian's day as speaking of "Aurunci aut Sicani aut Pelasgi qui primi coluisse Italiam dicuntur." The same words are brought in by Macrobius, i. 5. 1. Sikans in Italy are several times mentioned by Virgil. In Æn. vii. 795 they appear as a contingent in the army of Turnus, and they bear an epithet suggesting antiquity, like Old-Saxons or Prisci Latini;

> "Auruncæque manus, Rutuli, veteresque Sicani
> Et Sacranæ acies."

In another place (xi. 317) we get something of their geography;

> "Est antiquus ager Tusco mihi proximus amni,
> Longus in occasum, finis super usque Sicanos;
> Aurunci Rutulique serunt."

In another place (viii. 328) we find that they came in the Saturnian age;

> "Tum manus Ausonia et gentes venere Sicanæ."

It seems impossible to believe that in these passages Virgil meant anything except deliberately to assert the presence of "Sicani," whatever he understood by that name, among the ancient nations of Italy. He is here speaking as the careful Italian antiquary. In other places where only the poet is speaking, Ecl. x. 4, Æn. v. 24, 293, he uses the name simply as meaning "Sicilian." But it would not be safe to build too much on Virgil's evidence, for it is not clear whether he did not look on *Siculi* and *Sicani* as the same. So Servius clearly understood him in some passages, as viii. 328, xi. 317. On the other hand, in the passage just quoted (vii. 795)

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Servius (Æn. i. 2) where our text reads "Rutuli" read "Siculi," which would certainly be a very marked case of distinguishing Sikans and Sikels. In the same place he distinctly says, "Ibi habitasse Siculos, ubi est Laurolavinium manifestum est;" and again (Æn. iii. 500), "Profecti Siculi ad Italiam, eam tenuerunt partem ubi nunc Roma est, usque ad Rutolos ad Ardeam." The Sacrani too, whom Virgil couples with the Sicani, appear also in Servius, as also in Festus (321), either as those who were driven out by the Siculi or as those who drove them out. On the other hand, Servius in commenting on another passage (xi. 317) quoted above, says, "Fines *Sicanos*, quos *Siculi* aliquando tenuerunt, id est, usque ad ea loca in quibus nunc Roma est; hæc enim Siculi habitaverunt." We thus see that Servius confused the two names, and Schwegler (R. G. i. 203) may be right in reading *Siculi* where (Æn. vi. 195) he says, "Ubi nunc Roma est ibi fuerunt *Sicani* quos postea pepulerunt Aborigines." We therefore cannot be certain that Virgil had any thought of asserting that a people akin to the Iberian Σικανοί of Thucydides ever inhabited Italy. It may be that his references to *Sicani* really apply to Σικελοί.

Silius Italicus, in his sketch of Sicilian history (xiv. 34), pointedly distinguishes Sikans and Sikels. The Sikans came first after the mythical people, and they were the first to till the ground. They come from Pyrênê—that is the grand style for saying that they came from the Spanish peninsula—and they took their name from a river;

> "Post dirum Antiphatæ sceptrum et Cyclopia regna,
> Vomere verterunt primum nova rura Sicani.
> Pyrene misit populos, qui nomen ab amne
> Ascitum patrio terræ imposuere vacanti."

Here the poet carefully follows Thucydides; which he fails to do in the next stage. In other places (x. 315, xiv. 4, 239), he attaches no particular meaning to the name "Sicanus" and the like; and in xiv. 110, 291, he even uses "Sicanus" to mean "Syracusan." After all, no Latin writer reaches the height of confusion which we find in the Etymologicum Magnum (art. Σικελός); Σικελός, ἀπὸ ἡγεμόνος Σικανοῦ· οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ Σικανοὶ εἴρηνται, ἐκαλεῖτο γὰρ πρότερον ἡ Σικελία Σικανία.

Timaios, as quoted by Diodôros (v. 6), rejected all statements which brought the Sikans from Spain or seemingly from Italy.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

He accepted their own tradition, recorded by Thucydides, which made them αὐτόχθονες. He took upon him severely to rebuke Philistos —did he know his place better with regard to Thucydides?—for his supposed ignorance in asserting their Iberian origin (*Τίμαιος δὲ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τούτου τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐλέγξας, ἀκριβῶς ἀποφαίνεται τούτους αὐτόχθονας εἶναι*). Now we are not concerned to assert any actual migration out of Spain. The Iberian origin of the Sikans is in no way inconsistent with their being αὐτόχθονες in the only sense in which any people can be called αὐτόχθονες. That is, they are the oldest people in the land of whom history can say anything. If there were any other people in Sicily before them, Eskimos or any other, they belong to a time before history and even before tradition. Thucydides had very likely seen Sikans; at any rate Nikias had. Nobody had seen any people in Sicily of any earlier race.

In maintaining Σικανοί and Σικελοί, notwithstanding the philological presumption in favour of their identity, to be quite distinct names, I do not greatly rely on the seeming difference in quantity between them. Homer, or at least the Homeridian poet, undoubtedly has Σῐκελός and Σῐκανίη; but we may be pretty sure that he would have talked of Σῐκελίη, if he had had any need to use the name. In the Latin poets the name *Sĭcānus* seems to have, when it can get it, the opposite quantity, but for the convenience of the hexameter, *Sīcānius*, *Sīcānia*, or anything else, is freely used. But though the quantity does not prove much, the existence of the two distinct Homeric forms proves a great deal. As I have already said, if we had *Sicani* and *Siculi* in Latin only, we should know what to say about the two endings. But here is Thucydides, here is Herodotus, here is a poet, Homeridian at the least, who distinguishes Σικαν- and Σικελ-. If any of them ever thought of the likeness of the names, it was only as a further reason for distinguishing between them. It is not at all likely that so many writers should have carried off, distinguished, and preserved; two Latin endings, like *-anus* and *-ulus*. The chapter of accidents works odd results even in matters of language; *ὕποπτον μὲν ἐνίοις ἐστὶ τὸ δραματικὸν καὶ πλασματῶδες· οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, τὴν τύχην ὁρῶντας, οἵων ποιημάτων δημιουργός ἐστι* (Plut. Rom. 8. See Macaulay, in the Preface to the Lays).

We now turn to the Sikels. About them the witness of

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Thucydides is as clear as his witness about the Sikans. They came over from Italy, fleeing before the advance of the Opicans. They came in vast numbers (*στρατὸς πολύς*), and drove the Sikans out of the greater part of the island. He further adds that there were still Sikels in Italy in his time. We must remember what he means by Italy, namely the present peninsula of Calabria. (See vii. 33, where he opposes *Μεταπόντιον τῆς Ἰταλίας* to Iapygia. and vi. 44, where the Athenian fleet does not reach Italy till it had passed Taras. Cf. Dion. Hal. i. 12, 73.) This is his main story; he adds some other points. The Sikel migration happened about three hundred years before the beginnings of Greek settlement in Sicily (*ἔτη ἐγγὺς τριακόσια πρὶν Ἕλληνας ἐς Σικελίαν ἐλθεῖν*). The story was that the Sikels crossed the strait on rafts. But he thinks that ships or boats must have been used as well; *ὡς μὲν εἰκὸς καὶ λέγεται, ἐπὶ σχεδιῶν, τηρήσαντες τὸν πορθμὸν κατιόντος τοῦ ἀνέμου, τάχα ἂν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως πως ἐσπλεύσαντες.* Here the date and the mode of passage are traditional; the continued presence of Sikels in Italy is tradition confirmed by observation. But the supposed necessity of an *epônymos* for everything affected Thucydides himself. One remark of his therefore needs no great attention, that namely where he says that Italy was so called from Italos King of the Sikels. We take far more kindly to the *vitulus* which we heard of in another story. See above, p. 461.

Dionysios is the writer who has most to tell us about Sikels. He quotes (i. 22) the versions of three ancient writers, Hellanikos, Antiochos, and Philistos. Whether Thucydides copied Antiochos or not, both he and Hellanikos are older than Thucydides, and Antiochos and Philistos are both Syracusans. All agree with Thucydides in making the Sikels come out of Italy into Sicily; but Dionysios does not tell us whence he got his strong conviction as to the antiquity of the Sikels in Italy. In the solemn opening of his Roman History (i. 9; cf. George Synkellos, i. 365), he tells us that the Sikels were the first known inhabitants of the site of Rome, whence they were driven out by the Aborigines;

τὴν ἡγεμόνα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἁπάσης πόλιν, ἣν νῦν κατοικοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, παλαιότατοι τῶν μνημονευομένων λέγουσαι κατασχεῖν βάρβαροι Σικελοί, ἔθνος αὐθιγενές. τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων, οὔθ' ὡς κατείχετο πρὸς ἑτέρων, οὐθ' ὡς ἔρημος ἦν, οὐδεὶς ἔχει βεβαίως εἰπεῖν.

There is a sense in which one could admit this. Dionysios has much more to say about the Sikels in Italy. And in any case

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

what he says has its value, as connecting the Sikels with central Italy. Of this we shall come across some other notices. In the long story of wars and migrations that follows, Dionysios shows more knowledge than is good for either himself or his readers. But he preserves some valuable notices. We do not greatly care for stories of the Sikels being driven out by Pelasgians and Aborigines; but it is precious to hear (i. 16) that at Tibur there was something answering to a *Welshry* or *Irishry*, or to the *Wendisches Dorf* that I remember far west of Elbe, either at Brunswick or Paderborn; *ἔτι καὶ εἰς τόδε χρόνου μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως ὀνομάζεται Σικελίων*. So we are thankful for the inscription (i. 19), whether genuine or not, and whoever Lucius Mamius, who said that he had read it, may have been, which tells us how the Pelasgians had an answer at Dôdôna;

στείχετε μαιόμενοι Σικελῶν Σατορνίαν αἶαν.

This makes one think of Virgil's (Æn. viii. 339)

"Tum manus Ausonia et gentes venere Sicanæ;
Sæpius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus."

And we are tempted to wish that Dionysios had lighted on the passage of Kratês, quoted by Johannes Lydus (De Mensibus, iv. 48); *ὁ δὲ Κράτης τὸν Κρόνον φησὶ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας καὶ τοῦ πλείστου μέρους τῆς Λιβύης βασιλεῦσαι*. To be sure he reigned *ἀπηνῶς*, which was a pity; still it is pleasant to find so early a precedent for the style and the dominion of King Roger.

In the end the Sikels are, by Dionysios (i. 22) as well as by Thucydides, duly carried across the strait on their rafts (*διεξελθόντες ἅπασαν Ἰταλίαν τὴν κάτω, ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν ἀπηλαύνοντο, σὺν χρόνῳ κατασκευασάμενοι σχεδίας ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ καὶ φυλάξαντες κατιόντα τὸν ῥοῦν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας διέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔγγιστα νῆσον*). There they find the Sikans, as already described (see above, p. 476); only there must be some mistake when the Sikels are said to have settled first in the western part of the island (*τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς ἑσπερίοις μέρεσιν ᾤκησαν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ*).

Τὸ μὲν οὖν Σικελικὸν γένος οὕτως ἐξέλιπεν Ἰταλίαν is the formula with which Dionysios winds up his story.

According to Hellanikos, as quoted by Dionysios (i. 22), there were two migrations from Italy into Sicily. The first was that of the Elymians, who were driven out by the Œnotrians (*τὸν μὲν πρότερον [στόλον] Ἐλύμων, οὓς φησιν ὑπὸ Οἰνώτρων ἐξαναστῆναι*). Of

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

them we shall speak presently. Five years later, in the third generation before the war of Troy, in the six and twentieth year of Alkyonê as priestess of Hêra at Argos, Iapygians, fleeing from the Ausonians, crossed into Sicily under their king Sikelos, who gave his name both to his people and to the island. Antiochos gave no date; he made the Sikels be driven out by Œnotrians and Opicans, and he seemingly carried them over under a king Sikelos. That is, if, in the words *βιασθέντας ὑπό τε Οἰνώτρων καὶ Ὀπικῶν στρατῶν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἀποικίας ποιησαμένους*, for *στρατῶν* we read *Σικελόν*. Brunet de Presle (67) prudently declines to invent a leader Stratôn out of a correction *Στράτωνα*. According to Philistos, the migration happened eighty years before the war of Troy. The settlers were Ligurians; *ἔθνος δὲ τὸ διανομισθὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας οὔτε Σικελῶν, οὔτε Αὐσόνων, οὔτε Ἐλύμων, ἀλλὰ Λιγύων, ἄγοντος Σικελοῦ*. Here the words *οὔτε Σικελῶν* are not meant to deny that those who crossed were the people afterwards known as *Σικελοί*, but to affirm that they were Ligurians who took the name of *Σικελοί* from their king Sikelos, son of Italos (*τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τούτου δυναστεύοντος ὀνομασθῆναι Σικελούς*). They were driven out by Umbrians and Pelasgians. From other places in Dionysios (i. 12, 73) it appears that Antiochos had a good deal more to say about the Sikels and about Sikelos, on which Thucydides in any case did not enter. Italos was king of the Œnotrians, who from him were called *Ἰταλοί*. He was succeeded by Morgês, who gave his name to the Morgêtes. In his day Sikelos took off a part of the people under his own name (*Σικελὸς, ἐπιξενωθεὶς Μόργητι, ἰδίαν πράττων ἀρχὴν, διέστησε τὸ ἔθνος*). Dionysios adds; *ἐπιφ'ρει* [*Ἀντίοχος*] *ταυτί. οὕτως δὲ Σικελοὶ καὶ Μόργητες ἐγένοντο καὶ Ἰταλιῆται, ἐόντες Οἰνωτροι*. Who Sikelos was appears from another quotation from Antiochos (i. 73); *ἀνὴρ ἀφίκετο ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγάς· Σικελὸς ὄνομα αὐτῷ*. We must remember that Antiochos assigned a very early date to the foundation of Rome, and gave to King Morgês a dominion over all that he counted for Italy. So it appears from a passage quoted by George Synkellos (i. 364, ed. Bonn); *Ἀντίοχος ὁ Συρακόσιος καὶ πρὸ Τρωϊκῶν φησὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκτίσθαι, βασιλεύοντος Μόργητος Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ Τάραντος ἄχρι Ποσειδωνίας, μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον λεγόμενον Ἰταλὸν βασιλέα καταγεγηρακότα*. All this, it will be remembered, falls in with, and most likely suggested, Dionysios' own account of Sikels occupying the site of Rome. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (De Thematibus, ii. vol. iii. p. 58, Bonn) has a long extract from Stephen of Byzantium,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

which is not to be found in his printed text. The treatise of Hellanikos on the Priestesses of Hêra is quoted for the change from Σικανία into Σικελία. Sikelos, King of the Ausones, driven out of Italy by Iapygians, leads his people into Sikania, where they settle near Ætna, and gradually spread over the whole island. Constantine then quotes the geographer Menippos, whose account seems abridged from Thucydides, or possibly from Antiochos. He winds up with a statement, where found he does not say, asserting the Ligurian origin of the Sikels; τῶν νησιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἰθαγενεῖς πάλαι Λίγυρες ἐξ Ἰταλίας Σικελοὶ λέγονται, οἱ δὲ ἐπήλυδες Ἕλληνές εἰσι Σικελιῶται, ὡς Ἰταλιῶται.

Silius (xiv. 37) follows Philistos;

> "Post Ligurum pubes, Siculo ductore, novavit
> Possessis bello mutata vocabula regnis."

But he goes on, in defiance of Herodotus, to put the coming of Minôs in the time of the Sikels. He tells the story (see p. 113) and adds;

> "Fesso Minoïa turba
> Bellandi studio Siculis subsedit in oris."

None of these accounts are anything like so clear as that of Thucydides. He sticks to tradition and observation, whether his own or that of any earlier writer; they go off into guess-work. Indeed, compared with their stories, his Italos king of Sikels becomes in a manner historical. His description expresses the fact that the name *Sikel* did not come into being at the time of the crossing, but that it was already the established name of the nation. With the Elymians of Hellanikos we are not concerned just now; and the statement of Philistos that the Sikels were Ligurians is very strange. But the mention of Umbrians and Pelasgians—whatever meaning we attach to the latter word—is of some importance. It again helps us to carry the people who crossed into Sicily back into central Italy. As for the dates, the reference of Hellanikos to the years of the Argeian priestess shows us how this kind of chronology was put together. And we may well believe that events were thus noted in a rough way as soon as letters were used at all, long before anybody began to write even such prose as that of Hekataios. About the date given by Thucydides I have said something in the text; see p. 128.

Diodôros (v. 6) corrects the odd geography which made the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Sikels settle in the west part of the island, and also the odd, yet more intelligible, chronology which makes the Sikans recent settlers at the time of the coming of the Sikels. The Sikans are frightened by the outpourings of Ætna; they leave the eastern part of the island and withdraw westward (*τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἕω κεκλιμένα τῆς Σικελίας ἐξέλιπον, εἰς δὲ τὰ πρὸς δυσμὰς νεύοντα μετῴκησαν*). Many generations later the Sikels come from Italy in a body and occupy the forsaken land (*πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸ τῶν Σικελῶν ἔθνος πανδημεὶ περαιωθὲν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικανῶν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν χώραν κατῴκησαν*). The word *πανδημεί* in no way contradicts the statement of Thucydides about Sikels in Italy. No doubt the great mass of the nation passed over. The Sikels in Italy were a small survival even in Thucydides' time; by Diodôros' time the name was forgotten in Italy, but was remembered in Sicily. The Sikels, having thus entered, kept constantly advancing against the Sikans, till at last their boundaries were settled by treaty (*ἀεὶ τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ προβαινόντων τῶν Σικελῶν καὶ τὴν ὅμορον πορθούντων, ἐγένοντο πόλεμοι πλεονάκις αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Σικανούς, ἕως συνθήκας ποιησάμενοι συμφώνους ὅρους ἔθεντο τῆς χώρας*). He then goes on with a very important passage about the process by which the Sikels were hellenized, of which we may speak elsewhere.

All this is sound tradition enough. But a little way on (v. 8, 9), Diodôros brings in, clearly from some other source, a number of tales which must be sheer inventions. Aiolos is now quartered in the isles of Hêphaistos, and kingdoms have to be found for his six sons. Astyochos keeps Lipara. Iokastos reigns in the oldest Italy (*τῆς μὲν Ἰταλίας ἀντεχόμενος, ἐβασίλευσε τῆς παραλίας μέχρι τῶν κατὰ τὸ Ῥήγιον τόπων*). Pheraimôn and Androklês hold a great dominion in Sicily, from the strait to Lilybaion (*ἐδυνάστευσαν τῆς Σικελίας ἀπὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν κατὰ τὸ Λιλύβαιον τόπων*). He then goes on to explain how they and their brothers came to reign in Sicily. The Sikels in the east part of the island and the Sikans in the west were always disputing (*ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἕω κεκλιμένα μέρη κατῴκουν Σικελοί, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δυσμὰς Σικανοί. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς ἄλληλα διεφέροντο*). But both accept the rule of the Aiolids, on account of their own virtues and those of their father. So Xouthos reigns in the parts of Leontinoi, which from him were called Xouthia. Agathyrnos founds Agathyrnum. The Aiolid dynasty reigns for many generations with great glory; then it becomes extinct. Then the Sikels seemingly founded an

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

aristocracy in the strictest sense—*τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐνεχείριζον.* The Sikans were divided by dynastic wars among themselves (*περὶ τῆς δυναστείας διαφερόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐπολέμουν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους*). Then the story stops, and Diodôros goes on to tell the tale of the Knidian settlement in Lipara. One can hardly have a better example of the difference in value of the witness of Diodôros in different places, according to the writer whom he follows, however dangerous it may sometimes be to rule who that writer is. From very good tradition we have wandered into the weakest kind of legends of *ἐπώνυμοι*.

Eustathios, at his time of day, had two forms of error to grapple with. By his time *Siculi*, and Σικελοί too, had come to mean anybody living in Sicily, Greeks, Saracens, Normans, anything else. He finds it needful therefore (Odyss. xx. 383) first of all to explain the difference between Σικελοί and Σικελιῶται, as between Ἰταλοί and Ἰταλιῶται, forms distinguishing Greeks and barbarians, for which he quotes Ælius Dionysius, the descendant, as some say, of him of Halikarnassos. He further adds,

ἱστέον δὲ ὅτι οἱ Σικελοὶ καὶ Σικανοὶ δοκοῦσι λέγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος Σικανίαν ἔοικε τὴν νῦν Σικελίαν λέγειν. Διόδωρος μέντοι διαφορὰν τούτων οἶδεν, ἐν οἷς λέγει περὶ Σικανῶν καὶ Σικελῶν.

The existence of Sikels as a people of Latium is witnessed by several Latin writers. This brings us within the range of Sir George Lewis' Inquiry, who has gathered together (Credibility of the Early Roman History, i. 272) pretty well all that can be found about the matter. His object of course was only to come to negative conclusions. So to do might save some trouble; but one can hardly bring oneself to it. Varro, in a passage (LL. v. 101) which I shall have to quote soon, accounts for the likeness between Latin and Sicilian words; "a Roma quod orti Siculi, ut annales veteres nostri dicunt." This seems to imply that Roman writers had found or adopted a story something like that which Dionysios quotes from Antiochos. Virgil, as we have seen, mentions "Sicani" rather than "Siculi" among the ancient inhabitants of Italy, but we cannot feel quite certain (see above, p. 477) how far he distinguished the two names. We distinctly see Sikels on the very oldest Rome, when Festus (321) tells us how "Sacrani appellati sunt Reate orti, qui ex Septimontio Ligures Siculosque exegerunt." These Sacrani from Reate must be Sabines; and this driving out of

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Sikels by Sabines is really the same story as that which Servius yet again (ad Æn. viii. 638) quotes in a much wilder shape; "Sabini a Lacedæmoniis originem ducunt, ut Hyginus ait de Origine Urbium Italicarum, a Sabo, qui de Perside Lacedæmonios transiens ad Italiam venit, et expulsis Siculis, tenuit loca quæ Sabini habent." Pliny (N. H. iii. 10) reckons "Pelasgi, Oenotrii, Itali, Morgetes, Siculi, Græciæ maxime populi," among the inhabitants of Southern Italy; it will be remembered that is the *Sicani* (see above, p. 477) whom he places on the Alban mount. And, to go back to Dionysios, besides his general description of the Sikel migration, he often speaks of particular Latin and other Italian towns as having formerly been Sikel, as Agylla, Pisa, Falerii, Fescennium, Cænina, Crustumerium (i. 21, ii. 35). At this last town we meet (Serv. ad Æn. vii. 631) our friend Sikelos in the strangest shape of all; "Cassius Hemina tradidit, Siculum quendam, nomine uxoris suæ Clytemnestræ condidisse Clytemestrum, mox corrupto nomine Crustumerium dictum."

Solinus has also a good deal to say about Sikels. In Sicily itself (v. 8) he has nothing special, except a more exalted father for their ἐπώνυμος; "Sicaniæ diu ante Trojana bella Sicanus rex nomen dedit, advectus cum amplissima Hiberorum manu; post Siculus Neptuni filius." But of Siculian Italy he has several curious notices. Among the early inhabitants of Italy (ii. 3) are "Aborigines Aurunci, Pelasgi, Arcades, Siculi." Then the three grandsons of Amphiaraos, Tiburtus, Cora, Catillus, find Tibur on this wise (ii. 8); "Depulsis ex oppido Siciliæ veteribus Sicanis a nomine Tiburti fratris natu maximi urbem vocaverunt." This is not easy to understand, unless Tibur was once called "Sicilia" and was occupied by Sikans, a people of whom he seems not to speak elsewhere. But in ii. 10, Ancona is founded by "Siculi" (a confusion, one may suppose, with its real foundation by Dionysios), Gabii, "a Galatio et Bio Siculis fratribus" (cf. the parentage of Galas in p. 190), and Aricia "ab Archilocho Siculo." In xxvii. 8, "Clypeam civitatem Siculi extruunt, et Aspida primum nominant, Veneriam etiam in quam Veneris Erycinæ religiones transtulerunt." This seems oddly made up of the building of Clypea or Aspis by Agathoklês and the presence of the rites of Ashtoreth both on Eryx and at Sicca Veneria (perhaps Succoth Benoth).

From central Italy we must suppose that the Sikels pressed southwards into the special Italy, the modern Calabria. There it

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

must have been that the remnant still dwelled in the days of Thucydides. Their presence was remembered long after, as appears from the account which Polybios (xii. 5) gives of their settlements. He not only speaks of Sikels as the inhabitants of the country, but he rather takes their presence for granted; *καθ' ὃν καιρὸν τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐκβάλοιεν τοὺς κατασχόντας τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς Ἰταλίας*. He then goes on to speak of the Sikel customs which lived on at Lokroi.

Lastly, we have a mention, if not of Σικελοί, yet of Σικελία, where we should hardly have looked for it. According to Pausanias (viii. 11. 12), there was a hill so called, *ἡ Σικελία λόφος*, near Athens.

What then comes of our evidence? The general result of the examination of the Latin writers seems to be that they prove very little about Sikans, but that they prove a great deal about Sikels. When we come to the name *Sicani* in a Latin writer, we never feel quite sure whether it is used with any definite meaning, or whether it is, as to a Latin writer it would naturally seem, a mere *alias* for *Siculi*. Many of the Latin passages may be taken as asserting the distinction; but most of them may also be taken the other way. It is on the distinct witness of the Greek writers, with Thucydides at their head, that I venture, in opposition to Forbiger, Schwegler ("die Unterscheidung der Sicaner und Siculer als verschiedne Völker ist sicher grundlos;" R. G. i. 203), and Holm, to look on Σικανοί and Σικελοί as distinct nations, belonging to distinct races. But if we are driven to know so much better than Thucydides about a matter on which Thucydides could use his own eyes and ears, all that is proved is that there were two migrations from Italy into Sicily, that the Sikans were the advanced guard of the Sikels. For surely, if we are to make Sikans and Sikels the same, it must be by making the Sikans Sikels, that is Italians, not by making the Sikels Sikans, that is Iberians. (See Busolt, i. 235, who has arguments both ways.) For the evidence, Greek and Latin, to show that the Sikels were an Italian people settled in Sicily seems overwhelming. It was the universal tradition of Sikels, Greeks, and Latins. And to establish the Italian character of the Sikels is of far greater moment than to establish the non-Italian character of the Sikans. I believe the evidence is distinctly in favour of this last belief; but if the Sikans can be proved to be

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Italian as well as the Sikels, the general course of Sicilian history will not be upset thereby.

Of the language of the Sikans I am not aware that a single word, other than proper names, has been preserved. The language of the Sikels, I do not scruple to say, was Latin, or something which did not differ more widely from Latin than one dialect of Greek differed from another. The difficulty sometimes is to distinguish between strictly Sikel and Sikeliot words (see Brunet de Presle, 570). Many of the words come from Athênaios, and many from the dictionary-makers. In their days the difference between Σικελοί and Σικελιῶται was practically forgotten. If they quote a word as Σικελικόν, it may mean only that it was used in the Sicilian dialect of Greek, at Agyrium no less than at Syracuse. But we must not forget the strong likelihood that a word peculiar to the Greek of Sicily would be of Sikel origin. It is easy to find words which are distinctly said to be Sikel, and also words which can have got into Sicilian Greek only from the Sikels. I have spoken in the text (see p. 125) of one specially clear case, how Sikels and Opicans alike called a river *Gelas* from its cold waters. Varro too (LL. v. 101) has a memorable passage which shows that the hare was known in Sicily by its common Latin name; "Lepus, quod Siculi quidam Græci dicunt λέποριν." This last bit of language is indeed attributed not to Sikels but to Sicilian Greeks; but Sicilian Greeks could have learned the name λέπορις only from Sikels, and in Varro's day the descendants of Σικελοί as well as the descendants of Σικελιῶται counted as "Siculi Græci." The only question is whether the Greeks did not get the word from Sikels in Italy rather than in Sicily. For one is tempted to connect the use of a Latin name for the hare with the odd statement preserved by Pollux (v. 75) about the lack of hares in Sicily up to the time of Anaxilas of Rhêgion. It is no less clear when Varro (v. 120) gives us another Latin word as Sikel; "Ubi pultem aut jurulenti quid ponebant a capiendo *catinum* nominarunt, nisi quod Siculi dicunt κάτινον ubi assa ponebant." Then there is the great case of the Sikel weights, of which we shall have to speak more at large (see Appendix VII). Julius Pollux again (ii. 141) gives us a Dorian word from Sicily, which is clearly Latin; καὶ κύβιτον· εἴποις ἄν, ὡς Ἱπποκράτης. δοκεῖ δ' εἶναι Δωρικὸν τοῦνομα τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Δωριέων, ὅθεν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ τὸ παίειν τῷ ἀγκῶνι κυβιτίζειν λέγει. So Epicharmos is quoted also by Phôtios

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

(Lex. 183. 5); *κύβηττον. Ἴωνες, τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ἀγκῶνος· οὕτως Ἐπίχαρμος* (Lorenz, Epich. 284). Here the Latin is perfectly plain. So it is when Pollux quotes, also from Epicharmos, *πατάνιον ἢ πατάνα* in the sense of *dish*. But when we read, *ταῦτα δὲ (τὰ σιτοβόλια, τὰ πυρῶν ταμιεῖα) ῥογοὺς Σικελιῶται ὠνομάζον, καὶ ἔστι τοὔνομα ἐν Ἐπιχάρμου Βουσίριδι*, we can only say that the word has a Latin sound, but that we cannot find any certain Latin kindred for it. The word *μυλλός*, discussed at some length by Ebert (*Σικελιών*, 33), with obvious reference to Horace and to Theokritos (iv. 38), belongs to a class in which both very old and very new forms are likely to be found.

Lastly, we hear of a Latin word which got into Sicilian Greek, not from Sikels, but from Messapians. Athênaios (iii. 76) says;

πανὸς, ἄρτος, Μεσσάπιοι. καὶ τὴν πλησμονὴν πανίαν καὶ πάνια τὰ πλήσμια, Βλαῖσος ἐν Μεσοτρίβᾳ καὶ Δεινόλοχος ἐν Τηλέφῳ Ῥίνθων τε ἐν Ἀμφιτρύωνι. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πᾶνα τὸν ἄρτον καλοῦσι.

Of these poets, Deinolochos and Rhinthôn belonged either to Sicily or to South Italy; Blæsus, with his Italian name, was in the more remarkable position of an Italian writing in Greek. We have been taught to believe that Messapian would be something quite different from Sikel; but either way we get an illustration of the way in which native words passed into colonial Greek.

We have other words, either quoted directly as Sikel or as Sikeliot and therefore likely to be Sikel, for which we cannot at once point to a Latin cognate. We must begin with the one Sikel word which is handed down to us by Thucydides himself; *τὸ δὲ δρέπανον οἱ Σικελοὶ ζάγκλον καλοῦσι*. He of course by *Σικελοί* means *Σικελοί*. The oldest coins show that *δάγκλον* would be the truer form, and some (see Holm, i. 390) connect this with two entries in Hêsychios; *ἀγκαλίς· ἄχθος, καὶ δρέπανον Μακεδόνες*, and again (col. 365) *δάκολον δρέπανον*. It would be pleasant, but a little dangerous, to coin a word *δάγκλον* out of *δάκολον* and *ἀγκαλίς*; but can we leap from Sikel to Macedonian? Strabo (vi. 2. 3) gives *ζάγκλιον* the general sense of *σκολιόν*. But the Etymologicon Magnum quotes Kallimachos as using it in the sense of *δρέπανον* (*κέκρυπται γυνὴ ζάγκλον ὑποχθονίη*). It is another matter with later writers. Thus Athênaios (ix. 65) tells us that Æschylus used many words which were Sikel or Sikeliot, or at any rate used by *οἱ περὶ τὴν Σικελίαν κατοικοῦντες*. He adds, *ὅτι δὲ Αἰσχύλος διατρίψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ πολλαῖς κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελικαῖς οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν*. The

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

example that he gives is ἀσχέδωρος as the name of the wild boar, which was also used by the comic poet Sklêrias of Taras. Again (XV. 2), he speaks of the κότταβος as a Sicilian invention (ἡ τῶν κοττάβων παιδιὰ Σικελική ἐστιν εὕρεσις, ταύτην πρῶτον εὑρόντων Σικελῶν. He then quotes Kritias for two lines;

κότταβος ἐκ Σικελῆς ἐστὶ χθόνος, ἐκπρεπὲς ἔργον,
ὃν σκοτὸν ἐκ λατάγων τύξα καθιστάμεθα.

He adds that Dikaiarchos τὴν λατάγην φησὶν εἶναι Σικελικὸν ὄνομα· λατάγη δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκπυθέντος πυτηρίου ὑγρόν. In all this neither Greek nor Latin directly helps us. We cannot be sure whether by Σικελικόν, or even by Σικελοί, Athênaios really meant Sikels. There is only the likelihood that a Sikeliot word would be Sikel.

Besides Sikel words we have also traces of a Sikel grammatical form making its way into Greek. Stephen of Byzantium (under Ἀβακαῖνον) remarks that Sikel gentile names had the ending -ῖνος, which is clearly Latin. Σικελῶν δὲ μοῖρά τις ἐστι· τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀβακαινῖνος, ὡς Ἀκραγαντῖνος, ὃ οὐκ ἄηθες Σικελῶν, Μεταποντῖνος, Λεοντῖνος, Βρεντεσῖνος, Ταραντῖνος, Ἀρρητῖνος [he means the Etruscan city], Ἀσσωρῖνος, Ἐρυκῖνος. Under the head Ἀσσώριον he also adds Ῥηγῖνος. One need not say that some of these places are Greek; but Sikel or other Italian influence may have affected the names.

Another question arises, whether there is any evidence for Sikels anywhere else besides Italy and Sicily. Some have found them on the coast of Epeiros, which is by no means unlikely. Not a few local names are common to both sides of that part of Hadria; but we must remember that Sikels are not, like Chônes or Chaones, a special people of Southern Italy. There is no reason to suppose any nearer kindred between Sikels and Epeirots than whatever kindred we conceive to exist between Italians and Greeks. The notion of Sikels in Epeiros seems to come from the Scholiast on the Odyssey, xviii. 85. The suitors there (and again in 116, cf. xxi. 308) threaten to send him to Epeiros, to King Echetos, destroyer of all mortals, who will mutilate him;

πέμψω σ' Ἠπειρόνδε, βαλὼν ἐν νηῒ μελαίνῃ,
εἰς Ἔχετον βασιλῆα, βροτῶν ὀλέμονα πάντων.

This has been not unnaturally taken for another form of the threat in xx. 383 (see p. 126) to send him to the Sikels. Hence might

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

seem to come the inference of the Scholiast on the former passage; Ἔχετος ἦν μὲν υἱὸς Βουχέτου, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλις Βούχετος καλεῖται. Σικελῶν δὲ τύραννος λέγεται. But this is exceedingly confused. Bouchetos or Buchaition or Bouchetа (the last is the form in Demosthenês, Halon. 33) is not in Sicily but in Thesprôtia, and the word τύραννος suggests that the Scholiast had not yet reached the wholesome distinction which he draws at xx. 383 between Σικελοί and Σικελιῶται, and that he is thinking of Dionysios and Agathoklês. Besides this, the two threats are quite different; Odysseus is to be sent to Echetos to be wantonly tortured, seemingly for the amusement of Echetos; he is to be sent to the Sikels as a matter of ordinary business, to be sold that the suitors may pocket the price.

The same scholiast tells us a good deal more about Echetos' cruelties. So do the other scholiasts, who call him King of Epeiros, and say nothing about Sikels. So Eustathios, ii. 169. On the other passage Eustathios (ii. 243) remarks on the likeness between the two threats; he takes the opportunity to distinguish Σικανοί and Σικελοί, Σικελοί and Σικελοί, and adds, εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμπορικοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι τοὺς Σικελούς, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἀνδροποδισέως. But he hints nothing about Sikels in Epeiros, or about Echetos as their king. The short reference to Echetos in Apollônios, iv. 1093, was not likely to tell us anything; but his Scholiast indirectly connects him with Epeiros; εὕρομεν δὲ τὸν μῦθον ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Λυσίππου Ἠπειρώτου Ἀσεβῶν Καταλόγῳ.

Niebuhr (Kleine Schriften, ii. 224) has a short treatise headed "Die Sikeler in der Odyssee." He says, "unter diesen Sikelern verstand man gewiss durchgehend mit Strabo die der Insel." But did not Strabo (i. 1. 10) rather understand the Sikels of the Odyssey to be the Sikels of Italy? καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄκρα οἴδε [ν Ὅμηρος], Τεμέσην καλῶν καὶ Σικελούς. Niebuhr goes on to maintain the Epeirot view. I have nothing to say against it; but I do not see the evidence for it.

We have several times in our extracts come across a people called Morgêtes and their King Morgês, whom we have met in close connexion with Italos and Sikelos. The most distinct is from two passages of Strabo, one of them quoted by him from Ephoros (see p. 154), where Σικελοὶ καὶ Σικανοὶ καὶ Μόργητες come together. He goes on to assign to them the foundation of the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Sikel town of Morgantium or Morgantina, of which we shall often hear; τὸ Μοργάντιον εἰκὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Μοργήτων ᾠκίσθαι. Stephen of Byzantium has a Μοργέντιον or Μοργεντία in *Italy*, called ἀπὸ Μοργήτων; but nothing more is known of any such place. It is less dangerous to infer that his Ἰταλίας is a blunder for Σικελίας.

In the other place Strabo (vi. 1. 6) quotes Antiochos for the Morgêtes and their migration, but seemingly not for the foundation of Morgantium. Speaking of the parts of Rhêgion, he says; Ἀντίοχος τὸ παλαιὸν ἅπαντα τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οἰκῆσαι Σικελοὺς φησὶ καὶ Μόργητας· διᾶραι δ' εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ὕστερον, ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Οἰνωτρῶν. Φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ τὸ Μοργάντιον ἐντεῦθεν τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Μοργήτων ἔχειν. We might fancy that the Morgêtes were inferred from Morgantium; but in that case we should more likely have had Morgês as the direct founder, perhaps without any Morgêtes. Given the Morgêtes as a people, the statement that Morgantium was their foundation might easily be either a mere inference from the name or a bit of real tradition. We may fancy, according to a crowd of analogies in all times, the Morgêtes to have been a kindred people with the Sikels, who joined in their migration, but took a secondary position alongside of them. Unless as inhabitants of Morgantina, they play no visible part in the history of Sicily.

I cannot quite follow the treatment of Sikans and Sikels by E. Curtius, Griechische Geschichte, i. 358 et seqq. He begins by saying, "Die eingebornen Sikuler waren desselben Stammes wie die Süditaliker: man bezeichnete daher Land und Volk mit gleichen Namen; eine Bezeichnung, welche sich bis heute in der Benennung des Königreichs beider Sicilien erhalten hat." There were Σικελοί in Southern Italy, as we have seen; but was Southern Italy ever called Σικελία? and what can the kingdom of the Two Sicilies have to do with it? At the same time the phrase "Two Sicilies" is older than its use as a royal title. He is a little dark about the Sikans; "Man glaubte sie sogar als ein eingewandertes Volk *aus Keltischer Heimath* ansehen zu müssen." Does he mean from Spain, according to the general belief—it would be an odd way of putting it—or from the Sequana—or perhaps the Sequani—in Gaul?

And why is Gela "der *Karische* Name des Flusses"? A Phœnician origin has been found for the name, as for most other names in Sicily. But how is this plain bit of Latin Karian?

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Lastly, since these notes were written, there has appeared the work of Heisterbergk, quoted in the last note. He goes very minutely into many matters which have to do with Sikans and Sikels and with Elymians also; and he comes to some conclusions that are certainly strange. He is not always easy to follow, as he often falls back on the fashion, now happily dying out in Germany, of writing sentences so long that it is a hard matter to "find the verb." He professes not to deal with ethnology; but he seems (64, 65, 70, 94) fully to admit the distinction between Sikel and Sikan, though he holds them (p. 83) to be kindred races. The Sikans and the land Sikania took their name from a river Sikanos; but that river is not to be looked for in Spain, Gaul, or anywhere out of Sicily. It is no other than the southern Himeras. Sikania is the country about Akragas. The Elymians are a greater people than has been commonly thought. *Sikan* is simply the geographical name of part of them, that part which did not enter into any special relation with the Phœnicians. The Sikels are an Italian people who came into Sicily later than the Phœnicians; the name *Siculi* is akin to *secare* and *secula* (Varro, LL. v. 137). Ζάγκλον is not a Sikel, but a Greek word, connected with ἄγκολος, Ἀγκών, and a great deal more (cf. Etym. Magn. in Ζαγκλόν, where δρέπανον is so called as ζάγκλον, τὸ λίαν ἄγκολον). The Sikel invasion of Egypt is not to be believed.

It will be seen that I have some points in common with the author of this new theory, while other parts of it seem to me to be very wild. I cannot undertake to go into every detail; but I may mention some special points. His view about Sikania will perhaps be best treated in the note devoted to Kôkalos and Kamikos, and that about the relations between Sikans and Elymians in the note devoted to the Elymians. His views about the Sikels come most naturally here. I am quite unable to follow his argument, which is to show that the Sikels came in after the Phœnicians. It is very strange (p. 72) in a discussion on the seafaring capacity of the Sikels, to speak of them as being in historical times a purely inland people ("die Thatsache, dass die Siculer zur Zeit der ersten griechischen Historiker bereits von den Griechen gegen das Innere der Insel zurückgedrängt waren und folglich damals keine Schiffe besassen"). This leaves out their possession of the coast between Himera and Mylai, the colonizing ground of Ducetius and Archônidês, which Thucydides (vi. 2) carefully notices; ἔτι καὶ νῦν

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

τὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν τῆς νήσου ἔχουσι. It is certainly hard to believe (p. 77) that the Sikels deprived the Phœnicians of their eastern havens in Sicily. He oddly (p. 83) places Motya among "Städte des Elymergebiets." But one stops for a moment's thought over one saying, "Der siculische Ortsname Imachara erinnert in Stamm und Endung an das sicanische Makara in der Endung an Hyccara, Mazzara." One would be glad if Imachara or anything else could relieve us from the necessity of looking on Makara or Mazzara either as Semitic. In my view *Sikan* local names may be looked for anywhere. He remarks further that the Sikel ending in *-ῶνος* or *-inus* is found beyond Sikel territory, as at Akragas and Eryx. Nothing surely would be more likely, when the Greeks had once adopted it; and the Greeks might hear it on Sikel mouths even of Sikan or Elymian places. It is surely not needful to infer (p. 88) that Thucydides looked on Lilybaion as the most southern point of Sicily, because he says (vi. 2) that the Sikels drove the Sikans πρὸς τὰ μεσημβρινὰ καὶ ἑσπέρια αὐτῆς [Σικελίας]. Though the Sikels, holding the east coast, did actually hold the most southern parts of the island, and though at Hykkara the Sikans actually kept a hold on the northern coast, yet on the whole *Sikania* lies to the south of *Sikelia*. And it would seem so still more in the old conception of the island, in which, though Lilybaion was not looked on as the southern point of the island, it was looked on as being much less to the north of Pachynos than it really is.

I ought to have remembered that the connexion between *Siculi* and *secare* was suggested long ago by Mommsen (R. G. i. 16), followed by Lange (R. A. i. 60). All such guesses are doubtful and dangerous. I will not say that we are not the people of the *angel* (not the "angelica facies") or the *seax*, or that our continental neighbours are not the people of the *franca*; but I would not lightly say that it is so. But if we are the folk of the *angel*, it looks as if we might have something to do with Zanklê. Ancus, Anxur, Ancona, ἀγκύλαν, δι-αγκύλον in High-Dutch it seems, *Zweibug*, p. 101), seem to be stages on the road. It would certainly save a vast deal of trouble if we could believe ζάγκλον to be a Greek and not a Sikel word (see above, p. 489); but the master whose word is far above clever guesses says expressly;

Ὄνομα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ζάγκλη ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν κληθεῖσα, ὅτι δραπανοειδὲς τὴν ἰδέαν τὸ χωρίον ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ δρέπανον οἱ Σικελοὶ ζάγκλον καλοῦσιν.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

NOTE V. p. 112.

KÔKALOS AND KAMIKOS.

KÔKALOS and his land are carefully marked as Sikan in the earliest accounts of them that we have. The earliest of all, that of Herodotus (vii. 170), does not mention Kôkalos by name; but he gives a summary of the story, and takes great pains to mark the Sikan character of the land. He first speaks of the death of Minôs as ἐν Καμικῷ γενόμενος, and adds by way of explanation, λέγεται γὰρ Μίνων κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλεομένην ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ. Diodôros (iv. 77) is a degree less precise. There Daidalos is said κατανεχθῆναι τῆς Σικελίας πρὸς χώραν ἣν βασιλεύοντα Κώκαλον, κ.τ.λ.; and in c. 78 we read; Δαίδαλος παρά τε τῷ Κωκάλῳ καὶ τοῖς Σικανοῖς διέτριψε πλείω χρόνον. That is, he speaks of Σικελία, as some now speak of England and France, before it became such. (So Arist. Pol. ii. 10. 4; Μίνως δὲ ἐπιβέμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκεῖ περὶ Κάμικον.) But he is equally precise as to the people among whom Minôs came being Sikans. And the name of Kôkalos has been pressed at once to prove his own Sikan nationality and the Celtic origin of the Sikans. For Hêsychios says, Κώκαλον. παλαιόν, καὶ εἶδος ἀλεκτρύονος. Here may seem to lurk a hidden connexion between Κώκαλος and *Coq*, especially if the Σικανός should turn out to be the *Sequana* (see above, p. 475). (The other dictionary-makers are less fruitful.) Pausanias (vii. 4. 6) is less accurate; he says that Daidalos ἐς Ἴνυκον Σικελῶν πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται παρὰ Κώκαλον, καὶ πολέμου παρέσχε τοῖς Σικελοῖς αἰτίαν. He had forgotten the distinction which he himself drew in v. 25. 3; see p. 477.

Pausanias places the royal city of Kôkalos at Inykon. Yet his version does not contradict the story in Herodotus and Diodôros. Minôs is killed at Kamikos, but, as Daidalos, according to Diodôros, built Kamikos for Kôkalos, it may have supplanted Inykon. Charax of Pergamos, quoted by Stephen of Byzantium, perhaps did the same; or perhaps he took Inykon and Kamikos for the same place. Stephen, under Καμικός, says, πόλις Σικελίας ἐν ᾗ Κώκαλος ἦρχεν ὁ Δαιδάλου. (Did he take Kôkalos for a son of Daidalos?) Under Αἰμονία he casually mentions Kamikos as an *island* settled by an ἐπώνυμος, and under Ἀκράγαντες he quotes Douris of Samos (Hist. Fragm. ii. 480) as mentioning Kamikos as an example of a town named from a river. Strabo (vi. 2. 6) mentions Καμικοί in

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the plural without fixing its site, and adds, *τὸ Κωκάλου βασίλειον, παρ' ᾧ Μίνως δολοφονηθῆναι λέγεται.*

Kamikos has been sometimes placed on the site of Akragas or its akropolis. Admiral Smyth (204) believed himself to have walked along a road engineered by Daidalos (cf. Serradifalco, iii. 25). But when Herodotus (vii. 170) says that the Cretans besieged *πόλιν Καμικὸν τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο*, he assuredly means that it was in the Akragantine territory, but not on the site of Akragas. Diodôros (iv. 78) is still clearer; *κατὰ τὴν νῦν Ἀκραγαντίνην ἐν τῷ Καμικῷ καλουμένην.* And that the site was distinct from Akragas appears from two later notices. In the scholiast on Pindar, Pyth. vi. 4, certain malecontents in the days of Thêrôn *Κάμικον κατέσχον, Σικελιωτικὸν πόλισμα· καθ' ἣν καὶ ὁ Μίνως ὑπὸ ταῖς Κωκάλου θυγατράσιν ἀπώλετο κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἐλθών.* By that time it doubtless was *Σικελιωτικόν.* And in a fragment of Diodôros (xxiii), it appears during the Punic War as *Κάμικος φρούριον Ἀκραγαντίνων.* (See more in Fazello, i. 240, 244, 480; Cluver, 220, who places Kamikos at Siculiana, which is also accepted by Siefert, Akragas, 17, 18; Bunbury, Dict. Geog., Camicus.) Schubring (Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde, 1865, pp. 133–153) goes largely into the question of the site and, as I have said in the text, places it on the hills of Caltabellotta. There is this difficulty about this site, that it lies beyond the boundaries of the Akragantine territory, as they are commonly understood. This is so far in favour of the elder notion of Kamikos being Siculiana, a town of mediæval foundation, but which might none the less mark an ancient site. Cavallari (Topografia di talune Città Greche di Sicilia, 50) follows Schubring.

Inykon will meet us once or twice in our history. It seems in later times to be connected with Selinous rather than with Akragas; but this need not affect mythical geography. Kôkalos may have moved from Inykon to Kamikos after Daidalos had fortified his stronghold for him. Schubring, on the other hand, moves it eastwards, close to Eknomos (Gela, 128). It was, according to Hesychius, *πολίχνιον εὔοινον.*

Inykon brings us to the story of Minôs and Daidalos. I have ventured to hint that the name of Minôa, which has every chance of being Phœnician, suggested the story. But in the legend it is of course called after him. So Diodôros (iv. 79); *κατῆρε τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνης εἰς τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Μινῴαν καλουμένην.* According to

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Diodôros the name was given by his followers after his death (see p. 115); *οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα πόλιν ᾤκισαν, ἣν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν Μίνωαν ὠνόμασαν.* This seems to me to be the genuine legend, rather than one preserved by Hêrakleidês of Pontos (Hist. Græc. Fragm. ii. 220), which attributes the giving of the name to Minôs himself; *Μωφαν τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μακάραν ἐκάλουν πρότερον· ἔπειτα Μίνως, ἀκούων Δαίδαλον ἐνταῦθα, μετὰ στόλου περιεγένετο, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Λύκον ποταμὸν, τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐκυρίευσε· καὶ νικήσας τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσωνόμασεν αὐτὴν, νόμους Κρητικοὺς θεὶς αὐτοῖς.* The name *Makara* may well be Phœnician, as well as Minôa. Here the name has good authority and is quite in place. Its Phœnician coins, dating from a much later time of Carthaginian dominion, have the legend ראש מלקרת (Duncker, G. A. ii. 62; Coins of Sicily, 251; Head, 124), of which Μακάρα is said to be a corruption. The Λύκος is of course (see p. 80) the Halykos. This Minôa is that which we shall hear of again by the name of Hêrakleia; but, when it first makes its appearance in recorded history, it has to do with Selinous, not with Akragas. Other places of the name, of which there are not a few, I must leave to those whom they may concern. I think they are all found in places where Phœnicians are likely to have shown themselves.

As for Daidalos, he surely *flies* to Sikania. Such seems to be the meaning of the lines which end his story in Ovid's Metamorphoses, viii. 260;

> "Jamque fatigatum tellus Ætnæa tenebat
> Dædalon."

It is prosaic in Diodôros (iv. 77) to make him fly only to Ikaria and thence *sail* to Sikania. Pausanias (i. 6) says simply, *ἐς Σικελίαν ἐκδιδράσκει πρὸς Κώκαλον.* His works in Sicily are described by Diodôros, iv. 78. First comes the building of Kamikos itself; *κατὰ τὴν νῦν Ἀκραγαντίνην ἐν τῷ Καμικῷ καλουμένην πόλιν ἐπὶ πέτρας οὖσαν πασῶν ὀχυρωτάτην κατεσκεύασε καὶ παντελῶς ἐκ βίας ἀνάλωτον· στενὴν γὰρ καὶ σκολιὰν τὴν ἀνάβασιν αὐτῆς φιλοτεχνήσας, ἐποίησε δύνασθαι διὰ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἀνθρώπων φυλάττεσθαι. διόπερ ὁ Κώκαλος ἐν ταύτῃ ποιήσας τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὰ χρήματα κατατιθέμενος, ἀνάλωτον ἔσχεν αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ τεχνίτου.* This does not shut out walls and towers, but it makes them secondary. The description reads as if Diodôros had seen what he took to be the place. Then come his other works. First, the *κολυμβήθρα* in the Megarian

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

territory, out of which the river Alabôn ran into the sea (see p. 387); secondly, the cave on the hill now called Calogero, above the Baths of Selinous (see p. 419); thirdly, the temple on Eryx (see pp. 114, 278).

As for the death of Minôs, Herodotus says simply *ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ*. Diodôros makes Kôkalos promise all he wants; then, *λουμένου αὐτοῦ Κώκαλος μὲν παρακατασχὼν πλείω χρόνον ἐν τῷ θερμῷ τὸν Μίνωα διέφθειρε*. The daughters come in, as we have seen in the scholiast on Pindar; also in Pausanias, vii. 4. 6, *ἐς τοσοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωκάλου τῶν θυγατέρων ἐσπουδάσθη κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, ὡς καὶ θάνατον τῷ Μίνῳ βουλεῦσαι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς χάριν Δαιδάλου*. Athenaios (i. 18) quotes the story as illustrating the Homeric fashion of setting daughters to wash guests; *λούουσι γοῦν καὶ αἱ Κωκάλου θυγατέρες, ὡς νενομισμένον, τὸν Μίνω παραγενόμενον εἰς Σικελίαν*. Silius (xiv. 40) follows this version;

"Minos
Dædaleam repetens pœnam. Qui fraude nefanda
Postquam perpetuas judex concessit ad umbras,
Cocalidum insidiis."

Ovid (Ibis, 291) says only;

"Sicut Minoïa fata
Per caput infusæ fervidus humor aquæ."

Kôkalos' own version (Diod. iv. 79), which he told to the followers of Minôs, was, *διότι κατὰ τὸν λουτρῶνα ὀλισθήσας καὶ πεσὼν εἰς τὸ θερμὸν ὕδωρ, ἐτελεύτησε*.

The account of the tomb of Minôs in Diodôros (iv. 79) is very strange; *διπλοῦν τάφον οἰκοδομήσαντες, κατὰ μὲν τὸν κεκρυμμένον τόπον ἔθεσαν τὰ ὀστᾶ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἀνεῳγμένον ἐποίησαν Ἀφροδίτης νεών· οὗτος δ' ἐπὶ γενεὰς πλείους ἐτιμᾶτο, θυόντων τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὡς Ἀφροδίτης ὄντος τοῦ νεώ*. It is not easy to understand the exact relation between the two tombs; and do the last words imply that Minôs was passed off on the worshippers for Aphroditê? Whether Minôs himself in any way savoured of Canaan or not, Aphroditê, in our island at least, is always suspicious of Ashtoreth. Cf. Siefert, Akragas, 18. Next comes the story of the invention of the tomb; *κατὰ δὲ τοὺς νεωτέρους καιροὺς κτισθείσης μὲν τῆς τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων πόλεως, γνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ὀστῶν θέσεως, συνέβη τὸν μὲν τάφον καθαιρεθῆναι, τὰ δ' ὀστᾶ τοῖς Κρησὶν ὑποδοθῆναι, Θήρωνος δυναστεύοντος τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων*. The temple of Aphroditê would seem to have

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

gone on while the tomb was hidden. But we need not seek for these things at Akragas itself.

The story of the settlement at Engyum is also from Diodôros, iv. 79, 80. He is very full on the worship of the temple and on the bringing of the stone. The men of Agyrium are *ἀστυγείτονες* to those of Engyum; but the distance is a hundred stadia and the road is hard; *τραχείας καὶ παντελῶς δυσπορεύτου.* So the stone was brought by a hundred yoke of oxen drawing four-wheeled carts. Silius too (xiv. 249) speaks of "lapidosi Enguion [al. Engyon] arvi." The real point of interest in this tale is whether any Sikel traditions lingered on in the worship of the Mothers. According to Diodôros the Mothers became the Bears—*αὐτὰς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβιβασθῆναι καὶ καταστερισθείσας ἄρκτους προσαγορευθῆναι.* He quotes Aratos. This is quite another story from that of Kallistô and Arkas. The worship of the Mothers is mentioned also by Plutarch, Marcellus, 20; *πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Σικελίας Ἐγγύϊον οὐ μεγάλη, ἀρχαία δὲ πάνυ καὶ διὰ θεῶν ἐπιφάνειαν ἔνδοξος ἃς καλοῦσι Ματέρας.* He then mentions the Cretan story, and adds that the men of Engyum showed spears and brazen helmets, *τὰ μὲν ἔχοντα Μηριόνου, τὰ δὲ Ὀϋλίξου, τούτεστιν Ὀδυσσέως, ἐπιγραφὰς, ἀνατεθεικότων ταῖς θεαῖς.* Are these words Ματέρας and Ὀϋλίξου simply Latin—but for Ὀϋλίξου, one would have taken Ματέρας for nothing more unusual than Doric Greek—or can they possibly be Sikel? A Latin inscription would surely be too late for anybody to pass it off as belonging to the days of Mêrionês and Odysseus. But when these stories first gained vogue in Engyum, one can fancy that Sikel and Greek would be struggling, and that Sikel might be preferred as the more archaic.

Yet before Plutarch's day, the Mothers of Engyum would seem to have become singular; Cicero (Verr. iv. 44; v. 72), when he calls on the gods plundered by Verres, calls, as far as Engyum is concerned, not on the Ματέρες of Diodôros and Plutarch, but on the "sanctissima mater Idæa." She has "augustissimum et religiosissimum templum," "Matris magnæ fanum." He records the offerings of Scipio, "loricas galeasque æneas, cælatas opere Corinthio, hydriasque grandes."

There is something strange about this. Cicero no doubt knew the place, or was thoroughly well informed about it. Yet, if the temple had by that time become a temple of the one Idæan Mother, it is odd that the old Ματέρες should have turned up again in Plutarch's time.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The story of the second Cretan invasion of Sicily and the seven years' siege of Kamikos comes from Herodotus (vii. 169, 170). At the time of the invasion of Xerxês, the Cretans ask the oracle at Delphi whether they shall give help to Hellas. The Pythia mocks them because they helped Menelaos against Troy, but did not avenge the death of their own king Minôs in Sicily. It is by this road that his whole mention of Kamikos comes casually in. Unable to take Kamikos, unable to stay in Sicily for lack of food, unable to get home because of a storm off the coast of Iapygia, they stay in Italy, found Hyria, and go through the national change spoken of; *μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους*. The expression is singular. The double name may be meant to distinguish the Messapian Iapygia from one in Illyria. Hekataios (Hist. Græc. Frag. i. 4) is quoted by Stephen of Byzantium for the two; *Ἰαπυγία· δύο πόλεις, μία ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι*. But cities called *Ἰαπυγία* are somewhat strange.

One would like to know how the whole story was treated by Sophoklês in his play of *Καμίκιοι*, of which two fragments are quoted by Athênaios. The first (iii. 32) proves nothing for our purpose. In the second (ix. 41), there is a clear reference to the story of Daidalos;

ὄρνιθος ἦν ἐνάνυμος
πέρδικος ἐν κλειτοῖς Ἀθηναίων τάγοις.

Perdix is one name of the murdered nephew of Daidalos, who is changed into the bird so called. See Ovid, Metam. viii. 256 et seqq. There was also the Kôkalos of Aristophanês, said to have been a parody on that of Sophoklês. Several fragments remain (Bekker, ii. 284), but they contain nothing bearing on the story.

Phôtios (135) quotes a strange version of the story from the *Διηγήσεις* of Konôn. He first carefully says that Minôs sailed *εἰς Σικανίαν* (*αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ νῦν Σικελία*), but directly after says of Kôkalos, *ἐβασίλευε δ' οὗτος Σικελῶν*. Minôs is killed by the daughters. The Cretan war against the *Σικελοί* follows. The defeated Cretans become Iapygians; disputes arise; and under the guidance of an oracle they move again towards Macedonia and become Bottiaians.

The new views about Sikan and Sikel matters put forth in the work of Heisterbergk already referred to (see above, pp. 471, 492) are closely connected with the story of Kôkalos and Daidalos. That

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Herodotus, like Thucydides, understood Σικανία as being the older name of Σικελία, and of the same import, is not denied. But the Σικανίη of the Odyssey could not have been Sicily, but at most part of it ("der Name muss deshalb damals, als er in die Odyssee gelangte, etwas anderes, als die Insel bezeichnet;" p. 9). This is rather a question of words. I should rather say that by Σικανίη the poet meant Sicily, so far as he had any idea of Sicily; but that his idea of Sicily was most likely a vague one, and specially that he would have no true notion of the size of the island. I can hardly think, with Heisterbergk, that by Σικανίη he meant a definite part of the island. Such a part, such a special Sikania, he finds in the land of Akragas, the kingdom of Kôkalos. He quotes several passages as confirming such an use of the word. Thus there is an article in Stephen of Byzantium, which Heisterbergk quotes over and over again;

Σικανία. ἡ περίχωρος Ἀκραγαντίνων. καὶ ποταμὸς Σικανὸς, ὡς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος.

In another article Stephen says;

Μίσκερα· πόλις Σικανίας· Θεόπομπος τεσσαρακοστῷ ἐννάτῳ Φιλιππικῶν.

So Aristotle (Meteor. ii. 3) speaks of certain physical phænomena as happening ἐν τῇ Σικανικῇ τῆς Σικελίας. We are sent also to John Tzetzes on Lykophrôn, 951. The text is;

ἄλλοι δ' ἐνοικήσουσι Σικανῶν χθόνα.

Here the older scholion runs thus; Σικανούς τινες ὑφ' ἑνὸς τῆς Σικελίας τόπων μέρος τι ἐδέξαντο· ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτὴν, ὅ ἐστι τὴν Σικελίαν, ἤγουν πᾶσαν τὴν νῆσον· μέρος δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ Σικανία καὶ ἔστι περὶ Ἀκράγαντα πόλις Σικελίας ἡ Σικανία. Tzetzes here is shorter; Σικανούς τινες Σικελοὺς πάντας ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἐδέξαντο· ἄλλοι δὲ μέρος Σικελῶν τὴν Σικανίαν φασὶ, πόλιν οὖσαν παρὰ Ἀκραγαντίνοις κειμένην. Then both go on to quote their original (870),

Γονοῦσάν τ' ἠδὲ Σικανῶν πλάκας,

and say of him that ἀπαριθμούμενος τοὺς τόπους τῆς Σικελίας φέρει καὶ τὴν Σικανίαν.

I should have put the exactly opposite meaning on these passages to that which Heisterbergk does. The passage from Lykophrôn is the beginning of his version of the Elymian settlement, of which I shall have a good deal to say presently. By Σικανῶν χθών Lykophrôn may have meant Sicily generally; or he may have meant, according to all my notions of the matter, a strictly Sikan land in

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

which the Elymians settled. But their land is quite away from Akragas. And if we are to accept the existence of a town of Sikania near Akragas, it does not seem to follow that it was the only Sikania. I should take it the other way. The district of Akragas was one where the Sikan figured in early legend and which was in historical times the last which the Greek won from the Sikan. It was the part of the elder Σικανία to which the name was most likely to cleave. Save as being the name of a district and not of a spot, this Σικανία is like the Σικελικόν at Tibur and the Πελασγικόν at Athens (see above, p. 481). To this we must add the likelihood of confusion of any kind on the part of Stephen in dealing with the passages of Apollodôros and Theopompos. In the passage from Aristotle I should see only a very natural distinction of a place in the Sikan part of Sicily, as distinguished from the Greek, the Phœnician, and the Sikel part.

Heisterbergk then argues at great length from the words of Stephen, καὶ ποταμὸς Σικανός, that there must have been a river Sikanos in Sicily, notwithstanding Thucydides and the others who place that river in Spain—notwithstanding further that Stephen himself knows, if not a river, at least a town, Σικάνη, πόλις Ἰβηρίας on the authority of Hekataios—notwithstanding yet again that Stephen mentions in one article Κύδνα, πόλις Μακεδονίας (a form of Πύδνα, like κόσσος for πόσσος), and adds, ἔστι καὶ Κύδνος ποταμὸς Βιθυνίας —where Κιλικίας would have been more correct. Why then might he not put the Spanish river and the Sicilian district in the same article? Still there would be force in the arguments brought forward if we were dealing with the correct text and full context of Thucydides or Polybios. We cannot argue in the same way with scraps preserved in the very corrupt text of a blunderer like Stephen. Thucydides certainly says one thing; Stephen of Byzantium perhaps says another. "Utri creditis?"

If there is to be a river Sikanos in Sicily, it may as well be the southern Himeras as any other. But surely there is nothing wonderful in the name *Fiume Grande* borne by the northern Himera. It is at least greater than the neighbouring *Fiume Torto*.

Heisterbergk argues that the Minôs story grew up at Akragas (51). So I hold also, and that certainly before the time of Dôrieus. But I hold that it was suggested by the name of Minôa, afterwards Hêrakleia (see above, p. 113).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

When this note and the text of p. 112 were written, I had not seen Caltabellotta, which Schubring rules to be Kamikos. I have since seen that most remarkable site. Its character, at least if it be approached, as the traveller is most likely to approach it, from the Baths of Selinous, now Sciacca, is wholly different from the hill-cities of Eryx, Henna, and Centuripa. All of these are seen on all sides sitting on the tops of their hills. The road from Sciacca to Caltabellotta goes in and out by many zigzag turns along the side of a rocky mountain, specially rich in jagged rocks. The traveller follows its course as an act of faith, not knowing whither he is going. He sees nothing of Caltabellotta till he has taken a turn which brings him quite close to it. The town in truth is not, like the others, on the hill-top. It lies sloping down one side of the hill, and that not the side turned towards Sciacca. Schubring describes the place and all that is in it, and all that is to be seen from it, at great length. Here it is enough to say that the town lies just below the meeting-point of several spurs of the hill, two at least of which may be counted as its *akropoleis*. One, *Monte del Castello*, has a series of limestone peaks, not so much growing out of it as set upon it. Here undoubtedly was a castle among the cliffs, and on one side the hill is deeply burrowed into by tombs. A neck of land, called *Piano della Matrice*, joins this hill to the lower one called *Gogála*, on which stands the head church of Caltabellotta, called, as usual, *La Matrice*, overshadowed by another mass of rock, the *Vecchio Castello*, thick with the fragments of a Norman fortress. The town below has nothing remarkable about it except its extreme steepness and dirt. I did not see any signs of primitive walls, as at Cefalù. It was not at all a clear day when I was there; but I could see that the view was wonderful indeed. Schubring says that the western sea at Marsala can be seen. Entella, and therefore most likely the site of Timoleon's victory at Kriminos, can, I was told, be seen from a point higher than I ventured to strive after. As a point for a wide and instructive view, as a spot rich in primæval tombs, Caltabellotta stands in the first rank among the hill-towns of Sicily. But it has nothing to show in the way of buildings of any date, beyond a few good mediæval doorways.

Now is this Kamikos, the Kamikos that was built by Daidalos for King Kôkalos? The place exactly suits the description; no one can doubt that Caltabellotta must have been a great Sikan stronghold.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

It must have been an akropolis and a nekropolis long before Greek or Phœnician trod the soil of Sicily. But I know of no distinct evidence to place Kamikos here; the very little evidence that there is goes rather the other way. In the one mention of Kamikos in historical times (see above, p. 496) it appears as an Akragantine fortress. Now the southern Thermai, now Sciacca, were undoubtedly on Selinuntine territory. It is hard therefore to believe that Caltabellotta can have been Akragantine. One is tempted to place the boundary of the two commonwealths at the river Caltabellotta or Verdura, whose muddy—conventionally no doubt yellow—stream, flowing away into the sea, is a prominent object from the hill of Gogála. Schubring indeed (p. 141) argues that a river is not an abiding boundary, and that the frontier may have shifted. So it certainly may; but, with no direct evidence for the theory and with this small bit of evidence against it, it is perhaps best not to be positive either way. We shall be right in saying that Caltabellotta was a great Sikan stronghold, and that it possibly was Kamikos. We shall also be right in saying that Kamikos was not Akragas, but that it was in Akragantine territory, and that, as the boundaries of Akragas and Selinous need not always have been the same, it is possible that it was at Caltabellotta.

The name Caltabellotta, I need hardly say, is Arabic. It is called from the cork-tree, of which I saw none at Caltabellotta itself, though there are a good many between Sciacca and Castelvetrano. The river here of course takes its name from the town, and not, as in earlier times, the town from the river. We shall come to the historical importance of Caltabellotta by that name in much later times.

The connexion of Kamikos or of Caltabellotta with Triokala has its special interest in the time of the Slave-wars. But as there was an earlier Triokala (see p. 121), it is as well to mention Schubring's view here. If I rightly understand him (154), he places the original Triokala at Santa Anna, between the hills of Caltabellotta and the river Caltabellotta. We look down on the place from Gogála and on the hill called Monte Vergine, which rises above it, and which would, I suppose, be the akropolis of the old Triokala. But Schubring seems to hold that Tryphôn (see the fragments of Diodôros, book xxxvi) took the hill of Caltabel-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

lotta, that is the site of Kamikos, which he holds to have been then already forsaken, within the bounds of his new Triokala. It may be so; but it is not necessary to do more than mention the point here. For Old Sikan history—if we can talk of Sikan history—Kamikos is of first-rate importance, and Triokala of very little.

I may as well say here, as well as in the Additions and Corrections, that in p. 112 of the text, in the second line from the bottom, "north-east" should be "north-west," and that the words, "the volcanic Calogero their chief," should be struck out. (See p. 419.)

NOTE VI. p. 129.

The Alleged Sikel Invasion of Egypt.

It is with a feeling of relief that I am able to refer to the "Notes on the 'Peoples of the Sea' of Meremptah," by Max Müller (not F. Max Müller) in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, x. 147, and his Supplemental Notes at p. 287. I live in the hope that it has become needless for a historian of Sicily to dispute about an alleged invasion of Egypt by a crowd of European nations, Sikels among them, in days which in Europe at least are days before recorded history, almost before credible tradition. It is difficult for a mere Western scholar to dispute on these matters, both because of his own ignorance of the special Eastern lore, and because he sees that that Eastern lore has a standard of evidence quite different from his own. The moment he touches Egyptians or Hittites, he is asked to believe things on evidence which he would not think enough to prove anything about Greeks or Englishmen. In such a case he does not deny what he cannot by himself disprove; he only asks to be allowed to keep back his acceptance till things are a little more certain. Meanwhile he cherishes the hope that before long some other Eastern scholar will kindly do the disproving for him. There is sure to be a new theory pretty soon, just as, in his own world, there is sure pretty soon to be a new theory about the "Annalenfrage" and the "Pippinische Schenkung."

So it has been in this case. Some years ago this alleged invasion of Egypt by a confederate host in which Sikels took a part was trumpeted forth as the last and greatest discovery. I am now

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

told that it is so thoroughly given up that there is no need to say anything about it. This is perhaps enough to relieve me or any Western reader from any very deep research into the matter. We need not hunt out the original discovery of Rougé, Chabas, or Brugsch in this or that periodical hard to get at. But it is part of the history of the Sikels, as of any other people, to find out what has been thought to be their history, and I have therefore looked in two well-known summaries of Eastern lore to find out what the people of Ducetius and Archônidês were thought to have done so long before their day.

In Maspero's "Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient" (Paris, 1884, ed. 3), we find, at p. 217, how the *Tourshâ*, explained as Tyrrhenians, and the "Shardanes," both from Asia Minor, invaded Egypt in concert with the Libyans, in the time of Ramsès the Second. They were beaten; the prisoners entered the Egyptian service; the rest went back to Asia. At p. 249 we find much more about Tyrrhenians, Pelasgians, and Shardanes, and in p. 251 under the reign of Ménephtah, Tyrrhenians, Lykians, and "Shardanes" again invade Egypt, "accompagnées d'auxiliaires jusqu'alors inconnus, les Achéens et les Shakalash." With the mention of "Achéens," the thing seems to be getting serious; but as for the "Shakalash," it is comforting to find in a note, "Cf. le nom de la ville de Sagalassos en Pisidie." Again the invaders were beaten; but in the days of Ramsès the Third (p. 263), the people, now no longer of Asia Minor but of "the isles of Greece," come in a yet more formidable guise; "Les Danaens, les Tyrséniens, les Shakalash, les Teucriens, qui avaient succédé aux Dardaniens dans l'hégémonie des nations troyennes, les Lyciens, les Philisti, entrèrent dans la confédération." The allies were beaten again, and they did not come any more; only (266) the "Philisti" established themselves in Syria; and, what comes somewhat nearer to us, the Tyrrhenians sailed to the mouth of the Tiber, and "les Shardanes occupèrent la grande île qui fut plus tard appelée Sardaigne."

Etruria and Sardinia do come in a faint way within the ken of a historian of Sicily; but Maspero spares us any theories about Sikels. It is otherwise when we turn to the second volume of Lenormant's "Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient" (Paris, 1882, ed. 9). The first invasion, in the days of Râ-mes-sou (=Ramsès) the Second, appears in p. 243; but the notice of "les Schardana (Sardones) et les Tourscha (Tursanes ou Tyrrhéniens)" is short; in

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the Table of Contents (p. 456) they appear as "peuples pélasgiques." In p. 287 under Mi-n-Phtah (=Ménephtah, which is easier to speak) we hear a vast deal more. Besides the "Schardana," we have "le groupe des gens d'au-delà de la mer, Aqaiouascha (Achéens), Leka (*les Lyciens de la Grèce ou les Laconiens*), Tourscha (Tyrsiènes ou Tyrrhéniens), et *Schekoulscha* (*Sicules*)." Among these the Aqaiouascha had a "hegemony," at least over the Tourscha and the Leka—most fittingly if they were the people of Agamemnôn, βασιλεύτερος over all other kings. And we get a view of a "Pélasge Tyrrhénien," happily not of an Achaian or a Sikel, tied with cords by Egyptians in the year 1333 before our æra. For the confederates were of course defeated, as they were when they came again (p. 304), with some more allies, in the days of Rá-mes-sou the Third. This time there were "'les Pélesta du milieu de la mer,' c'est à dire les Pélasges de la Crète," also the *Ouaschascha* who have been taken for *Oscans*, by those it would seem who did not know the form *Opici*. For this they are properly rebuked; but as the *Ausonians* are put in their place, we are still in the same part of the world. Then we have a vast deal of speculation of the kind which always reminds one of the wise warning,

τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον.

Still, as the Pelasgians anyhow had something to do with the Greeks, it is unpleasant to read that some of them became Philistines.

One breathes more freely when one is told by Eastern scholars that all this need no longer be believed. As one had all along expected, the new theory has come. Max Müller doubts whether *Tursha* are Τυρρηνοί; he is pretty certain that *Aquaiarha* are not Ἀχαιοί; and, what concerns us yet more, he is quite certain that *Shakarusha*—one spells each time as one is bid—are not Σικελοί. On the strength of their helmets, he is almost certain that *Shardin* are Sardinians. On this last point I can only suggest what I have suggested in the text. Only did the Sardinians come by themselves, or did they come with some quite different people who had nothing to do with Tyrrhenians, Sikels, or Achaians, or who perhaps had something to do with Achaians east of the Euxinê?

It is quite certain that, if we met with a story like this in any mediæval writer, or in any of the inferior Greek writers, we should

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

at once cast it aside as simply impossible. We should not discuss it at all; it would go with Brute the Trojan and Francus the son of Hektôr, and with Galateia grandmother of the Gauls. No doubt, when it comes recommended by eminent Eastern scholars, it is entitled to a different treatment. Only we cannot discuss it, because we have no common ground. There may be common ground some day, when Egyptian and Hittite studies are as old as Greek and Teutonic studies, and when the alleged facts have been as well sifted in the one case as in the other. An Egyptian monument no doubt proves as much as a Greek or an English monument, if only we are as certain of its meaning. We only ask to be allowed to doubt whether as yet we can be as certain of its meaning. And as long as even one Eastern scholar doubts whether the real meaning of the monument is that Sikels invaded Egypt, we may be allowed to judge the matter by the rules of our own science. Of course an invasion by Sikels need not be an invasion from Sicily. But it is no easier to conceive Sikels going to Egypt from southern Italy or from Epeiros than to conceive them going from Sicily. It is much harder to conceive them going from the spots that were to be Rome and Tusculum. It is not for me to deny that the *Shakarusha* came from some unknown Σικελία in Europe, or that they came from Sagalassos or from Saghalien in Eastern Asia. I only ask not to be called on to affirm anything at all about them, till I see some evidence for what is said of them which would be enough, according to Western laws of criticism, to make it at least "highly probable."

I have casually lighted in a Phœnician excursion on a people called *Rutenu* (Meltzer, Geschichte der Karthager, i. 17). Surely they came from Rodez, "civitas Ruthenorum," or else from the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, where Ruthenians still abound. Or haply those parts were settled by them.

NOTE VII. pp. 134, 137.

The Sikel System of Weights.

That the Sikeliot Greeks adopted a non-Hellenic standard for the weight of their coins is implied by Head (Hist. Num. xlvii), and asserted by Holm (G. S. i. 159). I am not so much concerned

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

with the particular standard and its agreement with any other standard, as I am with the fact that the Greeks adopted foreign customs in so important a point, and kept the foreign names. It is, in that point of view, the most important case of Sikel influence on the Greeks.

I assume, with the writers to whom I refer, that there was a standard of weight common to the Sikels with the Italian nations in Italy, the base of which was the Roman *libra* for silver, and the Roman *as*, the pound of copper, for bronze. I assume that it was directly from their Sikel neighbours that the Greeks of Sicily took it. It is of course possible to suppose some more roundabout road, but this is surely the most natural. The main point is that the Latin, that is Sikel, names of the weights made their way into the Greek tongue.

Varro (LL. v. 173) had noticed the fact, but he rather turns things about when he says, "in argento nummi, id ab Siculis." The chief authority for the matter is Pollux, in two passages which are referred to by Holm (i. 402). In the first (iv. 174) he quotes Aristotle on the Akragantine Constitution (C. Müller, ii. 169), as mentioning a fine, ὡς ἐζημίουν πεντήκοντα λίτρας, and as adding, ἡ δὲ λίτρα δύναται ὀβολὸν Αἰγιναῖον. In the Constitution of Himera (C. Müller, ib.), he told how οἱ Σικελιῶται τοὺς μὲν δύο χαλκοῦς ἑξάντα καλοῦσι, τὸν δὲ ἕνα οὐγκίαν, τοὺς δὲ τρεῖς τριάντα, τοὺς δὲ ἓξ ἡμίλιτρον, τὸν δὲ ὀβολὸν λίτραν, τὸν δὲ Κορίνθιον στατῆρα δεκάλιτρον, ὅτι δέκα ὀβολοὺς δύναται.

In the other passage (ix. 79, 80), Aristotle, speaking of the Constitution of Taras (C. Müller, ii. 174), mentions the coins with Taras son of Poseidôn on the dolphin; καλεῖσθαί φησι νόμισμα παρ' αὐτοῖς νοῦμμον. Pollux goes back to the passages quoted already about λίτρα and οὐγκία. He then quotes several passages from the comic poets; one from Diphilos ἐν Σικελικῷ, and several from Epicharmos, who has something to say about both νοῦμμος and λίτρα. The former word he brings in with the remark, ὁ δὲ νοῦμμος δοκεῖ μὲν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων τοὔνομα τοῦ νομίσματος, ἐστὶ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ Δωριέων. He then quotes Epicharmos (Lorenz, 254) ἐν ταῖς Χύτραις, for two passages;

ἀλλ' ὅμως καλαὶ καὶ πῖοι ἄρνες, εὑρήσουσι δέ μοι
καὶ νούμμους· πωλατᾶς γάρ ἐντι τᾶς ματρός.

And again;

κᾶρυξ ἰών
εὐθὺς πρίω μοι δέκα νούμμων μόσχον καλήν.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Epicharmos has also λίτρα and its derivatives in two passages in the Ἀρπαγαί (Lorenz, 221);

ὥσπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες,
αἵθ' ὑπονέμονται γυναῖκας μωρὰς, ἢν πεντώγκιον,
ἀργυρίου, ἄλλαι δὲ λίτραν, αἱ δ' ἂν ἡμιλίτριον.

And again;

ἐγὼ γὰρ τό γε βαλάντιον λίτρα
καὶ δεκάλιτρος στατὴρ, ἑξάντιον τε καὶ πεντώγκιον [al. πεντούγκιον].

Pollux goes on to say, ἔχει μὲν δή τε καὶ φιλόκαλον ἡ τούτων γνῶσις, and enlarges on the advantages of numismatic knowledge, complaining that Xenophôn did not say more about Persian coins.

The case seems plain enough. Λίτρα is simply *libra*. Whether νοῦμμος and νόμισμα have any remoter connexion philologers must settle; it is plain that νοῦμμος was adopted as a strange word into the Greek language. And the Greeks must have found the foreign standard very convenient, when they could shape their mouths to adopt such a hideous word as οὐγκία. These words all came into Greek much as *dollar* and *florin* have come into English on the two sides of Ocean.

Bentley (Phalaris, p. 428 seqq.) goes largely, from his point of view, into Sicilian money, νοῦμμος, λίτρα, and everything else, and quotes all our passages and others. But questions about Sikels and Latins do not seem to have struck him. His notion is that of Varro and Pollux, that the Romans borrowed their coinage from Sicily (p. 474). "It appears therefore from the whole account, That the ancient *Romans* had all their Names and Species of Money from the *Dorians* of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and continu'd every word in its original Sense."

The Elymians seem also to have adopted a Sikel coinage. There was at least an ONKIA at Eryx. See Kinch, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (Berlin, 1889), vol. xiv. p. 202, an article to which I shall have to refer again.

It must be remembered that in the first estate of λίτρα, νοῦμμος, and οὐγκία, we are not yet dealing with coined money. The *æs rude* was still weighed to the seller.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

NOTE VIII. p. 158.

The Town of Trinakia.

I have already, when speaking of the names of the island, made some reference to the existence of a town bearing a name hardly to be distinguished from that which became the poetic name of the island, and which is indeed actually the same with some of its shapes. The form Τρινακία passes for the name of a single Sikel town in Diodôros, and for that of the island of Sicily in Dionysios Periêgêtês (see above, p. 464). The oddest thing is that even Diodôros could calmly record and descant on the fates of the town of Trinakia without being led on to think of something wider. And it is somewhat strange that we never hear of Trinakia by that name save in one place of Diodôros, while in several later writers we hear of a town with a name so like to it that we cannot help thinking that it must be the same, and yet we cannot be quite sure.

According to Diodôros (xii. 29) the Sikel town of Trinakia was destroyed by the Syracusans (τὴν πόλιν ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατέσκαψαν). It was at that time the greatest of the Sikel towns, and abounded in valiant men. That is all; but the description is so long and so emphatic that we are tempted to look for some further notice touching the case of Trinakia earlier or later.

Diodôros, as we know very well, sometimes nods. He may have got hold of a wrong name or a wrong story. But, if we were dealing with any other name than one so tempting as Trinakia, we should simply wonder that a place so important at this particular moment should never be heard of at any other time. To be sure it was destroyed; but destroyed cities on valuable sites have a way of being rebuilt. But for the name, we should never think of doubting Diodôros' story. Only in this case it is not the story that comes first in point of importance, but the name. The fact or seeming fact that there was a town called Trinakia is part of the corroborative evidence in the history of the name Trinakria as applied to the island. Is there any reason to doubt the fact? There is the statement of Diodôros, borrowed of course from some earlier writer; and there is really nothing against it.

Stephen of Byzantium has a town Tyrakinai. Τυρακῖναι, πόλις

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Σικελίας, μικρὰ μὲν, εὐδαίμων δ' ὅμως. τὰ ἐθνικὰ Τυρακιναῖος καὶ Τυρακιναία θηλυκόν. Τυρακὴν δὲ αὐτὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καλεῖ. Pliny (iii. 14), among the *communes* of Sicily, reckons "Tiracienses," a form on which several conjectures have been made. The "Tiracinum" (or any other spelling) of Cicero (Verres, iii. 56) is the proper name of a man; but it may, as Bunbury suggests, come from the town. It has been usual (see Amico on Fazello, i. 407) to set down this Tirakia, or whatever the best form may be, as being the same with the Trinakia of Diodôros. Bunbury somewhat more than doubts, and Holm (i. 73) leaves the case open, an example which it may be prudent to follow. There seems to be nothing directly for and nothing directly against the notion that the same place is meant. The names are near enough to be corruptions of one another; only *Trinakia* is such a very marked name that one would have expected it to be either preserved accurately or, if changed at all, improved into *Trinakria*. On the whole, it seems to me that we may fairly bring in the Τρινακία of Diodôros (like that of Dionysios Periêgêtês) as part of the story of the names Θρινακία and Τρινακρία; but that it is dangerous to bring the Tiracia (or whatever it is to be) of Pliny and Stephen into the argument.

Schubring (Historisch-geographische Studien über Altsicilien, p. 116) goes at some length into the site of Trinakia, which he places at Aidone.

NOTE IX. p. 159.

The Three Towns called Hybla.

It is plain from the notices of the places themselves that there were more towns than one in Sicily called Hybla. And there are two passages, in Pausanias (v. 23. 4), and in Stephen of Byzantium (Ὕβλαι), in which an attempt is made to distinguish them; but both places, as they stand in the ordinary text, are anything but clear. The passage in Pausanias records an Hyblaian offering at Olympia, and bears on the Sikel religion by helping us to the name of a goddess Hybla or Hyblaia. The gift was an archaic figure of Zeus with a sceptre, Ὑβλαίων δέ φασιν εἶναι ἀνάθημα. He then goes on;

αἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις αἱ Ὕβλαι, Γερεᾶτις ἐπίκλησιν, τὴν δὲ, ὥσπερ

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

γε καὶ ἦν, ἐκάλουν μείζονα. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐν τῇ Καταναίᾳ, ἡ μὲν ἐρῆμος ἐς ἅπαν, ἡ δὲ κώμη τε Καταναίων ἡ Γερεᾶτις, καὶ ἱερόν σφισιν Ὑβλαίας ἐστὶ θεοῦ, παρὰ Σικελιωτῶν ἔχον τιμάς.

The text is clearly corrupt or defective, and the first sentence has been ingeniously corrected by Schubring (Umwanderung, 452, Holm. i. 362);

δύο δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις αἱ Ὕβλαι, ἡ μὲν Γερεᾶτις ἐπίκλησιν, τὴν δὲ ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἦν, ἐκάλουν μείζονα.

Conjectural emendation is dangerous work, but this seems fairly safe. But even without the correction, we might take the passage as meaning that in the Katanaian territory, as it stood in Pausanias' time, there were two places called Hybla. One, called the Greater, was then altogether forsaken; the other, called Gereatis, still remained as a village, and still kept the temple of the local goddess.

Now Thucydides (vi. 62, cf. Plutarch, Nik. 15) speaks of Ὕβλα ἡ Γελεᾶτις, clearly as a Sikel town, and (vi. 94) of Ὑβλαῖοι as a Sikel people. This Hybla must be the same as the Γερεᾶτις of Pausanias. We may further assume that this is the Hybla mentioned by Diodôros (xi. 88) as an independent Sikel town, and also the Hybla of Livy (xxvi. 21) and Cicero (Verr. iii. 43). This Hybla, Γερεᾶτις or Γελεᾶτις, has nothing whatever to do with the Hyblaian Megara, which is quite distinct in all our authorities (see Livy, xxiv. 30, 35; Cic. Verr. v. 25), and which, in the times dealt with by Thucydides and Diodôros, was not an independent Sikel city, but a destroyed Greek one.

But in Strabo we find a Hybla which has something to do with Megara. He (vi. 2. 2) makes Megara occupy the site of an earlier Hybla. In his day there was no city of either name; but the site kept the name of Hybla on account of the fame of the Hyblaian honey (τοὺς μὲν Χαλκιδέας κτίσαι Νάξον, τοὺς δὲ Δωριέας Μέγαρα, τὴν Ὕβλαν πρότερον καλουμένην, αἱ μὲν οὖν πόλεις οἰκέτ' εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ τῆς Ὕβλης ὄνομα συμμένει διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ Ὑβλαίου μέλιτος). Cf. viii. 7. 5.

We are thus led to two towns called Hybla, one, seemingly on the same site as the Hyblaian Megara, at any rate in close connexion with it, and also known as the Greater Hybla; the other elsewhere, and known as the Less, also as Gereatis or Geleatis. Thus armed, we may go on to attack the very difficult and clearly corrupt passage of Stephen of Byzantium. I give it first as it appears in the ordinary text;

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Ὕβλαι, τρεῖς πόλεις Σικελίας. ἡ μείζων ἧς οἱ πολῖται Ὑβλαῖοι, ἡ μικρὰ ἧς οἱ πολῖται Ὑβλαῖοι, Γαλεῶται, Μεγαρεῖς. ἡ δὲ ἐλάττων Ἥρα καλεῖται. ἔστι καὶ πόλις Ἰταλίας. τὴν δὲ Ὕβλαν ἀπὸ Ὕβλου τοῦ βασιλέως, διὰ τὸ πολλὰς Ὕβλας καλεῖσθαι τῶν Σικελῶν πόλεων. τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Μεγαρεῖς ἐκάλουν· μία δὲ τῶν Ὕβλων Τίελλα καλεῖται, ὡς Φίλιστος τετάρτῳ Σικελικῶν.

Now here the sentence beginning *τὴν δὲ Ὕβλαν* is corrupt on the face of it. The first sentence too seems strange. It is oddly worded, and its apparent meaning brings in a difficulty. Stephen seems to identify his *μικρὰ Ὕβλα* at once with Megara and with Hybla Geleatis (for his *Γαλεῶται* must surely be the same word as the last), while in the other accounts Hybla Geleatis and Hyblaian Megara are distinct. But the ingenious emendation of Schubring (Umwanderung, 452; Holm, i. 362) sets all right, by simply moving a single word back to its right place. The opening sentence now reads;

Ὕβλαι. τρεῖς πόλεις Σικελίας, ἡ μείζων ἧς οἱ πολῖται Ὑβλαῖοι Μεγαρεῖς, ἡ μικρὰ ἧς οἱ πολῖται Ὑβλαῖοι Γαλεῶται, ἡ δὲ ἐλάττων Ἡραία καλεῖται.

We thus get a Greater Hybla, the same as Megara, and a Lesser, the same as Geleatis. But the matter becomes yet clearer when Schubring goes on to correct the manifestly corrupt sentence in the middle. On the road, besides putting *Ἡραία* for *Ἥρα*, he turns King Hyblos into the form which he has in Thucydides. The passage now stands;

ἡ δὲ μείζων Ὕβλα ἀπὸ Ὕβλωνος τοῦ βασιλέως. διὰ δὲ τὸ πολλὰς Ὕβλας καλεῖσθαι τῶν Σικελῶν πόλεων τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐκάλουν Μεγαρεῖς· μία δὲ τῶν Ὕβλων Στύελλα καλεῖται.

The Greater Hybla then is the same as Megara, or was represented by Megara, or perhaps in the end represented Megara. We shall better trace its fates when we come to the history of the Greek cities. We shall then find that it stood a little to the north of the site where Megara was planted (see p. 388). It is hard to say what became of it while Megara was either a Greek city or a fortress of Syracuse. It was certainly in being in Roman times, when it struck coins (Head, 129), bearing the head of the goddess Hybla on one side, and a bee on the other. The bee is enough to show that they belong to a Hybla near to the "Hyblæi montes," and not to the Galeatic Hybla at Paternò.

This last, the Lesser or Galeatic Hybla, remained Sikel while anything remained Sikel, and kept the temple of the local goddess Hybla or Hyblaia. Pausanias, immediately after the passage

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

already quoted, goes on to make a very important statement on the highest authority; *τεράτων σφᾶς καὶ ἐνυπνίων Φίλιστος ὁ Ἀρχομενίδου φησὶν ἐξηγητὰς εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα εὐσεβείᾳ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ βαρβάρων προσκεῖσθαι.* The word *βαρβάρων* is clearly a genuine bit of Philistos, which Pausanias may have copied without fully understanding its force, just as, in the passage before quoted, he is likely enough to have used the word *Σικελιωτῶν* without thinking much of its force. That is to say, in the days of Philistos Hybla had received so little Greek culture that its people were still spoken of as *βάρβαροι*. They were still *Σικελοί*; ages before Pausanias, *Σικελοί* and *Σικελιῶται* had ceased to be distinguished. Cicero (De Div. i. 20) bears an independent witness from the same source to the gifts of the men of Hybla in the way of interpreting dreams. It is again Philistos whom he quotes for the story about the mother of Dionysios seeking for knowledge about the destiny of her unborn child from the "interpretes portentorum qui Galeotæ tum in Sicilia habebantur." He perhaps hardly remembered that these Galeotæ were the same as the "Hyblenses" whose "pactiones" he had been called on to speak of long before. Ælian also (V. H. xii. 46) has a story about Dionysios himself consulting the *Γαλεῶται*; and Hesychios has, *Γαλεοί· μάντεις· οὗτοι κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ᾤκησαν· καὶ γένος τι, ὡς φησὶ Φανόδημος καὶ Ῥίνθων Ταραντῖνος.* They were doubtless a prophetic family, like Iamidai or any other.

The origin of the name *Γαλεᾶται*, *Γαλεῶται*, and the like, is by no means clear. If it be Greek, it may be connected with the Geleontes at Athens, who appear also as a tribe at Teos in C. I. G. 3078 (vol. ii. p. 670), and with their epônymos Geleón son of Iôn (Herod. vi. 66; Eurip. Ion, 1579). There is also even a *Ζεὺς Γελεῶν* (Duncker, v. 84), in whose name *γελεῶν* (*γελᾶν*) is made equivalent to *λάμπειν*. But if it be Sikel, and indeed if it be Greek either, assuredly nothing is added to our knowledge by telling us that Galeos or Galeôtês was the son of Apollôn and the Hyperborean Themistô; or even that Themistô was the daughter of a Hyperborean king. The story of which this genealogy forms a part is a curious one, but it is the creation of Greek fancy after the genuine Sikel tradition was forgotten. It comes in a confused entry of Stephen of Byzantium, where the one genuine bit of knowledge comes in an alternative sentence, *τινὲς δὲ ὅτι Γαλεῶται μάντεων εἶδος Σικελῶν.* It appears that the name *γαλεός*, which also meant a kind of lizard (otherwise *ἀσκαλαβώτης*), was played on by the comic

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

poets. Stephen quotes these lines from Archippos in his play of Ἰχθύες;

τί λέγεις; σὺ μάντις· εἰσὶ γὰρ θαλάσσιοι
γαλεοί γε πάντων μάντεων σοφώτατοι.

This suggests that the play, acted in B.C. 415, may have contained some references to Sicilian matters. As for the genealogical story, as far as one can make out anything from the confused version of it in Stephen, Galeos and Telmissos were two brothers, or at least two fellow Hyperboreans, who are bidden by the oracle at Dôdôna to sail, one to the east and the other to the west, and wherever an eagle should carry off the thighs of the victims which they sacrificed, there to build an altar (τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ δυσμὰς πλεῖν, ὅπου δ' ἂν αὐτῶν θυομένων ἀετὸς ἁρπάσῃ τὰ μηρία, βωμὸν ἐνταῦθα ἱδρῦσαι). This, it would seem, happened to Telmissos in Karia, where he founded the temple of Apollôn of Telmissos. To Galeos it happened somewhere in Sicily, and presumably at Hybla. See Brunet de Presle, 466. The relation between the worship of Telmissos and that of Hybla is a matter for professed mythologists. But it may be noticed that in Athênaios, xv. 13, there is a story of Karians consulting Apollôn at Hybla.

It seems now pretty well agreed to fix the Galeatic Hybla at Paternò. So say Schubring, Holm, and others. That Paternò represents one of the Hyblas is shown by an inscription found there and now preserved at Catania, VENERI VICTRICI HYBLENSI. That is to say, among other Greek imaginings, the local goddess got identified with the Greek Aphroditê. And there is every reason to believe that the Hybla at Paternò is the Galeatic Hybla, the Lesser Hybla, the Hybla of Thucydides, Diodôros, Livy, and Plutarch. The last writer speaks of it (Nik. 15) as πολίχνιον μικρόν. Livy (xxvi. 21) seems to class it among "ignobiliores terræ," as opposed to Morgantia. Fazello in his day, and Bunbury in ours, were misled by the corrupt reading of Stephen. Fazello (i. 160) confounded Greater and Lesser, and placed it at Judica (but see Amico, i. 410). But Bunbury merely took the Galeatic Hybla to be also μείζων; he put it in the right place at Paternò. Head (Hist. Num. 129, 132) more distinctly confounds μείζων and Γελεᾶτις, fixing the coins which bear the legend Ὑβλας Μεγδλας to the Hybla "on the southern slope of Mount Aetna, not far from the river Symaethus." This is more like Adernò than Paternò, but Paternò must be meant. Paternò distinctly answers

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the description of Thucydides (vi. 94), in that it lay between Katanê and Centuripa, and also that of Pausanias that it was in the Katanaian territory. The odd thing is that Pausanias places the Greater, the Megarian, Hybla also in the Katanaian territory. It may have been so in his day.

The third Hybla, the Heraian, the Less than the Lesser, seems to be satisfactorily placed by Schubring (Historisch-geographische Studien, p. 109) at the Sicilian Ragusa. This is doubtless, as he remarks, the Sikel Hybla besieged by Hippokratês (Herod. vii. 155). To the questions, or perhaps rather guesses, which the place suggests, I have given a few words in the text. And it is somewhere in its neighbourhood that one is tempted to place the site of the battle between Phintias and Hiketas recorded by Diodôros, xxii. 4, which happened *περὶ τὸν Ὕβλαιον*. One does not quite see what *ὁ Ὕβλαιος* is; but the text is clearly corrupt. A little way off we see the very late form *ἐν Συρακούσῃ*.

There remains the curious entry in Stephen, *μία τῶν Ὑβλῶν Τίελλα* [*Στύελλα*] *καλεῖται*. *Στύελλα* seems a perfectly safe correction from his other entry; *Στύελλα, φρούριον τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρίδος· τὸ ἐθνικὸν Στυελλῖνος, ὡς Ἐντελλῖνος*. This fixes the geography. This Styella was a fortress in the territory of Megara, and might likely enough get the epithet of Hyblaian. Hence Stephen's confusion. It is therefore only as a likeness of name that we have anything to do with the Stylla or Atalla in Lykophrôn's story of Aigestês (see below, p. 548). A Sikan name might easily be repeated at both ends. See Schubring, Umwanderung des Megarischen Meerbusens, 462.

NOTE X. p. 164.

The Palici and their Lake.

The Lake of the Palici and the local worship are spoken of by a good many writers. The chief source about them is Macrobius, v. 18. 15. He is led to the subject by a well-known passage in Virgil, Æn. ix. 581;

> "Stabat in egregiis Arcentis filius armis
> Pictus acu chlamydem et ferrugine clarus Hibera
> Insignis facie, genitor quem miserat Arcens
> Eductum Martis [al. matris] luco Symæthia circum
> Flumina, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Here we gladly welcome a genuine Sikel hero, though we are allowed to know only his father's name and not his own. (It is somewhat harsh to make him, with Servius, Arcens, son of Arcens.) Macrobius remarks that the reference shows Virgil's careful study of Greek writers, as the Palici were hardly mentioned in any Latin book—that is, we must suppose, any book older than Virgil; "apud nullum penitus auctorem Latinum quod sciam repperi, sed de Græcorum penitissimis litteris hanc historiam eruit Maro." And again, "hæc est omnis historia quæ de Palicis eorumque fratribus in Græcis tantum modo litteris invenitur, quas Maro non minus quam Latinas hausit." He quotes a number of Greek writers who mentioned the twin-gods, beginning with Æschylus, in his play of the Αἰτναῖαι, who, he remarks, shows his Sicilian tendencies ("utpote vir Siculus," as Macrobius calls him; see above, p. 489) both in this particular reference and in the general subject of the tragedy. We have also other Greek notices besides those collected by Macrobius, and some Latin. In our own time the subject has been largely gone into in a dissertation by K. G. Michälis, "Die Paliken. Ein Beitrag zur Würdigung Altitalischer Culte." Halle, 1856.

Let us first look to the site. Of this there can be no reasonable doubt. The physical phænomena, though somewhat modified in the lapse of ages, are there to speak for themselves. The site in the plain between the height of Mineo and the height of Rammacca is clearly marked out, and I do not know that there has been any dispute about it (see Fazello, i. 144; Brunet de Presle, 462; Schubring, die Landschaft des Menas und Erykes; A. J. Evans, Manchester Guardian, May 14, 1889; and the guide-books of Dennis and Gsell Fels). The only one of Macrobius' Greek writers who at all clearly marks the geography is Kallias of Syracuse, the historian of Agathoklês, in a passage which has been already quoted (see p. 153) for the site of Eryca. He goes on; τὸ παλαιὸν Σικελῶν γεγενημένη πόλις· ὑφ' ἧ καὶ τοὺς Δέλλους καλουμένους εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. Diodôros (xi. 79, 80) is equally clear. He looks at the spot from the other side of the plain, and brings in the lake, not among the general wonders of Sicily, but when he has to describe the career of Ducetius, and his foundation of the town of Palica, of which we shall have to speak hereafter. Strabo and other writers speak of the wonders as happening in Sicily, or ἐν Παλικοῖς, or at Palica the city, without saying in what part of Sicily

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

it is. So Polemôn in Macrobius; *περὶ δὲ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον φῶκησαν Παλικηνοὶ πόλιν ἐπώνυμον τούτων τῶν δαιμόνων Παλικήν.* So Stephen of Byzantium, who puts his account under the head, **Παλική, πόλις Σικελίας.** He adds, *Θεόφιλος ἐν ἑνδεκάτῳ Περιηγήσεως Σικελίας Παλικήνην κρήνην φησὶν εἶναι.* And he says that the gentile form was **Παλικῖνος,** like **Ἐρυκῖνος,** and others (see above, p. 490). Even Virgil's geography may be accepted in a wide sense. It clearly misled Vibius Sequester (18) when he wrote, "Symæthos Siciliæ, vicinus Palicis." The Synaithos itself is not very near; but in the plain of Menas, a tributary of Symaithos, we may be said to be "Symæthia circum flumina."

Of the physical phænomena of the place we have several pictures, both in the writers quoted by Macrobius and in others. Kallias, having mentioned the **Δέλλοι,** goes on with the singular piece of kindred which called the fountains the brothers of the deities; *οὗτοι [οἱ Δέλλοι] κρατῆρες δύο εἰσὶν οὓς ἀδελφοὺς τῶν Παλικῶν οἱ Σικελιῶται νομίζουσιν, τὰς δὲ ἀναφορὰς τῶν πομφολύγων παραπλησίας βραζούσαις ἔχουσιν.* Polemôn, that is the geographer, *ὁ περιηγητής,* in a special treatise *περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ θαυμαζομένων ποταμῶν,* also brings out this odd piece of genealogy, and is much clearer about the physical properties of the water;

οἱ δὲ Παλικοὶ πρυσιγουρευόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις αὐτόχθονες θεοὶ νομίζονται. ὑπάρχουσιν δὲ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἄμφω ἀδελφοὶ κρατῆρες χαμαίζηλοι . . . . . φέρεται δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὀσμὴ βαρεῖα θείου, καὶ τοῖς πλησίον ἱσταμένοις καρηβάρησιν ἐμποιοῦσα δεινήν, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἐστὶ θολερὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν χρόαν ὁμοιότατον χαμαιρύπῃ λευκῷ. φέρεται δὲ κυλπούμενόν τε καὶ παφλάζον, οἷαί εἰσιν αἱ δῖναι τῶν ζεόντων ἀναβολάδην ὑδάτων.

The depth, he adds, is so great that oxen and yokes of mules have been swallowed up.

Diodôros (xi. 89) describes the *κρατῆρες* at some length. They are like fiercely boiling caldrons (*παραπλησίων ἔχοντες τὴν φύσιν τοῖς λέβησι τοῖς ὑπὸ πυρὸς πολλοῦ καιομένοις καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ διάπυρον ἀναβάλλουσιν*); they send up *σπινθῆρας ἐξαισίους ἐξ ἀμυθήτου βυθοῦ.* No one has scientifically examined the phænomena for sheer fear (*ἔμφασιν μὲν οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἀναβαλλόμενον ὕδωρ ὡς ὑπάρχει διάπυρον, οὐ μὴν ἀκριβῆ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν ἔχει διὰ τὸ μηδένα τολμᾶν ἅψασθαι τούτου· τηλικαύτην γὰρ ἔχει κατάπληξιν ἡ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναβολὴ ὥστε δοκεῖν ὑπὸ θείας τινὸς ἀνάγκης γίνεσθαι τὸ συμβαῖνον*). He speaks of the noise and motion and the sulphurous smell (*τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ θείου κατάκορον τὴν ὄσφρησιν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ χάσμα βρόμον πολὺν καὶ φοβερὸν ἐξίησι*), and adds, what seems

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

contrary to modern experience, that the lake never dries up (*τὸ δὲ δὴ τούτων παραδοξότερον, οὔτε ὑπερεκχεῖται τὸ ὑγρὸν, οὔτε ἀπολείπει*). He then speaks of the oath, and then of the temple in its beautiful plain (*ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐν πεδίῳ θεοπρεπεῖ κείμενον καὶ στοαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις καταλύσεσιν ἱκανῶς κεκοσμημένον.*

Strabo (vi. 2. p. 38) has a short notice; *οἱ Παλικοὶ κρατῆρας ἔχουσιν ἀναβάλλοντας ὕδωρ εἰς θολοειδὲς ἀναφύσημα καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν δεχομένους μυχόν.*

Stephen of Byzantium gives a not very intelligent account, in which he seems to speak of only one fountain; *ἔστι καὶ κρήνη τις ἐν Παλίκοις τῆς Σικελίας δεκάκλινος* [what is the exact point of this epithet?]. *αὕτη δ' ἀναρρίπτει ὕδωρ εἰς ὕψος ἓξ πήχεις, ὥστε ὑπὸ τῶν θεωρούντων νομίζεσθαι κατακλυσθήσεσθαι τὸ πεδίον καὶ πάλιν εἰς ἑαυτὸ καθίστασθαι.*

The professed dealers in wonders brought together in Westermann's collection of *Παραδοξογράφοι* (Brunswick, 1839) have naturally something to tell us. Thus the false Aristotle *περὶ Θαυμασίων Ἀκουσμάτων* (57) describes the place by name—*ἐν Παλικοῖς τῆς Σικελίας*—in nearly the same words as Stephen. And Notiôn, a special collector of wonders about lakes and fountains, quotes (8. Westermann, p. 184) Isigonos of Nikaia for another account of the *κρήνη ἐν Παλικοῖς*, which is essentially the same. Antigonos of Karystos too, in his *ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή* (121 or 133), has an account, copied from Hippôn (Hippys) of Rhêgion. He gives a date of a building which I cannot verify; *φησὶν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐπὶ βασιλέως Ἐπαινέτου ὀλυμπιάδος ἑκτῆς καὶ τριακοστῆς, ἐν ᾗ Ἀρυτάμας Λάκων νικᾷ στάδιον, τῆς Σικελίας ἐν Παλίκοις οἰκοδομηθῆναι τόπον.* (No such king or archôn seems to be found in Ol. 36. 1, that is, 636 B.C.) But the description seems to fall in with the other accounts; *εἰς ὃν ὅστις ἂν εἰσέλθῃ, εἰ μὲν κατακλιθείη, ἀποθνήσκειν, εἰ δὲ περιπατοίη, οὐδὲν πάσχειν.* And in the same collection (159 or 175) is an account from Lykos of phænomena in the Leontine territory, which have been held to be the same as those of our Palici; *ἐν τῇ Λεοντίνων ἱστορεῖν Λύκον τοὺς ἀνομαζομένους* [the blank has been filled with *Δέλλους* and *κρατῆρας*] *ἀναζεῖν μὲν ὡς θερμότατον τῶν ἑψομένων, τὰς δὲ πηγὰς εἶναι ψυχράς. τῶν δὲ πλησιαζόντων αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ὀρνίθων γένος ἀποθνήσκειν εὐθὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν.* This last is certainly not true of the lake of the Palici—I cannot say what might happen if one lay down. But this story seems to be the same as that in Pliny, N. H. xxxi. 19; "Necare aquas . . . .

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

dicit Lycus in Leontinis tertio die quam quis biberit." (Cf. more on Sicilian lakes in c. 18.) Only the Leontines had a lake of their own, and Diodôros at least would never have thought of drinking the holy waters of the Palici. And are we, with Holm (i. 369), to see a reference to our Palici in a story in Solinus (iv. 6) of waters which discovered thieves by washing their eyes? "Qui oculis medentur, et coarguendis valent furibus; nam quisquis sacramento raptum negat, lumina aquis attractat; ubi perjurium non est, cernit clarius, si perfidia abnuit, detegitur facinus cæcitate, et captis oculis admissum fatetur." This comes under Sardinia, just before Solinus reaches Sicily. It was, as Michälis (p. 30) says, from Solinus, or from the same source as Solinus, that Priscian, in his Periegesis (456; Müller, Geog. ii. 194) found the description which has nothing to answer to it in Dionysios;

> "Sardiniæ post quam pelago circumfua tellus
> Fontibus e liquidis præbet miracula mundo.
> Quod sanant oculis ægros, damnantque nefando
> Perjuros furto quos tacto flumine cæcant."

It is hard to have our Sicilian marvels so calmly moved off to the other kingdom of Victor Amadeus; but the marvel-mongers seem to have thought that they might say anything about the lake of the Palici, with its name or without. It is not easy to see, with Michälis (p. 14), our lake in Solinus' description (v. 2) of the lake by Pelôros (see p. 58). But it may be so; and one would not venture to say that the Lake of the Palici is not the one described by Philostephanos of Kyrênê in the same collection (Westermann, p. 180);

> γαίῃ δ' ἐν Σικελῶν Τρινακρίδι χεῦμα δέδεικται
> αἰνότατον λίμνη, καίπερ ἐοῦσ' ὀλίγη,
> Ἰσχυρὸν δίνῃσιν· ὃ πρὶν ποσὶ παῦρα τινάξῃς,
> αἰφνιδίως ξηρὴν σ' ἤλασεν ἐς ψάμαθον.

One of the extracts just given leads us from the physical phænomena of the spot to the nature of the local deities and their worship. It speaks of the waters of our lake—if it be our lake—as detecting one particular kind of perjury by a sort of physical power. This gift of physical discernment of moral right and wrong is not uncommon among the deities of Sicily and their surroundings (see p. 188), and it comes out in other shapes in what we read of the holy place of the Palici. The accounts vary a good deal in detail, but they all agree in describing the oath taken at

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the sanctuary of the twin-gods as the most solemn form of oath known in Sicily, and they speak of its breach as always punished by some frightful judgement on the offender. This is quite consistent with the benevolent character which the Palici share with other Sikel deities. The protectors of the slave needed some special power to avenge him. It is in this point of view, with reference to the epithet applied to the deity, that the Virgilian passage with which Macrobius begins his account is most instructive. Where the poet found his "placabilis Palicus" in the singular one might like to know; but the epithet at least is well chosen. This passage must be taken along with the other so singularly like it in the seventh book (762);

> "Virbius, insignem quem mater Aricia misit,
> Eductum Egeriæ lucis, humentia circum
> Litora, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianæ."

In both places the epithet seems to have puzzled Servius, as the one which concerned him puzzled also Macrobius. Servius tells how the Palici, like Diana and some other deities, were first worshipped with human sacrifices, but that their ritual afterwards grew milder ("primo humanis sacrificiis placabantur; postea quibusdam sacris mitigati sunt et eorum immutata sacrificia. Inde ergo *placabilis ara*, quia mitigata sunt eorum numina"). All this is possible enough; but it is all clearly made out of Virgil's epithet. Macrobius himself has a more singular explanation, which carries us back to some of the strange things in the Παραδοξογράφοι; "Illic invocato loci numine testatum faciebat esse jurator de quo juraret, quod si fideliter faceret discedebat inlæsus, si vero subesset jurijurando mala conscientia, mox in lacu amittebat vitam falsus jurator. Hæc res ita religionem fratrum commendabat ut crateres quidem *implacabiles*, Palici autem *placabiles vocarentur*."

The words of Macrobius here sound as if the offenders were actually drowned in the holy waters. This does not appear in all the accounts, as in the very full one which he copies from Polemôn. All worshippers must observe the strictest purity (*προσιέναι ἁγιστεύοντας χρὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπό τε παντὸς ἁγοὺς καὶ συνουσίας ἔτι τε καί τινων ἐδεσμάτων*). The oath is held by the Sikeliots for the most binding that can be taken. Its fashion is thus described;

οἱ δὲ ὅρκωται γραμμάτιον ἔχοντες ἀγορεύουσιν τοῖς ὀρκουμένοις περὶ ὧν ἂν χρῄζωσιν τοὺς ὅρκους· ὁ δὲ ὀρκούμενος θαλλὸν κραδαίνων, ἑστεμμένος

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ἄζωστος καὶ μονοχίτων, ἐφαπτόμενος τοῦ κρατῆρος ἐξ ὑποβολῆς δίεισιν τὸν ὅρκον, καὶ ἂν μὲν ἐμπεδώσῃ τοὺς ῥηθέντας ὅρκους, ἀσινὴς ἄπεισιν οἰκάδε, παραβάτης δὲ γενόμενος τῶν θεῶν ἐμποδὼν τελευτᾷ. τούτων δὲ γινομένων ἐγγυητὰς ὑπισχνοῦνται καταστήσειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἐπὴν νεαρόν τι γένηται, κάθαρσιν ὀφλισκάνοισιν τοῦ τεμένους.

The other two writers quoted by Macrobius do not describe the oath. He himself mentions the sureties in a somewhat different shape;

"Cum furti negati vel cujusque modi rei fides quæritur et jusjurandum a suspecto petitur, uterque ab omni contagione mundi ad crateres accedunt, accepto prius fideijussore a persona quæ juratura est de solvendo eo quod peteretur, quod si addixisset eventus."

The false Aristotle brings in the tablet for another purpose, and disposes of the offender in another way, both of which may remind us of English ways of dealing with witches. He also brings in the sureties as in Polemôn's account;

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὅρκος ὃς ἅγιος αὐτόθι δοκεῖ εἶναι· ὅσα γὰρ ὀμνύει τις, γράψας εἰς πινακίδιον ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν εὐορκῇ, ἐπιπολάζει τὸ πινακίδιον, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εὐορκῇ, τὸ μὲν πινακίδιον βαρὺ γενόμενον ἀφανίζεσθαί φασι, τὸν δ' ἄνθρωπον πίμπρασθαι. διὸ δὴ λαμβάνειν τὸν ἱερέα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐγγύας ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθαίρειν τινὰ τὸ ἱερόν.

All this, except the sureties, comes in nearly the same words in Stephen of Byzantium.

Diodôros (xi. 89) gives a somewhat different description of the oath, and of the punishment of the false swearer. In his version the divine judgement seems to light without any direct physical agency, as of water or fire;

τοιαύτης δὲ θεοπρεπείας οὔσης περὶ τὸ τέμενος, οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ὅρκων ἐνταῦθα συντελοῦνται, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιορκήσασι σύντομος ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου κόλασις ἀκολουθεῖ· τινὲς γὰρ τῆς ὁράσεως στερηθέντες τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τεμένους ἄφοδον ποιοῦνται· μεγάλης δ' οὔσης δεισιδαιμονίας οἱ τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχοντες, ὅταν ὑπό τινος ὑπεροχῆς κατισχύωνται, τῇ διὰ τῶν ὅρκων τούτων ἀναιρέσει κρίνονται.

This last at once leads to the sanctity of the precinct as an asylum for slaves. This will concern us more at a later stage of our story, and on it Diodôros, who for that time is all but a contemporary writer, is naturally emphatic.

This witness of the historian of Agyrium is in some sort the best that we have. In him alone we are able to read the actual writings

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of a man who had doubtless seen what he writes about. We may set this advantage against his late date. The earlier writers we have only in scraps, and many of them may have been writing at secondhand. In all there is a marked general agreement, combined with singular differences in detail. It is of course possible that the ritual may have differed at different times; yet a ritual of this kind is one of the things which are commonly most abiding.

In one account only do we hear of an oracle of the Palici. Macrobius says;

"Nec sine divinatione est Palicorum templum. Nam cum Siciliam sterilis annus arefecisset, divino Palicorum responso admoniti Siculi heroi cuidam certum sacrificium celebraverunt, et revertit ubertas."

It was, so Macrobius says, from the abundance of offerings of fruits ("omne genus frugum congesserunt in aram Palicorum") that the altar of the twin-gods got the epithet of "pinguis." It is more important to know who is the "heros quidam;" and this we learn from Macrobius' own extract from Xenagoras, a writer seemingly of the second century B.C.;

Καὶ οἱ Σικελοὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφορούσης ἔθυσαν Πεδιοκράτει τινι ἥρᾳ, προστάξαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐκ Παλικῶν χρηστηρίου, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον τῆς εὐφορίας πόλλοις δώροις τὸν βωμὸν τῶν Παλικῶν ἐνέπλησαν.

In so late a writer as Xenagoras, if he was only casually speaking of Sicilian matters, we cannot be sure that he would distinguish Σικελοί and Σικελιῶται. But the hero Pediokratês, whom Macrobius had clearly never heard of, might, notwithstanding his Greek name, claim an antiquity higher than either. He appears in Diodôros (iv. 23) as one of the Sikan (not Sikel) commanders who were overthrown by Hêraklês, and who received heroic honours in Diodôros' own day (*τοὺς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἡρωϊκῆς τιμῆς τυγχάνοντας*).

Does this last casual notice suggest a thought that our Palici may, after all, be something earlier than the Sikels? Can it be that, as the Greeks took their worship over from the Sikels, so the Sikels had already taken it over from a yet earlier people? There would, in such a case, be this difference that, however much the local worship may have been gradually hellenized, there is no reason to believe that Greeks ever displaced Sikels in possession of the local sanctuary, while, if the Palici were originally Sikan, Sikels must have displaced Sikans in its possession. It is to be

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

noted that Polemôn calls the Palici *αὐτόχθονες*, a word which, if used advisedly, would point to deities originally Sikan. And it is of course likely enough that all these local beliefs, springing out of the natural phænomena of the land, may have taken their first shape among the earliest inhabitants. The last passage quoted from Diodôros distinctly points to traditions and forms of worship which he looked on as Sikan as going on in his own day. The whole chthonian creed of Sicily may therefore in its origin be Sikan. But it comes to us in a Sikel shape, and we naturally connect that Sikel shape with the ancient beliefs of Italy. It was, we may be sure, with the keen instinct of an Italian antiquary that Virgil brought the gods of Sicily into his Italian story. We should like to know more of the "Martis lucus" (if that be the right reading, see above, p. 517) which he seems to connect with his single "Palicus." The single "Palicus" appears also in one place of Ovid (Pont. ii. 10. 25);

> "Hennæosque lacus et olentia stagna Palici
> Quique suis Cyanen miscet Anapus aquis."

Here our lake is quite among its fellows; but the best notice of all, putting the plural Palici thoroughly in their right place among the chthonian powers, comes in another passage of the same poet (Met. v. 405). Aidôneus is carrying off the Korê, and has not yet reached Kyana;

> "Perque lacus altos et olentia sulfure fertur
> Stagna Palicorum rupta ferventia terra."

Silius too (xiv. 219) has a reference to one of the functions of the Palici in his long list of Sicilian places;

> "Et qui præsenti domitant perjura Palici
> Pectora supplicio."

It is in their chthonian character that we have to look at the Palici. We need not suppose that, in the oldest belief of all, they had any parents. The generation of gods is a Greek, not an Italian idea. But it is a speaking fact that, while Greek fancy made them children either of Hêphaistos or of Zeus, one account, that preserved by Hêsychios, gives them for a father the Sikel fire-god Hadranus, the counterpart to Greek Hêphaistos, of whom we shall presently have more to say.

One thinks also again of Virgil's seeming connexion of the Palici with Mars, who himself may have started as a chthonian power.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

(See Preller, Römische Mythologie, 294 et seqq.) Servius, in his note on the passage in Virgil, among the other genealogical stories mentions one in which Zeus is said to have taken the shape of an eagle ("Alii dicunt Jovem hunc Palicum [Servius was bound to follow the number of his author] propter Junonis iracundiam in aquilam commutasse"). This at once connects itself with some references to the story in certain early Christian writings which were passed off under the name of Clement of Rome. In the Latin version of the so-called Recognitiones (x. 22), in a list of the lusts of Jupiter, we read, "stuprat . . . Europen . . . Eurymedusam . . . Thaliam Ætnam nympham, mutatus in vulturem, ex qua nascuntur apud Siciliam Palisci." (On this the editor Cotelerius refers to the passages in Servius and Stephen.) In the so-called Clementine Homilies (v. 13) is the parallel passage; *Εὐρώπῃ . . . συνῆλθεν, ἐξ ἧς Μίνως . . . Εὐριμεδούσῃ . . . ἐξ ἧς Μυρμίδων, Ἐρσαίου νύμφη, γενόμενος γὺψ, ἐξ ἧς οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ πάλαι σοφοί.* With the help of the parallel Latin, we may without danger adopt the suggestion of Cotelerius, and turn *πάλαι σοφοί* into Παλικοί or perhaps Παλισκοί. But what is meant by *Ἐρσαίου νύμφη*? *Ἐρσαία* perhaps, says Cotelerius, "roscida nympha" (cf. Il. xiv. 348), or perhaps *χερσαία*, "terrestris, a fabula vulgari Ætnæ seu Siciliæ humo infossæ." The eagle, according to Michälis (48), has to do with thunderbolts, and therefore with warm baths; so we do not refuse him in our chthonian mythology. But Michälis has given infinite trouble by referring to Clement of Alexandria instead of the false Clement of Rome. I might have wholly lost my way but for the kind guidance of Dr. Bright.

There is something very strange in the statement that the fountains were looked upon as the brothers of the deities to whom they were dedicated. But I do not see what other meaning can be got out of the text of our scraps, and it is dangerous to attempt to improve things by conjecture (see Michälis, p. 20). Guessing is more in place when we come to the names both of the Παλικοί and of their brothers the Δέλλοι. We may say, a little more certainly than Preller (Römische Mythologie, 524), "Vermuthlich ist weder der Name Delli noch der der Palici griechischen Ursprungs." On Δέλλοι, also written Δείλλοι, various attempts have been made (see Michälis, p. 22). They have been called the δειλοί, which is rather hard; they have been connected with ζέω and δᾶλος and Latin "duellum." For the Palici themselves there is at least ingenuity

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

in Michälis' (p. 63 et seqq.) connexion of the name with the verb *pallere*. *Palicus* is an adjective, like *amicus, apricus, pudicus*, and others. The name might refer to the colour of the waters, or to the effect of their sulphurous steam. Or it might be an adjective of reverence, like *φρικτός* in its Christian use, or "most dread sovereign." Other Latin derivations have suggested themselves. I do not quite understand Bishop Thirlwall when (Hist. Greece, iii. 205) he speaks of "an ancient and revered sanctuary of two deities, one of whom—Pales, the goddess of shepherds—was honoured at Rome, where her festival coincided with the birthday of the city." Nor can I quite follow Brunet de Presle (563); "Si nous osions risquer l'interprétation d'un mot si ancien, nous le ferions venir de *pales*, dénomination de la terre dans la langue italique." Indeed, though one would like a Latin derivation if one could find one, we are not absolutely bound to find one. We are not bound to find a Latin cognate for every Sikel word, and there is always the chance that local names may be Sikan. Of one thing we may be quite certain, namely that we are right in rejecting the received Greek derivation, *ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλιν ἱκέσθαι*. This is as old as the play of Æschylus already referred to, from which Macrobius quotes four verses; they are evidently part of a dialogue in single lines which must have followed a description of the birth of the twins;

> *τί δῆτ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖν ὄνομα θήσονται βροτοί;*
> *σεμνοὺς Παλικοὺς Ζεὺς ἐφίεται καλεῖν.*
> *ἦ καὶ Παλικῶν εὐλόγως μενεῖ φάτις;*
> *πάλιν γὰρ ἥκουσ' ἐκ σκότους τόδ' εἰς φάος.*

Servius (Æn. ix. 584) gives the same etymology; "Palici dicti sunt, quasi iterum venientes; nam *πάλιν ἵκειν* est iterum venire." So Stephen in *Παλική*, quoting Seilênos; *κληθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς Παλικοὺς διὰ τὸ ἀποθανόντας πάλιν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἱκέσθαι*. Is this meant to be exactly the same story?

It is perhaps dangerous to guess at the exact functions of the Palici in their divine character. There must surely be some confusion when Servius (u. s.) quotes Varro as making them gods of the sea ("Palicos nauticos deos Varro appellat"). One can only compare the nautical character of the other pair of Dioskouroi. Michälis mentions several theories about them. One, that of Welcker (p. 55), is founded on a vase which shows a female figure

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

buried in the earth up to the breast, with a male figure armed with a hammer on each side. One smites the woman on the head; the other is about to do so. These are supposed to be Thalia and her sons the Palici, children of Hêphaistos, who embody "eine Sanctification des Schmiedehandwerks." Michälis has also much to say on the religious character of sulphur, and there can be no doubt that the sulphur of Sicily is an essential part of the chthonian phænomena of Sicily. The Palici might likely enough be quite at home in the islands of Hêphaistos; but it is dangerous when Cicero (de Nat. Deor. iii. 22) speaks of several Vulcani, one of them "Menalio natus, qui tenuit insulas propter Siciliam quæ Vulcaniæ nominantur," to read "Menano" or "Amenano Palico." Is there any way of bringing in our friends in the kindred passage of John Lydus, de Mensibus, iv. 54; *τέταρτος Ἥφαιστος ὁ μαντῶος* [al. *Μαντοῦς*], *ὁ Σικελιώτης, ἐξ οὗ Ἡφαιστιάδες αἱ νῆσοι?* In truth we know very little about the matter, and it is easy to go on guessing for ever. It is hard to get nearer to certainty than the conviction that the Palici were chthonian—and benevolent—deities of the Sikel, and the admission of the strong likelihood that they were deities of the same kind in the older religion of the Sikan. This is strongly argued by Mr. Evans in the paper already referred to. He dwells on the protection which the sanctuary of the Palici gave to slaves, and adds;

"Nothing could more clearly point to the taking over of the local cult by the Sikel conquerors from some earlier indigenous race reduced by them to servitude, and from whom, it would probably be found, the priests of the sanctuary still continued to be drawn."

Whether we accept this argument or not, we can at least admit most points in the following description;

"The cult itself is old Italic, the heritage of this volcanic soil, like that which beside the sacred lake of Henna gave origin to the mythical account of the rape of the young earth goddess. It finds its parallel on the mainland of Italy in the religious shapes and terrors that haunted the crater-basin of Avernus; in the mephitic grotto of Dis Pater on the heights of Soracte, and the worship of Mephitis itself (we may translate it by 'carbonic acid gas!') as a separate divinity, with a temple of its own, in the old Hirpine country. Before the coming of the Greek or the Phœnician, in days when the later Italic races—Latin, Sikel, and their kin—

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

still dwelt in their pile-dwellings beside the Po and the Adige, the volcanic forces of the southern part of the peninsula and its islands —more active then than they are now—had inspired oracles and created gods."

In the present state of the lake two things strike us at once. Now that all the surroundings of the ancient worship have vanished, town and temple and everything which could draw attention to the spot, we come upon the lake itself, the *Lago di Naftia*, altogether without preparation. Till the visitor has come near enough to smell the naphtha or to hear the sound of the bubbling waters, there is nothing whatever, beyond the mere swampiness of the soil, to suggest its presence. The other point is that, as things now meet his eye, there is nothing to suggest a pair of presiding deities. There is one volcanic basin, not two, and the spots within the basin where the water bubbles up are many more than two. It would seem that each was once a circular pool; but several such pools have broken their bounds and have joined into one. This is a pool of a quatrefoil shape, with tossing waters, and with six points, two of them in pairs, where they bubble up to some height. There are four smaller pools where the rise of the water is smaller; there are a great number where, as at Maccaluba, it just bubbles above the surface, and there is one pool within the crater where the water remains still. Thus we cannot identify the twin Palici, twin Delli, or whatever the deities and their fountains are to be called. It is suggested by Mr. Evans that signs can be traced of a second crater, which would at once supply what is wanted. Or, as the pools within the present crater have clearly shifted and are still shifting, it may well be that there were once two only, perhaps more marked and of greater power than any of the larger number that are to be seen now. In March the amount of water is considerable; in the summer the pools are said to dry up, and the largest of them to be brought down to the level of its smallest neighbours where the water just bubbles up above the surface of the ground. Deep holes are said to be seen from which the blasts of the nether-world blow up fiercely.

In short, as things are, we see the lake of the Palici, but we see not the Delli, the twin fountains whose being could hardly be separated from that of the divine brethren. Either there were two craters of which one has vanished, or else the two have been

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

scattered abroad, many smaller fountains having displaced a pair of larger. But the holy place of the Sikel, the natural phænomena which so deeply impressed his religious mind, are there still, with less change than might be expected after so many ages. By the sight of the lake we seem brought nearer to the ancient folk who had the Latin to their kinsman, and which the Greek absorbed into his own being. Here is their abiding home, keeping its old traditions, hardly brought within the range of Hellenic legend, and, above all, suggesting the name of the one great leader of his people whose tale we shall have presently to tell. By the lake of the Palici the thoughts of the Sikel race and the Sikel creed find their embodiment in the one thrilling memory of Ducetius.

NOTE XI. p. 169.

Henna and its Goddesses.

The relation usually assigned to Zeus, Dêmêtêr, and Persephonê, might perhaps be inferred from the notices in Homer. But it could be no more than barely inferred. The relation between Dêmêtêr and Persephonê which forms the essence of their whole story in the later poets is not so much as directly stated, while she stands very distinctly as the awful Queen of Aidôneus.

In Il. xiv. 326 Zeus reckons Dêmêtêr among his wives or mistresses, but he does not, as in some other cases, speak of any child of hers. Cf. Od. v. 125–8 (cf. Athen. xiii. 20, Theok. iii. 49), though jealousy need not be the motive for Iasiôn's punishment. On the other hand, in Od. xi. 217 Persephonê is called daughter of Zeus, without any reference to Dêmêtêr, and she is there very distinctly the ἀγανὴ or ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια in her own realm. So in other places in that book, 47, 385, 634. So ix. 457, x. 491, κ. τ. λ. In Il. v. 500 Dêmêtêr appears simply as the goddess of corn, without reference to Zeus or Persephonê. This would be in itself very slight evidence to establish the joint parentage of Zeus and Dêmêtêr, though, considering how early that parentage was established, any one that chooses may look on the Homeric passages as assuming it. So it might be hasty to assume with Preller (Griechische Mythologie, i. 468) that the carrying off of Persephonê is implied in such phrases as Ἀΐδης κλυτόπωλος (Il. v. 654, xvi. 625),

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

as Pausanias (x. 23. 2) deals with the epithet χρυσήνιος—δῆλα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Κόρης τῇ ἁρπαγῇ. Going on to Hesiod, the first place in the Theogony (768) brings in Persephoneia incidentally in the description of the lower world;

ἔνθα θεοῦ χθονίου πρόσθεν δόμοι ἠχήεντες,
ἰφθίμου τ' Ἄϊδεω καὶ ἐπαινῆς Περσεφονείης,
ἑστᾶσιν, δεινὸς δὲ κύων προπάροιθε φυλάσσει.

The second passage (912) sums up the story of the later poets;

αὐτὰρ ὁ [Ζεὺς] Δήμητρος πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν,
ἣ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον, ἣν Ἀϊδωνεὺς
ἥρπασεν ἧς παρὰ μητρὸς· ἔδωκε δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.

The form Περσεφόνη may of itself incline us to place this notice later than the other. But in any of the forms of the name, we cannot help, with Preller (i. 496; so Keightley, 180), connecting it with other names of an infernal and destructive class, such as Τισιφόνη and others. The general appearance of the goddess in Homer agrees far better with the legend preserved by Apollodôros (i. iii. 1) which made her the daughter of Zeus and Styx. And so does the general mention of Persephonê, and her usual epithets, even among the later poets. They are, as a rule, connected with the grave and the lower world; it is only on occasion that she comes out as the bright daughter of Dêmêtêr. Even in company with her Mother (Paus. viii. 38), the Δέσποινα keeps her awfulness.

I need hardly say that it is not my business here to plunge at all deeply into any mythological or mystical inquiries as to a pair of deities who certainly supply abundant materials for such speculations. It is enough for me if Dêmêtêr and the Korê are admitted as Greek powers of the earth who have made their way to Sicily, and have there swallowed up, so to speak, the earlier Sikel powers of Henna. For deeper speculations Preller (G. M. i. 466 et seqq.) suggests many thoughts and references, and Lobeck's Aglaophamus is still open. I am, for instance, hardly called on to follow him in his researches about Hekatê in i. 543, though that deity has her place in some forms of our story. Nor am I concerned with the legends and mysteries of Eleusis and Athens. It is enough, with Aristoklês (Ælian. Hist. An. 11. 4), to call on

Δάματερ πολύκαρπε, σὺ κὴν Σικελοῖσιν ἐναργὴς
καὶ παρ' Ἐρεχθείδαις.

But the wild legend which makes Persephonê the child of

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Poseidôn Hippios and Dêmêtêr Erinnys may indeed be of some value. It again connects both Mother and Daughter with the powers of the under-world. My business is only to trace, if I can, the steps by which Dêmêtêr and Persephonê made their way into Sicily. It would certainly seem that the received legend was imported whole, and that it had simply to find itself quarters. One does not know what to make of the mythical poet Pamphôs who is quoted by Pausanias in the passage already referred to, and again in ix. 31. One would have thought that Narkissos, who fell in love with himself or with his sister, or for whose love Echo died away into a voice, was an ancient personage enough. But Pamphôs lived long before his time, and knew the *narcissus* as a flower which Persephonê gathered; *γεγονὼς γὰρ πολλοῖς πρότερον ἔτεσιν ἡ Νάρκισσος ὁ Θεσπιεὺς Κόρην τὴν Δημητρός φησιν ἁρπασθῆναι παίζουσαν καὶ ἄνθη συλλέγουσαν, ἁρπασθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἴοις ἀπατηθεῖσαν ἀλλὰ ναρκίσσοις.*

This looks as if Pausanias had, as is likely enough, seen the whole story in its minutest detail in some poems which he took to be those of Pamphôs. But no place is mentioned, any more than by Hesiod, and we are not concerned to settle the dispute between the narcissus and the violet. In the next stage places come to be mentioned. The Scholiast on Hesiod (Th. 914) mentions Sicily, but only as one of several alternatives;

ἡρπάσθαι δὲ τὴν Περσεφόνην φασὶν οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σικελίας, Βακχυλίδης δὲ ἐκ Κρήτης, Ὀρφεὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν τόπων, Φανόδημος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Δημάδης δὲ ἐν νάπαις.

And he adds a mystical explanation, which, as being decidedly chthonian, may be approved; *τοῦτο δὲ λέγει, ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἑκοῦσα ἡ γῆ δέχεται τὰ σπέρματα.*

Of the so-called Orphic Hymns there is one (29) addressed to Persephonê and another (40) to the Eleusinian Dêmêtêr. The latter is very rich in epithets, and the former ventures to speak of the nether Queen as *κόρη καρποῖσι βρύουσα*, and a good deal more that has to do with corn. But neither in any way helps our topography.

Of the stage in which a place other than Sicily is mentioned the representative is the Homeridian Hymn to Dêmêtêr. This is written wholly in the interest of Eleusis, and naturally has not a word about Sicily. But the place mentioned may be anywhere. When Persephonê (v. 417) tells her own story, she says only that she was playing with the nymphs *ἀν' ἱμερτὸν λειμῶνα*. The poet,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

speaking in his own person (5), explains that the nymphs were Okeanides, and (17) gives a name to the place of the carrying off;

χάνε δὲ χθὰν εὐρυάγυια
Νύσιον ἁμ πέδιον.

But the name of Nysa (see Preller, G. M. i. 416) is borne by so many places that this does not tell us much, and, as none of them is in Sicily, it hardly concerns us. It is most likely older than the earliest attempt to transfer the legend thither. Wherever we put Nysa, it is certainly not anywhere near Henna, and the mention of the Okeanid nymphs might suggest quite another region. Dêmêtêr has a torch, but it is not said to be lighted at Ætna. The companions of the Korê, it may be mentioned, differ a good deal in different accounts. Apollônios (iv. 896) brings in the Sirens in their first estate;

καί ποτε Δηοῦς
θυγατέρ' ἰφθίμην ἁδμῆτ' ἔτι ποσσυνέσκον
ἄμμιγα μελπόμεναι. (Cf. Ov. Met. v. 555.)

One might half suspect that these other water-maidens were suggested by the Okeanids, and were brought nearer within the range of Sicilian geography. Still here is no distinct mention of Sicily, and the story could be told without it. Apollodôros (i. 5. 1) makes Dêmêtêr carry a torch, but again there is no hint of her lighting it at Ætna. And as Dêmêtêr is told of her loss by the people of Hermionê, one may suppose that he placed the story in some quite different part of the Greek world. Euripidês again tells the story in a very beautiful chorus of his drama of Helen (1301). An Athenian was too much bound to claim the goddesses for his own land to say a word about Sicily. The phrase of μάτηρ θεῶν with which he sets out at once suggests Asia, and his only geographical indication is that the goddess

χιονοθρέμμονάς τ' ἐπέρασ'
Ἰδαιᾶν Νυμφᾶν σκοπιάς.

On the other hand, another Attic poet, Karkinos, quoted by Diodôros (v. 5), though he does not mention the site of the carrying off—

(λέγουσι Δήμητρός ποτ' ἄρρητον κόρην
Πλούτωνα κρυφίοις ἁρπάσαι βουλεύμασιν
δῦναί τε γαίας εἰς μελαμφατεῖς μυχούς)—

yet clearly looks on the whole matter as Sicilian;

καὶ γῆν μὲν Αἰτναίοισι Σικελίας πάγοις

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

πυρὸς γέμουσαν ῥεύμασιν δυσεμβόλοις
πᾶσαν στενάξαι, πίνθεσιν δὲ παρθένου
σίταν ἄμοιφον διοτρεφὴς φθίνειν γένος.
ὅθεν θεὰς τιμῶσιν εἰς τὰ νῦν ἔτι.

But this witness is in truth Syracusan rather than Athenian; for this Karkinos was much at the court of the second Dionysios in company with Aischinês (Diog. Laert. ii. 7. 6); λέγων εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ [Αἰσχίνῃ] καὶ Καρκίνον τραγῳδοποιόν.

Here is Sicily, but not yet Henna. And the earlier poet of Syracusan tyrants does the like. By Pindar's day the connexion between the goddesses and Sicily is fully established. In a most Sicilian ode, that to Chromios (Nem. i. 16), the whole island is made the wedding-gift of Zeus to his daughter;

. . . νάσῳ
τὰν Ὀλύμπου δεσπόταν
Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν Φερσεφόνᾳ· κατένευ-
σέν τέ οἱ χαίταις, ἀρι-
στεύοισαν εὐκάρπου χθονὸς
Σικελίαν πίειραν ὀρθώ-
σειν κορυφαῖς πολίων ἀφνειαῖς.

Henna surely comes under this last head; but the name is not mentioned. In another passage, again addressing a Syracusan (Ol. vi. 156), he speaks of the worship of Dêmêtêr and her daughter, but wholly with reference to Syracuse;

εἶπόν δὲ μεμνᾶσθαι Συρα-
κοσσᾶν τε καὶ Ὀρτυγίας
τὰν Ἴραν καθαρῷ σκάπτῳ διέπων,
ἄρτια μηδόμενος, φοινικόπεζαν
ἀμφέπει Δάματρα, λευκ-
ίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτὰν
καὶ Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος.

The epithet here applied to Persephonê clearly refers to the legend, and contrasts her white horses with the black ones of her husband. But we have no mention of Henna. It was no part of the dominions of Hierôn, and therefore could not come in for his poet's praise. In his day no doubt it was still too purely Sikel for one of its citizens to have appeared in any Greek games. Pindar therefore had no opportunity of getting yet nearer to the subject in the praises of any man of Henna. In the next century too we find the whole creed of the goddesses fully established with regard to Sicily in general; but there is not a word specially about

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Henna. Plutarch tells (Timoleon, 8) of the dream of the priestesses of the Korê at Corinth, how she invited Timoleon to her island, how the Corinthians dedicated his trireme to both Daughter and Mother (*ἱερὰν ταῖν θεαῖν ἐπωνόμασαν*). But all that is said belongs to Sicily in general; *εἶναι γὰρ ἱερὰν τῆς Κόρης τὴν Σικελίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν αὐτόθι μυθολογοῦσι γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἀνακαλυπτήριον αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.* In this strictly Corinthian and Syracusan way of looking at things, there is no more thought of Henna than we find in Pindar. So in the next century, in Theokritos and the other bucolic poets, while references to the goddesses generally are fewer and more casual than we might have looked for, of Henna and its special legend there is not a word. In one passage of Moschos (iii. 124, et seqq.) there even seems to be a direct reference to another story, placing the carrying off of the Korê somewhere by Ætna;

> *. . . κἠγὼ τάχ' ἂν ἐς δόμον ἦλθον*
> *Πλουτέος, ὥς κέ σ' ἴδοιμι, καὶ, εἰ Πλουτῆι μελίσδῃ*
> *ὡς ἂν ἀκουσαίμαν, τί μελίσδεαι, ἀλλ' ἔτι Κώρᾳ*
> *Σικελικόν τε λίγαινε καὶ ἁδύ τι βωκολιάζευ.*
> *καὶ κείνα Σικελὰ καὶ ἐν Αἰτναίαισιν ἔπαιζεν*
> *ᾠόσι.*

Henna and *Ætna* do certainly get confounded in a strange way (See Ebert, *Σικελιών*, pp. 10, 11); but in this very Sicilian passage one would think that Ætna was really meant, and it might be meant controversially.

Things then look as if the fame of Sicily in general was kept back by jealousy on the part of Athens, who could not let another land share in her goddesses, while the special fame of Henna was kept back by jealousy on the part of Syracuse. This feeling might grow fainter when Henna became part of the kingdom of the second Hierôn, as Silius (v. 489) puts it;

> "Huc Hennæa cohors, Triquetris quam miserat oris
> Rex, Arethusa, tuus."

Kallimachos, if the text were genuine, would seem to be the first writer to speak directly of Henna, but the line (*εἰς Δήμητρα*, 15)

> *τρὶς δ' ἐπὶ καλλίστης νήσου δράμες ὄμφαλον Ἕνναν*

is now rejected (see Meineke's edition). It follows then, startling as it may seem, that the first mention of Henna as the seat of the goddesses comes from the materials which Livy used for his account of the Roman massacre in B.C. 214 (Polybios refers

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

only casually to Henna in i. 24; we have not his report of the doings of Pinarius). He then (xxiv. 37) describes the city; "Henna, in excelso loco ac prærupto undique sita, tum loco inexpugnabilis erat;" and he speaks (39), very much to our purpose, of the feelings which its treatment awakened throughout Sicily; "Ea clades, ut urbis in media Sicilia sitæ, claræque vel ob insignem munimento naturali locum, vel ob sacrata omnia vestigiis raptæ quondam Proserpinæ, prope uno die omnem Siciliam pervasit." We see what Henna had grown into now. We are among the Latin writers, and the Sikel sanctuary rises to its full glory. The fullest witness to the position which it had won both in and out of Sicily is Cicero, both in his minute description of the place (Verr. iv. 48) and in the other particulars that he gives. He enlarges on the antiquity and sanctity of the place, on the miracles wrought there, on the help which Dêmêtêr was always ready to give to her chosen island ("ut hæc insula ab ea non solum diligi sed etiam incoli custodirique videatur"). His chief point is that Henna was the birth-place both of Mother and Daughter, and the first place where corn was grown. The worship of Athens itself must yield to that of Henna ("Si Atheniensium sacra summa cupiditate expetuntur, ad quos Ceres in illo errore venisse dicitur frugesque attulisse, quantam esse religionem convenit eorum, apud quos eam natam esse, et fruges invenisse constat"). And he adds an important historical reference (cf. Val. Max. i. 1. 1), how in the disputes at Rome which followed the death of Tiberius Gracchus, the Sibylline books gave the answer "Cererem antiquissimam placari oportere." Rome itself had its temple of Ceres; yet no one doubted that Henna was the place to which the sacred embassy should be sent. There not only the house of the goddess, but the goddess herself was to be found;

"Cum esset in urbe nostra Cereris pulcherrimum et magnificentissimum templum, tamen usque Ennam profecti sunt. Tanta enim erat auctoritas et vetustas illius religionis, ut, cum illuc irent, non ad ædem Cereris, sed ad ipsam Cererem, proficisci viderentur."

It is to be noticed that though Cicero, in his description of Henna, speaks of lakes as a feature of the neighbourhood, he does not speak of a lake as the scene of the great legendary story. "Libera" is not carried away from the side of a lake, but from a grove ("ex Ennensium nemore, qui locus, quod in media est insula situs, umbilicus Siciliæ nominatur"). Diodôros (whose text, v. 3,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

seems to have been put into the right order by Holm, i. 367) does not speak of the lake at all. He enlarges on the strength of the position of the city (*ἄνωθεν μὲν ὁμαλὸς καὶ παντελῶς εὔυδρος, κύκλῳ δ' ὑψηλὸς καὶ πανταχόθεν κρημνοῖς ἀπότομος, δοκεῖ δ' ἐν μέσῳ κεῖσθαι τῆς ὅλης νήσου, διὸ καὶ Σικελίας ὀμφαλὸς ὑπό τινων ὀνομάζεται.* He also describes the whole neighbouring scenery, and specially tells of the sweetness of the flowers, which—though, according to one account, Artemis was a companion of the Korê—hindered dogs from following a scent. He speaks also of the cave; *σπήλαιον εὐμέγεθες ἔχον χάσμα κατάγειον, πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον νενευκὸς, δι' οὗ μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Πλούτωνα μεθ' ἅρματος ἐπελθόντα ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἁρπαγὴν Κόρης.* The false Aristotle (Mir. 82) has also much to say about the cave *περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἔνναν*, also of the flowers, especially the violets, of the loss of scent by the dogs, and of the special kind of wheat which grew there, the first place where wheat grew, and the birth-place of Dêmêtêr (*ὅθεν καὶ τῆς Δημητρὸς ἀντιποιοῦνται, φάμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν θεὸν γεγονέναι.* Of the cave he says specially; *διὰ τούτου τοῦ χάσματος ἀσυμφανής ἐστιν ὑπόνομος, καθ' ὃν φασι τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ποιήσασθαι τὸν Πλούτωνα τῆς Κόρης.* So Solinus, v. 14, 15; "Campus Hennensis in floribus semper et omni vernus die, quem propter est demersum foramen, qua Ditem patrem ad raptus Liberæ exeuntem fama est lucem hausum." Pomponius Mela (ii. 117) simply mentions the temple.

It is to be noticed also that Ovid, in his account in the Fasti (iv. 427), does not mention the lake, but only a spot in a valley, rich with flowers, and seemingly with a waterfall;

> "Valle sub umbrosa locus est, adspergine multa
> Uvidus ex alto desilientis aquæ," &c.

But in the Metamorphoses (v. 385) he enlarges on the lake, and gives it a name;

> "Haud procul Hennæis lacus est a mœnibus altæ
> Nomine Pergus aquæ; non illo plura Caystros
> Carmina cygnorum labentibus audit in undis."

It must be remembered that Ovid claims (Pont. ii. 10. 22) to speak of the whole scenery from personal knowledge;

> "Vidimus Ætnæa cælum splendescere flamma,
> Suppositus monti quam vomit ore gigas;
> Hennæosque lacus et olentia stagna Palici,
> Quaque suis Cyanen miscet Anapus aquis."

The account in the Fasti therefore, though seemingly written later

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

than that in the Metamorphoses, can hardly be meant as a correction of it. Each version brings out some points of local interest. It perhaps sounds a little artificial to make Dis come to the upper earth on a kind of visit of inspection, and when he is there, for the goddess of Eryx to cause her son to wound him with one of his darts (v. 357–383). But we can forgive the poet thus much in thankfulness for his description of the physical phænomena of Sicily and for the way in which he brings them all together as part of the whole. In this form of the story we lose the cave from which Aïdôneus comes forth in the accounts of Cicero and Diodôros; but Ovid makes up for it by much local description. Here he brings in one of his references to the Palici, and Cicero's mention of the spot near Syracuse where he plunged into the earth gives opportunities for telling the tales both of Kyana and of Arethousa, of which we shall have to speak again. In short the whole underground company are brought together with great skill. The story in the Fasti, though it brings in a greater number of Sicilian names (iv. 467–480), and tells the tale of the actual carrying off at greater length, has less strictly Sicilian interest. This time the poet has more to tell about Dêmêtêr herself, her gifts, her wanderings, her Attic sojourn, and the other parts of the story which do not concern our island.

Virgil has several references to the story, but none which throw any local light on it. Lucan (vi. 740) assumes it, when he addressed Persephonê as "Hennæa." Silius is rather fond (i. 93, vii. 659, xiii. 431) of the local epithet for either mother or daughter. But it is Claudian, in the last days of paganism—as to the poet's personal creed let no man be dogmatic—who has made the legend of Henna into something which may be called an epic. Part of his version may have been suggested by a passage of Diodôros (v. 3) which seems to have drawn no attention to itself elsewhere. Sicily was a kind of common possession of the Korê with the other virgin goddesses Athênê and Artemis. Each had her own holy place, Athênê at Himera, Artemis of course in the Syracusan Ortygia. All three gathered flowers together, and wove a robe for their common father Zeus (*μυθολογοῦσι δὲ μετὰ τῆς Κόρης τὰς τῆς ὁμοίας παρθενίας ἠξιωμένας Ἀθηνᾶν τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν συντρεφομένας συνάγειν μετ' αὐτῆς τὰ ἄνθη καὶ κατασκευάζειν κοινῇ τῷ πατρὶ Διὶ τὸν πέπλον*). Claudian (R. P. i. 245) brings in Persephonê as working also for her mother a kind of treatise "De Rerum Natura" in the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

shape of stitchwork. In this she seems to be employed alone; but in the second book, Athênê and Artemis, and we must add Aphroditê, appear as her companions. The whole poem is very local, and the lake of Ovid's Metamorphoses comes in distinctly. Henna is personified (ii. 71);

> "Viderat herboso sacrum de vertice vulgus
> Henna parens florum."

Presently, after Zephyros has covered everything with flowers, we read (ii. 112);

> "Haud procul inde lacus (Pergum dixere Sicani)
> Panditur, et nemorum frondoso margine cinctus
> Vicinis pallescit aquis: admittit in altum
> Cernentes oculos, et late pervius humor
> Ducit inoffensos liquido sub gurgite visus,
> Imaque perspicui prodit secreta profundi."

The story begins with the description (i. 122) of the goddess as "Hennæa Ceres;" when all the goddesses are gathered together (ii. 6)—Athênê and Artemis, one is sorry to hear, having conspired with Aphroditê against the Korê—Henna knows what is coming;

> "... ter conscia fati
> Flebile terrificis gemuit mugitibus Henna."

(Here one is not surprised to hear that there is a various reading "Ætna.") Henna is made (ii. 289) the standard to which Aïdôneus compares the Elysian fields for the comfort of his bride;

> "... Zephyris illic melioribus halant
> Perpetui flores, quos nec tua protulit Henna."

So again, iii. 85;

> "... qualem roseis nuper convallibus Hennæ
> Suspexere Deæ."

And again, iii. 220;

> "Prima Venus campos Hennæaque rura maligno
> Ingerit afflatu."

Sicily in general is the land (i. 140) in which Dêmêtêr, "ingenio confisa loci," most trusts to keep her daughter safely when more than one of the gods is seeking for her. And it is at this point that the poet gives those descriptions of the island in general and

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of its great mountains to which we have had already to refer. The island is (i. 192)

> "... gratissima tellus
> Quam nos prætulimus cælo."

And then comes the promise that in Sicily corn shall grow even without the toil of the husbandman (see above, p. 536 and p. 67). Aïdôneus is bidden by Aphroditê (i. 218) "fines invade Sicanos;" and a description follows of the house of Dêmêtêr built by the Kyklôpes. The gathering of the nymphs gives an opportunity for several geographical references (i. 55);

> "Quæ fontes, Crinise, tuos, et saxa rotantem
> Pantagiam, nomenque Gelan qui præbuit urbi,
> Concelebrant; quas pigra vado Camerina palustri,
> Quas Arethusæi latices, quas advena nutrit
> Alpheus. Cyane totum supereminet agmen."

These are like bees, but Sicilian bees (ii. 124);

> "... Credas examina fundi
> Hyblæum raptura thymum."

All the earth-stirring powers of the island are set to the work after the deed is done. The weight of the chariot and horses of Aïdôneus was too much for Enkelados (ii. 157); the nether-god cleaves a road for himself through the rocks (ii. 170 et seqq.) and all the powers of nature seem disturbed. The river Akis (iii. 332) and the story of Galateia are pressed in.

The importance of Kyana, nymph and fount, in the present story (ii. 61, iii. 190, iii. 246) should be noticed. Her home is elsewhere; but she marks the way in which all the underground powers of Sicily are brought together. One portrait of her would hardly have come into any mind save that of the laureate of Stilicho (ii. 62);

> "Qualis Amazonidum peltis exultat aduncis
> Pulcra cohors, quoties Arcton populata virago
> Hippolyte niveas ducit post prælia turmas;
> *Seu flavos stravere Getas.*" (Cf. i. 71).

Another watery power is brought in in some versions. The river Pantakyas or Pantagias (see p. 83) did something to Dêmêtêr in the course of her wanderings. According to Servius (Æn. iii. 689), that short-lived river filled all Sicily with its sound, whence came its name; "Quum plenius flueret [incederet], implebat sonitu

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

pene totam Siciliam, unde et Pantagias [quasi Pantacuos] dictus est, quasi ubique sonans." (Perhaps Παντα*χίας*, Παντα*χώεις* or some such form, like Ptolemy's Πάνταχος, rather than either Cluver's *πάντα ἄγειν* or his *πάταγος*.) Dêmêtêr, seeking for her daughter, disliked the noise and the stream stopped ("Hic postea, quum Cereri quærenti filiam obstreperet, tacere jussus est numinis voluntate"). So Vibius Sequester (16); "Pantagias Siciliæ, ita dictus, quod sonitus ejus decurrentis per totam insulam auditus est usque eo, donec Ceres quærens filiam comprimeret eum."

We have thus seen the local story of Henna grow to its height. Unnoticed by the Greeks, the Sikel sanctuary is eagerly seized on by the Latins. We need not complain; the Latins have after all more right in Henna and its goddesses than the Greeks. Still we should gladly have traced, if we had had the means, the steps by which Henna was fully established as the local sanctuary of Sicily, such as we find it in the third century before Christ. Most of the extant coins of Henna have some reference or other to the local worship; they are mainly of copper and late; but a silver coin early enough to have the older Greek spelling HENNAION shows Dêmêtêr herself with her torch.

The treatment of the lake is a point worthy of notice. We have seen that it is sometimes brought in prominently as the scene of the story, sometimes not. This is not wonderful if we think of the way in which the story grew. As I hold, the tale which had already grown into the stage in which we see it in the Homeridian hymn had to be brought in how it could into the midst of the Sikel site and its traditions. It must have fitted well on the whole, or the attempt would hardly have been made. But we may be sure that the volcanic lake, with its phænomena, was one of the most essential points of the original worship, just like the lake of the Palici. On the other hand, there was nothing about a lake in the story which had to be transplanted. The poets had the choice either to cleave to the lake, and to trick it out with attractive features which do not belong to it now and most likely never did, or else to place the scene of the actual carrying off somewhere else in the neighbourhood. Some made one choice, some the other. The remarkable thing is that the two prose-writers, Cicero and Diodôros, do not speak of the lake (see above,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

p. 536). One might be tempted to fancy that the introduction of the lake into the story was a mere play of fancy on the part of Ovid or some other poet. But it is hard to believe that the lake had no part in the original chthonian belief. Still it was not absolutely necessary, when the Homeridian story was transplanted, to choose the lake as the scene of the carrying off of the Korê, though it was of course open to do so.

Henna has often been said to have been a colony of Syracuse. I know of no authority for this, except the entry in Stephen; Ἔννα, πόλις Σικελίας, κτίσμα Συρακουσίων, μετὰ ὁ' ἔτη Συρακουσῶν. This seems to me to be a mere confusion with the date given to the foundation of Akrai in Thucydides, vi. 5, though Stephen does mention Akrai (Ἄκρα) as Συρακουσίων κτίσμα without date. The notion of a colony, or even an outpost, of Syracuse so far inland at so early a date seems quite out of the question, and there is nothing whatever elsewhere to suggest or confirm the idea, except the belief that Gelôn began the building of the temple of Henna. This comes from reading Ἔνναν for Αἴτνην (though there does not seem to be any such reading) in Diod. xi. 26. Fazello (i. 442, 444) has somewhere found a "Syracusanorum dux Ennus" for a founder, and he also assigns a temple of "Bellona" at Henna to Gelôn. His commentator Amico argues with some force—though it is hard to leave out the Sikels—that Henna must be older; "Quæ de Cerere enim ac Proserpinæ raptu in ea dicuntur, *si vera sunt*, longe ante Græcorum tempora Ennam extitisse convincunt; hinc aut Gigantum aut Sicanorum opus urbs dicenda, quibus in præruptis montibus, ac natura munitis, uti expendimus, oppida passim fuere." He suggests that Fazello read ὁ' ἔτη into τοῦ Ἔννω. I leave his Greek as I find it. Amico cannot guess what made him think of Bellona. Is it going too far to hint that, as Αἴτνη and Ἔννα are so largely confounded, Ἔννα and Ἐνυώ and the ἔννεα τύρσεις in Diod. xi. 38 may have somehow suggested one another?

NOTE XII. p. 195.

The Origin of the Elymians.

The Trojan origin of the Elymians is asserted or assumed by nearly all the ancient writers who speak of the matter. Hellanikos,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

as quoted by Dionysios, i. 22, brings them from another quarter. In his view (see above, p. 481) they were driven out of Italy by the Œnotrians. This is most likely a wholly distinct tradition; it does not tell us whom Hellanikos took the Elymians to be; but it pretty well proves that he did not take them for Trojans. Yet there is another story which seems to unite both notions. The Elymians come out of Italy, and yet they are Trojans or at least under a Trojan leader. This is the version preserved by Strabo, vi. 2. 5; *τὴν Αἴγεσταν κτισθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ Φιλοκτήτου διαβάντων εἰς τὴν Κροτωνιᾶτιν . . . παρ' αὐτοῦ σταλέντων εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν μετὰ Αἰγέστου τοῦ Τρωός.* This seems quite another version from that which Strabo preserves in xiii. 1. 53, in which he brings in Aineias. Several versions of the voyage of Aineias were told in the Troad; of one Strabo says; *οἱ δὲ εἰς Αἴγεσταν κατᾶραι τῆς Σικελίας σὺν Ἐλύμῳ Τρωΐ καὶ Ἔρυκα καὶ Λιλύβαιον κατασχεῖν καὶ ποταμοὺς περὶ Αἴγεσταν προσαγορεῦσαι Σκάμανδρον καὶ Σιμόεντα.* From Segesta he goes to Italy. Thucydides says nothing about Aineias, and he gives the Greek element which appears in the first version of Strabo another turn, vi. 2; *Ἰλίου ἁλισκομένου τῶν Τρώων τινὲς διαφυγόντες τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πλοίοις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν, καὶ ὅμοροι τοῖς Σικανοῖς οἰκήσαντες ξύμπαντες μὲν Ἔλυμοι ἐκλήθησαν, πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν Ἔρυξ τε καὶ Ἔγεστα, προσξυνῴκησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκέων τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας τότε χειμῶνι ἐς Λιβύην πρῶτον, ἔπειτα εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατενεχθέντες.* (I certainly always understood this simply to mean that the whole people were called Elymoi, just like Greeks or Phœnicians, but that there were two separate Elymian cities, like Athens and Argos, Sidon and Tyre.) The Libyan voyage here mentioned by Thucydides is remarkable; one could almost fancy it was suggested by the attempted Libyan settlement of Dòrieus before he went to Sicily. We may be sure that all kinds of stories about Eryx and that part of Sicily were afloat just then. Pausanias (v. 25, 2; see above, p. 477) counts *Φρύγες*—that is of course Trojans—among the barbarian nations of Sicily. Sikans and Sikels have come out of Italy; *Φρύγες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ χώρας τῆς Τρῳάδος.* Skylax (13) somewhat oddly makes Elymians and Trojans distinct; *ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἔθνη βάρβαρα τάδε ἐστίν· Ἔλυμοι, Σικανοί, Σικελοί, Φοίνικες, Τρῶες. οὗτοι μὲν βάρβαροι, οἰκοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ἕλληνες.*

In all these accounts—for the second one in Strabo stands apart—there is no mention of Aineias. But the presence or absence of his name is not of very great moment. The point is that this class

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of stories conceived the Trojans to have come into Sicily after the fall of Troy, and then to have founded Segesta and whatever else they did found. Aineias was the type of a Trojan escaping from the fall of Troy, and his name would naturally come to be brought in. But Aineias was not so famous when Thucydides wrote as he became when the Romans had spread his story everywhere. Names which seem kindred with his are found in various places, and they may have helped the spread of his legend. I have suggested (see p. 212) that we may perhaps have one such in the altar on the height of Eryx, *τῆς Αἰνειάδος Ἀφροδίτης ὁ βωμὸς ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Ἐλύμου ἱδρυμένος*, Dion. i. 53. (For *Ἐλύμου* we must in some shape read *Ἔρικος*, both here and in the passage just before.) It is quite as likely that the altar led to the story as that the story led to the altar. The temple of Aineias himself at Segesta in the same chapter is different; that would seem to imply the story.

But, whether we bring in Aineias or not, these stories agree in making the Elymian settlement later than the fall of Troy. That, as I have said in the text (see p. 211), is inconsistent with the legend of Hêraklês at Eryx, and the Hêraklês-legend must surely be the older, as it was current in the time of Dôrieus in the sixth century B. C. One would be glad to know its earliest shape, whether it was or was not connected from the beginning with the journey to the hither or further shore of Ocean, which, in the hands of Stêsichoros, made part of the received story of Gêryonês in its fullest development. In the oldest form of the tale, Gêryonês and his oxen were placed, not in any distant part of the world, nor in any island anywhere, but on the mainland of what we may certainly call *Greece*, if not Hellas. This comes from Hekataios of Milêtos, as quoted by Arrian, ii. 16. 5. Hekataios may have put the story forth in a controversial way; Arrian does very much so; *Γηρυόνην, ἐφ' ὅντινα ὁ Ἀργεῖος Ἡρακλῆς ἐστάλη πρὸς Εὐρυσθέως, τὰς βοῦς ἐπελάσαι τὰς Γηρυόνου, καὶ ἀγαγεῖν ἐς Μυκήνας, οὐδέν τι προσήκειν τῇ γῇ τῶν Ἰβήρων, Ἑκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιὸς λέγει, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ νῆσόν τινα Ἐρύθειαν ἔξω τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης στυλῆναι Ἡρακλέα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς περὶ Ἀμβρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλόχους βασιλέα γενέσθαι Γηρυόνην καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης ἀπελάσαι Ἡρακλέα τὰς βοῦς.* (Arrian argues for the nearer spot at some length.) Now if this be the first story of Hêraklês and Gêryonês, Sicily could not have been on any road for bringing the oxen from Epeiros to Mykênê. There might be a Sicilian legend of Hêraklês; that is, the Greeks of Sicily might carry over a legend

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of Hêraklês, as of any other god or hero; but it would not be a legend which had anything to do with Gêryonês. The legend of Gêryonês, as we have it, has clearly been enlarged from Phœnician sources. The hero who goes into Libya and to Tartêssos has surely become a Phœnician Melkart; it is therefore not unlikely that the hero who figures at a spot so full of Phœnician associations as Eryx may be a Phœnician Melkart also. This story must have grown up before the time of Dôrieus, whose expedition implies it. We may therefore infer that, whether Eryx was politically under Phœnician rule or not, the temple of Eryx was already a place of Phœnician worship; whether it was so from the beginning, we cannot say (see pp. 205, 305).

The Sicilian exploits of Hêraklês are told by Apollodôros (Bibl. ii. 5) in few words. Of the decamping of the bull, the happily-named *ϝιταλός*, we have heard already (see above, p. 460). Heraklês then comes to the plain of Eryx (*πεδίον Ἔρυκος*), King of the Elymians (*ὃς ἐβασίλευεν Ἐλύμων*), a son of Poseidôn (his mother is in this version not mentioned), who had put the bull in his own herd. Hêraklês asks for his bull; Eryx will restore the beast only if Hêraklês can overcome him in wrestling. Hêraklês throws Eryx thrice, kills him, and goes off with his bull.

This sounds rather like an abridged version than an original story. It gives no explanation of the Herakleid claim to the lands of Eryx. This we get in the version preserved by Diodôros, iv. 23. Here Hêraklês is coming back from the far West with the oxen, but we hear nothing of any of them running away. It is in this version that he swims the strait, and that the nymphs throw up the hot waters (see pp. 77, 210). Then Eryx, son of Aphroditê by the reigning King Boutas (see p. 210), or as some (Myth. Vat. i. 53, 94, 107; ii. 156), like Apollodôros, say, by Poseidôn, challenges him to wrestle. Here I suspect that we have got within the Phœnician range. Yet Boutas, on the other hand, sounds very much as if his name were suggested by the oxen, and there is something clumsy in making Eryx the *epônymos* the son of the reigning king. He acts however as if he were already master; for the terms of the wrestling-match are that Eryx, if defeated, shall give up the land, and that Hêraklês, if defeated, shall give up the oxen. Then Eryx begins to think that he has the worst of the bargain, *διότι πολὺ λείπονται τῆς ἀξίας αἱ βοῦς, συγκρινομένης τῆς χώρας πρὸς αὐτάς*; but Hêraklês tells him that, if he loses the oxen, he loses his immortality (*ἂν*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ταύτας ἀποβάλῃ, στερηθήσεται τῆς ἀθανασίας). This doubtless means that, if he cannot show the oxen to Eurystheus, he will not be able to claim immortality as the reward of his labours. On this Eryx agrees, εὐδοκήσας τῇ συνθήκῃ—did he think that the immortality would pass to him? He is defeated; according to Pausanias (iii. 16. 5) he is killed; and the land passes to Hêraklês. The terms of the lease ran thus; τὴν χώραν παρέθετο τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, συγχωρήσας αὐτοῖς λαμβάνειν τοὺς καρποὺς, μέχρι ἂν τις τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ παραγενόμενος ἀπαιτήσῃ. Diodôros adds, ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι, and tells the story of Dôrieus. He then goes on with other Sicilian adventures of Hêraklês of which I have spoken elsewhere (see p. 182).

Here, one is tempted to say, we have the legend of Gêryonês in several forms. It is first of all a Greek story confined to Greece or to countries in the near neighbourhood of Greece. Then, under Phœnician influence, it is enlarged so as to take in places which had come within the Phœnician range, such as Tartêssos and Eryx. The process may have been gradual, and Eryx is not likely to have been the first stage; it is enough if it got a place in the story by the time of Dôrieus. Lastly, any other Sicilian legends that suited, Greek legends of Syracuse, Sikel legends of Agyrium, were worked in, till we come to the whole story as it stands in Apollodôros. One detail is added which is clearly of local growth. The hero on his march had to fight against large armies of Sikans (τῶν ἐγχωρίων Σικανῶν μεγάλαις δυνάμεσιν ἀντιταξαμένων), and that on or hard by the spot where Syracuse was to be. This is unusually lucky, as in Heraklês' day the Sikels could hardly have come. But the names of the Sikan chiefs are remarkable, and some of them, as Leukaspis and Bouphonas, have a singularly Greek sound. Of one of them, Pediokratês, we have already heard elsewhere (see above, p. 524).

Another version of the tale of Hêraklês seems to be preserved in the quotation from Timaios in the opening chapter of Plutarch's Life of Nikias. In the great Athenian invasion Hêraklês favoured the Syracusans and was wroth with the Athenians, and for good reasons in both cases. He owed help to Syracuse διὰ τὴν Κόρην, παρ' ἧς ἔλαβε τὸν Κέρβερον. Against the Athenians he had a grudge, because they were the allies of Segesta, a Trojan town, which he had once destroyed to avenge the wrongs which he had suffered from Laomedôn (ὀργίζεσθαι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι τοὺς Αἰγεστέας, ἀπογόνους ὄντας Τρώων, ἔσωζον, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ Λαομέδοντος ἀδικηθεὶς,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν). One hardly knows how far any real legend may lurk in a story tricked out by Timaios; anyhow it gives quite a new version of the exploit of Hêraklês, which is here transferred from Eryx to Segesta, still however keeping within Elymian bounds. It is plain that, according to this doctrine, Segesta and, one may suppose, Eryx too, was a Trojan settlement much older than the war of Ilios.

With all these stories we have little to do, least of all with the last. We have but to keep the thread of our argument, that the part of the legend of Heraklês which concerns Eryx is earlier than the later and fuller shape of the Trojan story. The tale of the great wrestling-match was too picturesque to be altogether thrown aside; but it was felt to be inconsistent with a story which put the beginnings of Eryx, and of the Elymian settlement generally, later than the fall of Troy. The device employed to reconcile the two was a little awkward. Aineias and his contemporaries cannot be left out, but they must at most reinforce an earlier Trojan settlement, and Hêraklês must be kept in the back-ground. The earliest form of this stage is in that mysterious poem of Lykophrôn of which it is not too much to say that, but for his kindly scholiasts, it would be past all understanding. The passage (951) runs;

ἄλλοι δ' ἐνοικήσουσι Σικανῶν χθόνα,
πλαγκτοὶ μολόντες, ἔνθα Λαυμίδαν τριπλᾶς
ναύταις ἔδωκε Φοινοδάμαντος κόρας,
ταῖς κητοδόρποις συμφοραῖς δεδηγμένος,
τηλοῦ πρυθεῖναι θηρσὶν ἀμήστοις βοράν,
μολόντας εἰς γῆν ἕσπερον Λαιστρυγόνων,
ὅπου συνοικεῖ δαψιλὴς ἐρημία.
αἱ δ' αὖ παλαιστοῦ μητέρος Ζηρυνθίας
σηκὸν μέγαν δείμαντο, δωτίνην θεᾷ,
μόρον φυγοῦσαι καὶ μονοικήτους ἔδρας,
ὧν δὴ μίαν, Κριμισὸς, ἰνδαλθεὶς κυνί,
ἔζευξε λέκτροις ποταμός· ἡ δὲ δαίμονι
τῷ θηρομίκτῳ σκύλακα γενναίαν τεκνοῖ,
τρισσῶν συνοικιστῆρα καὶ κτίστην τόπων.
ὃς δὴ ποδηγῶν πτόρθον Ἀγχίσου νόθον,
ἄξει τρίδειραν νῆσον, εἰς ληκτηρίαν,
τῶν Δαρδανείαν ἐκ τύπων ναυσθλούμενον.
Αἰγέστα τλῆμον, σοὶ δὲ δαιμόνων φραδαῖς
πένθος μέγιστον καὶ δι' αἰῶνος πάτραι
ἔσται πυρὸς μπαῖσιν ἡθαλώμενης.

We do indeed need a scholiast, and we may be thankful for these that we get, both the older and smaller and the enlarged version

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of John Tzetzês. The ground of Laomedôn's wrath against Phainodamas was that it was he who counselled the Trojans to expose Hêsionê to the sea-monster, for fear lest the lot should fall on one of his own daughters (*εὐλαβούμενος περὶ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ τῶν τριῶν μὴ αὐτὰς ἐκθῶσι*). They are given to the sailors, *ἵνα ἐκθῶσω αὐτὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ θηρίοις βοράν*; but Aphroditê or Hêraklês saves them. It is rather strange that these daughters of Phainodamas have no names; one would have expected them to be the *epônymoi* of the alleged three Elymian towns, Entella, we shall presently see, being reckoned as one. But the foundation of all three seems to be attributed to the son of the one who bears a son, her whom the river Krimisos visits in the form of a dog, a form not without meaning at Eryx. But all join to build the temple, "the temple of the Zerynthian mother of the wrestler." The scholiast explains that the wrestler is Eryx son of Aphroditê. That is to say, though Hêraklês is left out, yet the story of Hêraklês and Eryx was perfectly well known to Lykophrôn. He does not explain why Aphroditê is called *μήτηρ Ζηρυνθία*; Lykophrôn had already (77) spoken of *Ζήρυνθον ἄντρον τῆς κυνοσφαγοῦς θεᾶς*, that is, according to the scholiast on that passage, either Rhea or Hekatê. So Steph. Byz. in *Ζήρυνθος*. But in Livy xxxviii. we have the temple of Apollôn Zêrynthias in the territory of Ainos (so John Tzetzês explains *Ζηρινθίας* by *Θρᾳκικῆς*), which is suggestive of Aineias, and thereby of his mother. Ovid (Tristia, i. 10. 19) speaks of "Zerinthia litora" without any further notice, and Lykophrôn himself in another passage (449) says *Μορφὼ παροικήσουσι τὴν Ζηρυνθίαν*. There the scholiast explains the *Μορφώ* to be the *ξόανον* of Aphroditê, who had a cave at Zêrynthos. Was it the same as that of Hekatê or another? Anyhow in this roundabout way we find that the *μήτηρ Ζηρινθία* is Aphroditê, and that the *σηκὸς μέγας* founded by Phainodamas is the great temple of Eryx.

The scholiast goes on further to explain that the son of the river Krimisos was Aigestês, and that he was called *τρισσῶν συνοικιστὴρ καὶ κτίστης τόπων*, as being the founder of three cities, Aigesta, Eryx, and one which he first says was called *Stylla* (see above, p. 517) from the name of Aigestês' wife. But he afterwards calls her Atalla, Enstylla, &c., all forms tending towards Entella. It will be seen that Lykophrôn does not directly call the personage so born and married Aigestês, but he is clearly the same who is presently addressed as *Αἰγέστα τλῆμον*. The dark reference to the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

bastard son of Anchisês is made perhaps a little clearer by the commentary of the scholiast; *ὁ Αἰγέστης ἐλθὼν εἰς Δαρδανίαν νόθον Ἀγχίσου υἱὸν Ἔλυμον καλούμενον ἤγαγεν εἰς Σικελίαν.*

We find essentially the same story in Servius on Virgil, Æn. i. 550. There Hippotês or Ipsostratus gives the same advice about Hêsionê as Phoinodamas in the other story; his daughter Segesta —the only daughter spoken of—has the same adventure with the river-god in the shape either of a bear or a dog. She bears a son, "Egestum, quem Virgilius Acestem vocat, qui ex matris nomine civitatem Trojanis condidit, quæ ante Egesta, post Segesta dicta est." At v. 30 Servius tells the story again with one or two other details; and he mentions a version according to which Segesta went back to Troy, married Kapys, and became the mother of Anchisês. At v. 73 he tells us further that Helymus was a prince of the Trojans who, if the reading be genuine, founded three cities in Sicily, Asca, Entella, Egesta. Asca must somehow stand for Eryx—some have tried to thrust in Halikyai—and we here come to a distinct mention of Entella.

The version of Lykophrôn has no more mention of Aineias than it has of Hêraklês. Yet we have seen that he must have known the story of Hêraklês. And we may suspect from the references, however dark, to Aphroditê and Anchisês, that he knew the story of Aineias also. Indeed the coming of somebody after the fall of Troy, and of such Aineias is the representative, seems implied. In the version of Dionysios (i. 51) we get a story which has much in common with that of Lykophrôn worked into the Latin legend of Aineias. One hardly knows whether to attach any, even mythical, importance to his first statement about Sicily, namely that, when Aineias set out from Bouthrôton, Patrôn of Thyrion joined the expedition, but settled at Alontium. Aineias' own party sail round to Dropana and there find the older Trojan settlers who came with Elymos and Aigestos;

ἔνθα περιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς σὺν Ἐλύμῳ καὶ Αἰγέστῳ προεξελθοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς Τροίας, οἳ τύχης τε καὶ πνεύματος οὐρίου λαβόμενοι, καὶ ἅμα οὐ πολλῇ ἀποσκευῇ βαρυνόμενοι, δι' ὀλίγου κατήχθησαν εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ ᾤκησαν περὶ ποταμὸν λεγόμενον Κριμισὸν ἐν γῇ Σικανῶν, πρὸς φιλίαν λαβόντες πάρ' αὐτῶν τὸ χωρίον, διὰ τὴν Αἰγέστου συγγενείαν γενομένου τε καὶ τραφέντος ἐν Σικελίᾳ κατὰ τοιόνδε τι πάθος.

This is not very clear, because the story is told backwards. Dionysios now goes on to tell the tale of the *πάθος*, the birth of

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Aigestos. I have given a summary of his story in the text. The name of the Trojan grandfather of Aigestos is not given, nor the cause of the quarrel with Laomedôn. But the birth of Aigestos became less picturesque and more respectable; *ταύταις* [the daughters of the slain man, without names and seemingly two in number] *ἀπιούσαις συννεκπλεῖ μειράκιόν τι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, κρατούμενον ἔρωτι τῆς ἑτέρας, καὶ γαμεῖ τὴν παιδίσκην ἀχθεῖσαν εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῖς παῖς ἐν Σικελοῖς* [Σικανοῖς?] *διατρίβουσιν, Αἴγεστος ὄνομα· ὃς ἤδη καὶ γλῶσσαν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐκμαθὼν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῷ τελευτῆσαι συνέβη, βασιλεύοντος ἐν Τροίᾳ Πριάμου, κάθοδον αὐτῷ δοθῆναι διαπράττεται.* This is one of the shifts to connect this earlier settlement with the received Trojan story. After the fall of Troy, Aigestos goes back to Sicily, *σὺν Ἐλύμῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν φυγὴν ἐν τρισὶ ναυσίν*, of which a legend is told. This is of course before the coming of Aineias, but not very long before it. It is only with his help that he begins to found cities, Aigesta and Ἔλυμα, by which last must be meant Eryx. A part of the force of Aineias is left in Sicily, where he leaves witnesses of his presence of which we have already heard; *πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, περιφανέστατα δὲ τῆς Αἰνειάδος Ἀφροδίτης ὁ βωμὸς ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Ἐλύμου* [*τῆς Ἔρυκος*] *ἱδρυμένος, καὶ ἱερὸν Αἰνείου ἱδρυμένον ἐν Αἰγέστῃ.* This mention of the altar is important. In the story of Lykophrôn the temple of Eryx is the joint work of the three daughters of the Trojan who flees from Laomedôn; the town of Eryx is founded later, by the son of one of them. That is to say, the temple of Eryx is older than the town of Eryx, as the temple of Hadranus (see p. 184) was older than the town of Hadranum. The temple is not built in or near the town, but the town has grown round the temple. In Virgil (Æn. v. 759) the temple is the foundation of Aineias himself, founded at the same time as the town of Segesta. As to the town of Eryx Virgil seems to keep a discreet vagueness; Acestes reigns somewhere, perhaps on the top of the mountain (v. 35);

> "... Procul excelso miratus vertice montis
> Adventum sociasque rates;"

but we do not find him in a distinct city, like Dido in Carthage. The story in Dionysios says nothing about the foundation of the temple; but the mention of this particular altar, doubtless a genuine object of Dionysios' own day, seems to imply that the temple itself was an earlier work. We may be sure that, whether

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the town or the temple was actually the earlier foundation, it was to the temple that the town of Eryx owed all its importance.

Dionysios winds up his story by saying; *τὸ μὲν δὴ σὺν Ἐλύμῳ καὶ Αἰγέστῳ Τρωϊκὸν ἐν τούτοις κατέμεινε τοῖς χωρίοις καὶ διετέλεσαν Ἔλυμοι καλούμενοι.*

We have seen that the chief town of the Elymians is called on its own coins Segesta; the Greek form Egesta (Ἔγεστα or Αἰγέστα) comes in only gradually in late times. Aigestos, Aigestas, Acestes, seems to be an *epônymos* formed from the Greek name. But the Greek corruption is one which has a philological interest, as being the application of a rule of change to a proper name, like *Sabrina* and *Hafren*, like *Hialtland*, if that really be the same, by Grimm's Law, as *Caledonia*. But there are one or two notices which almost look as if there were another town called *Akesta*, or at least as if Segesta or Egesta was sometimes written *Akestê*. There is in Cicero, Verr. iii. 36, a various reading "Acestenses" for "Segestenses," of which the true form (iii. 40) seems to be "Segestani." Stephen of Byzantium is capable of any confusion; but he has two distinct entries;

Ἀκέστη, πόλις Σικελίας, ὡς Ἀγέστα, παρὰ τὸν Ἀκέστην.

Ἐγέστα, πόλις Σικελίας, ἔνθα θερμὰ ὕδατα, ὡς Φίλων ἀπὸ Ἐγέστου τοῦ Τρωός.

It is more serious when Pliny (iii. 9) reckons among the Latin cities of Sicily both *Acestæi* and *Segestani*. Still it is hardly safe to assume a separate town, and at any rate Akesta is quite unknown in history.

On the form of the name *Segesta*, as used by the Latins, Festus (340) has a strange remark;

"Segesta quæ nunc appellatur oppidum in Sicilia est, quod videtur Æneas condidisse præposito ibi Egesto, qui eam Egestam nominavit, sed præposita est ei S littera, ne obsceno nomine appellaretur."

He mentions Beneventum and Dyrrhachium as other cases of a name being changed to avoid an unlucky sound, an explanation seemingly true in the case of Beneventum. He doubtless means that "Egesta" suggested "egestas." But "Segesta" was the real name from the beginning. The Latins simply called the place by its true name, not by its high-polite Greek name, just as they did with Korkyra, Messana, and *νᾶσος* (see p. 350).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Another question arises, What was the number of the Elymian settlements? This I have referred to already when speaking of Entella and of Halikyai (see pp. 120, 122). Thucydides mentions Segesta and Eryx only; and it would need some very strong evidence to set up any others in the face of that evidence. Strabo, in one passage, xiii. 53, talks vaguely of Lilybaion. That we may at once set aside. There was no town of Lilybaion till the fourth century B.C., and there is nothing whatever to make us think that the Elymians ever occupied its site. Lilybaion may possibly be a slip for Drepana. But it is quite clear that some of the later writers looked on Entella as an Elymian foundation, and some modern scholars have adopted the same view. I do not think that any one directly says that Entella was Elymian except Servius (see above, p. 549); but its Elymian character may be hinted at where Lykophrón seems to make his Aigestês found three cities, and his scholiasts seem feeling after the name when they talk of Stylla and Atalla. Virgil too, when he brought in Entellus, must have had Entella in his head. Silius also has the same idea in the lines (xiv. 204);

> "Centuripæ largoque virens Entella Lyæo,
> Entella, Hectoreo dilectum nomen Acestæ."

On the strength of these passages Holm (i. 90, 376) and Busolt (i. 234) accept Entella as Elymian. It certainly seems to me that the words of Thucydides go for more than such vague inferences from late writers. And this argument becomes stronger when we think of the state of Entella in later times. The older inhabitants, Sikan, Elymian, or anything else, had made way for a band of Campanian mercenaries, who remained Campanian. Nothing would be more likely than that, as soon as the Romans began to be heard of, these people, speaking an Italian tongue, should give themselves out as part of the Trojan colony. And they could do so all the more safely, as Segesta also had changed its inhabitants, and no longer contained any real Elymians to contradict them.

Sir Edward Bunbury (Dict. Geog.) accepts Entella as Sikan, as Benndorf (Metopen, &c., Schmid, 29) does Halikyai. As for the Elymian claim of Halikyai, I have really nothing to say beyond what I said already in p. 122.

The main inquiry remains, Who were the Elymians? Now by

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

way of evidence we really have nothing but the legends which we have just been discussing. There is the story of Hêraklês and that of the Trojans, and the single passage of Hellanikos, quoted by Dionysios (i. 22), who brings the Elymians out of Italy, and gives a very precise date. They were driven out of Italy by the Œnotrians, five years before the coming of the Sikels into Sicily (see above, p. 481). This is the only statement in which any ancient author distinctly sets forth his own dissent from the Trojan story. And one would like to know how Hellanikos brought it in, and what went before and after his statement. As we read it in Dionysios, who may not be quoting the exact words, Hellanikos might seem to bring Elymians and Sikels together, as if they had some special connexion, as if there was some national kindred between Elymians and Sikels. On the other hand, if we take the Elymians to be, like the Sikans, part of the great non-Aryan race of southern and western Europe, Iberian or whatever we please to call it, they may pass either from Italy into Sicily or from Sicily into Italy. Only such a migration would belong to times before history and before tradition; it could hardly be placed at a distance of only five years from a *quasi*-historic event like the Sikel migration. The legend of Hêraklês does not point to one nation more than another. Hêraklês finds some settlers at Eryx. As they have their *epônymos* living among them, they must have settled but lately; but there is no hint whence they came. As for the Trojan story, Thucydides tells it, or rather the combined Trojan and Phokian story, as positively as he tells the migration of the Sikels. Yet we instinctively feel that the two rest on different grounds. The Sikel migration is a piece of genuine tradition, while the Trojan origin of the Elymians is clearly a made-up legend. But though it is a made-up legend, it may nevertheless have some groundwork of truth to go upon. That is, it might be taken as a presumption in favour of an Asiatic origin for the Elymians, as distinguished from the præ-historic Sikans and the European Sikels and Greeks. Such an Asiatic origin must be conceived as distinct from that of the Phœnicians. Why should a Trojan origin be largely claimed for Elymians, while it is never claimed for Sikans or Sikels? If the Trojan origin were asserted only by writers under Roman influences, the answer would be easy. It was very convenient for Segesta to be Trojan at the time when the Romans became important in Sicily, and it

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

was easy for the actual inhabitants of Segesta at that time to call themselves anything that they chose. I have already employed this argument in the case of Entella. But the Trojan origin of the Elymians was asserted long before the Romans were of any account in Sicily. Segesta and Eryx are accepted as Trojan by Thucydides, and Entella is not.

There must then have been something under colour of which the Elymians could claim a Trojan origin, while such a thought never occurred to Sikans or Sikels. That is, there must have been something which had an Eastern, but not a Phœnician, character. The Phœnician influences among the Elymians are set forth by Movers (Phönizier, ii. 319 et seqq.); but he does not seek to establish more than influence (" nicht als Phönizier, sondern als unter deren Einflusse stehende Colonisten," p. 322). Neither does he seek to establish for them any independent Eastern origin. Holm (G. S. 88, 374) goes much deeper into the matter. He connects the Ἔλυμοι of Sicily with the Elamites, Ἐλυμαῖοι in Strabo, xvi. 1. 18, who had a temple of Athênê or Artemis called Zara and Azara (cf. Hêsychios, Ζαρῆτις, Ἄρτεμις, Πέρσαι). Zarêtis again (Movers, i. 22) is a name of Astarte, and this is connected with the μήτηρ Ζηρινθία of Lykophrôn. All this may be so; but I cannot see that it is shown to be so. The Elymian name, as I have already said, is just like the Albanian name—Holm himself refers to the Macedonian Elimiôtis—and the likeness in the different cases may be just as accidental. When Holm (i. 375) finds the names Eryx, Entella, Segesta itself, repeated in Liguria, I recognize an important fact—as I do when I find the name Eryx repeated in the Sicilian Eryca and Erycas—but I do not draw from it any inferences as to the origin of the Elymians. I look on the names rather as traces of the general præ-Aryan occupation of which the Sikans seem to me to be part.

Meltzer (Gesch. der Karthager, i. 31) looks on the Elymians as nearly akin to the Sikans, and differing from them only in their greater capacity for receiving Eastern culture. He seems to accept the view of Hellanikos;

" Denn gestützt auf unverächtliche Zeugnisse, muss nüchterne Betrachtung diesen Stamm doch wohl für einen über Italien her eingewanderten, ursprünglich westeuropäischen halten, der von den nächstgesessenen und nächstverwandten Sicanern sich nur durch die frühzeitige, tiefe Imprägnirung [!] mit phoenikisch-orientalischem

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Wesen unterschied, so dass die grosse Göttin des Morgenlandes auch die seinige, sein Land Eigenthum des Melqart wird."

This last of course refers to the Hêraklês story. Elsewhere (i. 156) he remarks that the relation between Phœnicians and Elymians was "das erste Beispiel eines Zusammenschlusses der Phoeniker mit einem Barbarenvolk des Westens gegen die Griechen." In a note (i. 425) he refers to Holm, and accepts Entella and Halikyai as Elymian. In p. 484 he remarks that the Elymians were parted from Panormos by Sikan Hykkara. Busolt (i. 232, et seqq.) commits himself to nothing, and makes the true remark; "das semitische Element bei den Elymern gestattet noch keinen sicheren Schluss auf orientalischen Ursprung."

One must be very keen for Eastern settlements to build much on the casual mention in Appian, B. C. v. 117, of ἡ Παλαιστηνῶν γῆ, somewhere not very far from Messana. One may of course bring Philistines into Sicily if one pleases; or one may, with Cluver (387), correct the name into Ἀβακαινίων or anything else. See Holm, i. 91, 361.

I had written thus far according to my then light when I came across the new doctrine of Heisterbergk referred to above (see p. 198), according to which the Elymians are a whole, seemingly an Italian whole, of which the Sikans are part. The Elymians of history are that part of the nation which was most closely connected with the Phœnicians. The two Elymian towns of modern conjecture are accepted as well as the two recorded by Thucydides. The Sikans are, as I have said already, that part of the Elymians who took a geographical name from the river Sikanos, that is, the southern Himeras. I am quite unable to follow the general argument. Much stress seems to be laid (p. 58) on the passage quoted from Hellanikos by Dionysios (see above, pp. 481, 553), where an Elymian and a Sikel migration from Italy is mentioned, but not a migration of Sikans, and on the passages quoted from Antiochos by Dionysios (see p. 482) and Strabo (see p. 474). These are to show that the Sikan name was not known in southern Italy. It makes no difference to any doctrine with which I am concerned whether it was or not. The præ-Aryan settlement of southern Europe, of which I take the Sikans to be a part, comes before tradition. The Sikans professed to be *autochthones*. The passage of Pausanias

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

(see p. 477) which asserts an Italian origin for the Sikans, but brings the Elymians (his Φρύγες) from the Skamander, "verdankt ihre Entstehung vielleicht nur einer *stilistischen Antithese.*" If I knew either the German or the English of these last words, I might perhaps better understand the matter; but I certainly never thought of building much on the passage. The following (p. 65) seems to be a summary of the whole argument;

"Wenn nur die Sicaner, deren Name kein ethnographischer, sondern ein geographischer ist, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach dem einen oder dem andern der beiden aus Italien nach Sicilien eingewanderten Stämme, entweder den Elymern oder den Siculern angehört haben müssen, und wenn sie den Siculern aus den eben angeführten Gründen nicht angehört haben können, so bleibt nur die Annahme möglich, dass sie ein Teil des Elymerstammes gewesen sind."

Then follow references to various passages, among others to Thucydides, vi. 2. The words Τρώων τινες . . . ὅμοροι τοῖς Σικανοῖς οἰκήσαντες ξύμπαντες μὲν Ἔλυμοι ἐκλήθησαν, πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν Ἔρυξ τε καὶ Ἔγεστα (see above, p. 543), are understood to mean that both the Trojans and their Sikan neighbours bore the name of Elymoi. Neither Thirlwall nor Grote seems to have thought of this sharing of the Elymian name (whatever its force) between Trojans and Sikans. But in no case can Heisterbergk have any right to substitute (p. 66) *Entella* for the Ἔγεστα of Thucydides. It is strange too when (p. 67; cf. 81) he refers to the mention of Sikans in Diodôros, iv. 83, as proving that Sikans and Elymians were the same. Diodôros says that Aineias honoured his mother's temple at Eryx, and that it was honoured successively by Sikans, Carthaginians, and Romans. He surely means that the Elymian sanctuary was honoured by all other nations that came anywhere near it. Heisterbergk goes on further into a speculation, the decision of which however he leaves to Oriental scholars, whether the Elisha (אלישה) of Genesis, which has been taken for Sicily—as well as for the quite impossible Ϝᾶλις or Ἦλις—can have anything to do with the name Ἔλυμοι. After this one is glad to seek for our Ἔλυμοι (עילם) at the court of Chedorlaomer.

I had thought these were "last words;" but this is a kind of subject on which "more last words" are not unlikely to turn up.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

I find them in this case in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (Berlin, 1889), vol. xvi. p. 167, in an article "Die Sprache der sicilischen Elymer," by K. F. Kinch of Copenhagen. The argument, which is very closely reasoned, is taken from those remarkable coins of Segesta and Eryx, at which I glanced in the text (see p. 202), which have an ending which at first seems very strange. The letters are Greek, the words are otherwise Greek; but instead of an ordinary genitive plural ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΩΝ or ΕΡΥΚΙΝΩΝ, we find such forms as ΒΙ ΞΑΓΞΙΓΞΙΣ (Coins of Sicily, p. 131), ΣΕC ΕΣΤΑΞΙΒ, ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΞΙΒ (pp. 132, 133), $\frac{\text{ERYKA}}{\text{B I Ξ}}$ (p. 62). In one (p. 134) there is ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΩΝ on the obverse and ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΞΙΒ on the reverse. Here Greek and Elymian might seem to translate one another, and the Greek spelling shows a comparatively late date. In all these the last letter looks like a common B; in some older coins (pp. 130, 131) the letter takes forms somewhat different. And there are some (p. 130) in which the name takes a longer form IMƎBIΞATΣƎDƎΣ, while another form (p. 133) is ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΞΙΑ. It is on these facts, and some others, that Kinch founds his argument, a summary of which must take the place of the short note on the coins which I had first written.

These Elymian forms, as it is convenient with Kinch to call them, are found only on the older coins of Segesta and Eryx, dating from the year 500 before Christ or a little earlier. The older coins of Segesta have always native legends ("ohne Ausnahme im einheimischen Dialekte geschriebene Legenden"); it is only from about 410 that purely Greek legends are found. At Eryx, on the other hand, Greek influence prevails from about 480, the date of the oldest coins. He then quotes some other forms, of which the most remarkable (pp. 189, 199) is ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΞΙΕ. The fact, according to Kinch, is that the seeming B is no real B, but a form used in the alphabets of Corinth, Megara, and Selinous, to express ε and η, while E expresses ει. The seeming Σεγεσταζιβ—the Ξ is ζ, not ξ—is thus the same as Σεγεσταζιε, Σεγεσταζιη, Σεγεσταζια, and the wonderful-looking ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΞΙΒΕΜΙ turns out to be nothing more than Σεγεσταζίη εἰμί. There are other cases in which the name of the place is found instead of the genitive plural of the gentile, as in several coins of Kamarina (Coins of Sicily, pp. 35 et seqq.).

Having thus reached a form ending in αζια or something like it, Kinch goes on (pp. 192, 193) to compare it with various West-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Asiatic forms, Armenian, Mysian, Phrygian, among which the ordinary Greek scholar is glad to welcome the familiar Σαβάζιος. So in Lykian he quotes "Sppartazi" and "Atunazi" as meaning Spartan and Athenian. We thus get our mysterious forms as equivalent in ordinary Greek to Σεγεσταία and Ἐρυκαία, and the heads (see p. 199) and figures are those of the local goddesses. That of Eryx is therefore Ashtoreth or Aphroditê, Ἀφροδίτη Ἐρυκίνη, "Erycina ridens." Only she appears (Coins of Sicily, p. 62) clad in a long *chitôn* and sacrificing at an altar. In another example (p. 201) we get a distinct genitive plural ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΞΙΟΝ, Σεγεσταζιον, =Σεγεσταζίων, Σεγεσταίων.

From all this, which is argued with many numismatic and liguistic details into which I have no call and no capacity to enter, Kinch infers (204) that the Elymian tongue was something between Greek and something else that seems to be West-Asiatic;

"Die Stellung der elymischen Sprache war eine Zwischenstellung zwischen den Hellenischen und einer anderen nicht genau bestimmbaren, vielleicht doch mit den sogennanten westkleinasiatischen Idiomen verwandten Sprachfamilie."

The Greek element is Ionic, but not Chalkidic, not from neighbours at Himera. The tongue is "Barbarisch-Ionisch,"—a description which hardly conveys its own meaning, but which suggests several thoughts. It seems to connect the Elymians with those nations in Europe and Asia which, without being Greek, had a nearer tie to the Greeks than the vaguer Aryan affinity. Of this the Trojan story might well be a form, not so much a real legend as a later touching-up. And it might help to bring our Elymians in Sicily at least nearer to men of kindred name in Macedonia and even Arkadia than to the more distant Elam. And after reading Kinch one better understands E. Curtius (Griechische Geschichte, i. 364), which by itself seemed wonderfully positive;

"Vielmehr wohnte um den Eryxgipfel herum das Volk der Elymer, welches, *nach einstimmiger Ueberlieferung mit den kleinasiatischen Seevölkern und namentlich mit den Dardanern verwandt war.* Sie stammen von Colonisten, die von den Phöniziern einst aus ihrer Heimath fortgeschleppt waren oder sich ihnen angeschlossen hatten."

Kinch's argument, as far as the forms of the letters and words go, seems, if I am at all entitled to judge, to be singularly ingenious,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

and to go very far towards being convincing. But speculations about "Barbarisch-Ionisch" some of us may be tempted to leave to another generation.

NOTE XIII. p. 244.

Phœnician Local Names in Sicily.

That there is a Phœnician element in the local nomenclature of Sicily no sane person will dispute. In the part of Sicily which was occupied by Phœnicians we look for Phœnician names as naturally as we look for Greek names in the part which was occupied by Greeks. The only alternative in either case is that the name may belong to one of the earlier languages of the island, to the Sikel or to the yet older Sikan. We are amazed to find Phœnician Panormos known only by a Greek name, to find that its Phœnician name is uncertain. We expect Solous, Motya, and Lilybaion to be Phœnician names. The presumption is that they are such; we begin to doubt only when we find Motya repeated in Motyon in the Akragantine territory (Diod. xi. 91), which suggests that the Phœnician in the one case, the Greek in the other, kept on a Sikan name. Nor are we the least surprised to find Phœnician names even within the bounds of Greek occupation. As the Phœnicians occupied headlands and islands from which they withdrew before the Greeks, nothing is more likely than that some Phœnician names should cleave to those headlands and islands. That it should be so is no more wonderful than when we find at New York that *Harlem* and *Staaten* Island keep up the memory of a time when the land was New Netherlands. At every Greek site in Sicily whose name is not clearly and indisputably Greek, we may fairly ask, Is this name Phœnician? All that is needed is to remember that it cannot be taken for granted that it must be Phœnician. And, when we ask, Is it Phœnician? we should also ask, Is it Greek in some shape less easily to be discerned? Is it —within the proper geographical bounds—Sikel? Is it—in any part of the island—Sikan? And we must further remember that we have no right to look for a certain answer to any of these

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

questions. In many cases it will be wise not to guess at all. In all cases it will be wise not to put forth our guesses as if they were absolutely ascertained facts.

Nothing in truth is more dangerous, as nothing is more tempting, than guessing at local nomenclature without a guide. About Laodikeia, Cæsarea, Haconby, Richard's Castle, we can hardly go wrong save in one way. It would be rash to fix without book the particular Laodikê, the particular Cæsar, the particular Hakon, the particular Richard, after whom the place may have been named. When matters are less plain than this, it is safest to fix nothing, to profess no more than to have made a likely guess, unless where our derivation is strengthened by what, in the administration of a certain branch of the law, is called corroborative evidence. We must always remember to how many chances of change, corruption, misunderstanding, misapplication, a name is exposed when it has to pass through a strange language. And all our Sikel names, most of our Phœnician names, are known to us only in a Greek shape. Even within the bounds of the same language the danger is great. He who shall take the names of Bath and Wells to be what at first sight they seem to be will, by some strange chance, be perfectly right. But if, on the strength of this piece of good luck, he should go on to infer that the name Bridgewater (*Burgus Walteri*) has anything to do either with a *bridge* or with *water*, he would greatly err. And when the mere form of the name admits of no question, it is easy to go wrong as to the cause of its application. There is a district in Pennsylvania which was largely occupied by Welsh settlers. Welsh names are still common both in local and in family nomenclature. One might easily be tempted to set down the name of the county, Montgomery, as another instance of this rule, to guess that it was directly called after Montgomery in Wales. But it was called after a Governor Montgomery. And if he belonged to the Scottish or French family so named, he would have nothing whatever to do with the Welsh Montgomery, save that both are in one way or other called after the old *Mons Gomerici* in the Lexovian land (see Norman Conquest, ii. 196). We must be on our guard against pitfalls of all these kinds when we attempt anything in Sicilian nomenclature that is at all less certain than the derivation of the Hyblaian Megara from the Nisaian, or the derivation of the town of Phintiás from King Phintías its founder.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Movers (Phonizier, ii. 2. 325) gives a long list of Sicilian places to which he assigns Phœnician derivations. Some we can accept without any difficulty; as to others we must ask leave to doubt. It is to be noticed that he does not attempt to find a Semitic origin for the name of Syracuse (see p. 359). He has a Phœnician name for the isle of Ortygia בא־ אח (p. 327), as to the meaning of which Semitic scholars seem not to agree, but which one would really like to think meant "the spring of the island." That Πάχυνος is בחן, the place of watching, we can neither affirm nor deny; we have at least nothing better to suggest in any other tongue. But when we are told that Κατάνη is קטנא, the small haven as opposed to the great one at Syracuse (p. 329), we begin to revolt. We are inclined to say with Holm (das Alte Catania, 3; see p. 377);

"Man hat für ihn [den Namen] viele Erklärungen aufgestellt, die nichts mehr als etymologische Spielereien sind: sollte der Name, wie wir schon andeuteten, sikelischen Ursprunges sein, so wäre der Gedanke nicht ohne Weiteres von der Hand zu weisen, dass seine Deutung in dem Worte Katinon läge, das bei den Sikelern, ebenso wie bei den Römern, das entsprechende Wort catinum, Schüssel, bedeutet; dann hätte die Lage der Stadt innerhalb des oben geschilderten Hügelkreuzes die Veranlassung zu ihrem Namen gegeben."

Nor does Greek quite fail us. A dark play on words in Plutarch (Dion, 58) suggests that in some language Κατάνη meant another homely article; *φασὶν αὐτὸν* [Κάλλιππον] *εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πόλιν ἀπολωλεκὼς τυρόκνηστιν εἴληφεν*, where the city is Syracuse and the cheese-scraper is Katanê. Or we can take refuge—it is literally a downfall—in the legend told by Stephen of Byzantium; Κατάνη. *κέκληται δὲ οὕτως, ἐπειδὴ κατέβη πρὸς τὸν Ἀμενανὸν ποταμὸν ἡ Θευκλέους τοῦ Χαλκιδέως ναῦς, ἣν Δωριεῖς χωρὶς τοῦ ν νᾶν φασίν.* And he gives one another chance; *ἢ ὅτι τῆς Αἴτνης κατατεθείσης τὰ ἄνω κάτω γέγονεν.* Seriously, one is tempted to choose the Sikel dish. There is to be sure a difference in quantity; but if Κατάνη could change into *Cátina*, and that back again into Catánia, the difficulty is not great.

On the other hand, that Tamaricium (p. 330), Palma, should be תמר, has a very strong amount of likelihood. But need we infer that our Καμάρινα has anything to do with another near Babylon, which is interpreted Χαλδαίων πόλις, and derived from the כמרים,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the idolatrous priests of several passages of the Old Testament? Schubring (Kamarina, 492) discusses other Semitic analogies, which seem at least as likely. Holm (A. C. 7) reminds us that there was a fish called κάμμαρος or καμμαρίς, sung of by Sôphrôn and Epicharmos (see Athenaios, iii. 67; vii. 27, 75; Lorenz, Epicharmos, 232), and an ingenious man with Sikel tendencies might haply make something out of Latin *camara* or *camera*.

Some more curious questions start themselves as we go further along the south coast from Kamarina. Some one may likely enough have found Semitic derivations for Sikel Gela and Sikan Akragas. Of the latter name it is perhaps enough to say that, whatever was its real origin, the Greeks played upon it (see p. 400). But Zeus Atabyrios doubtless comes from Rhodes, and in Rhodes Ἀταβύριος may likely enough be a Semitic תבור. Further on comes the most curious point of all. There is a spot, at which we have glanced elsewhere (see pp. 113, 496), known at different times as Minôa and as Hêrakleia, and of which we shall presently have largely to speak. It is said to have been also called *Makara*, and here *Makara* may very likely be Semitic. Only, whenever any name the least like *Makara* is seen, the whole Eastern school raises one shout of "Melkart." The zeal of Duncker (v. 50) goes so far as to see Melkart in Μακρίς as a name of long Euboia. It is a name of long Korkyra also; perhaps, as the Phœnicians did make Ocean voyages, we may also have been wrong as to the third Μακρίς off the coast of Connecticut. "Long Island" hardly suggests Melkart; but happily some other Semitic derivation might be found. The Μακάρων νῆσοι also lay westward, and the blinded Greeks may have been mistaken in thinking that the name had anything to do with happiness. We go on to be told (Movers, ii. 2. 332, 3) that Inykon "entschieden phönizisch ist." Here there is some corroborative evidence in the shape of an African place of the same or nearly the same name. But we are not told the meaning of the Phœnician name, and the guess is equally lawful that the likeness may be owing to some far older kindred between Sikans and Berbers. In the river Hypsas we are tempted to see, as in Akragas, a Sikan name turned into a Greek shape; but no; "Ὕψας scheint der phönizische Flussname תפסח in der form יפסח zu sein." At Mazara "der Name ist deutlich מצרה d. h. Castell." (So Holm, i. 83, 371.) One might more easily believe, if there were no river of the name, or even if

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the φρούριον and ἐμπόριον of Selinous (Steph. Byz. and Diod. xiii. 54) had been on the Phœnician side of the river. But surely the φρούριον took its name from the river rather than the other way, and a river is hardly likely to be called "Castell."

When we are told that Phœnician Solous is סלע, *Sela*, the Rock, fellow of Arabian Petra, we gladly believe (see p. 202). The presumption is that the Phœnician place will bear a Phœnician name, and no name could better describe the Sicilian Sela on its rocky hill above the sea. But it is another thing when we are asked (Movers, ii. 332) to cross the island and to give exactly the same derivation to Greek Selinous. Here again we have the river; as we have rivers of the same name in Elis and Achaia, and another place called Selinous in Lakonia. At Selinous too the Semitic name has no such special fitness as it has at Solous, and there is an obvious and commonly accepted Greek derivation from the plant σέλινον. But in these matters Hellas may not so much as take tithe of the meanest herbs. As we may not gather our σέλινον at Σελινοῦς (see p. 421), nor our θάψον or θαψία (see Hêsychios, and pp. 244, 348) on Θάψος, neither may we gather our μάραθον at Μαραθών, nor presumably either at Μάραθος of the Phokians or on the islands of Μαραθοῦσσα. For is there not a Μάραθος in Phœnicia, and at Μαραθών was there not once a bull? (see Duncker, v. 48). For, according to the new school, the nationality of a bull is not to be called in question anywhere. He is to be at once hailed as Semitic, even, one may presume, by the waters of Clitumnus.

It is needless to go through the whole vocabulary. With Movers (ii. 2. 340) to his guide, the Canaanite marches inland, and annexes no small store of names which are presumably Sikel or Sikan. Here we may take up our geographical position on the strength of being inland. Here we have a right to ask for yet stronger corroborative evidence than we ask on the coast. Is there any such evidence to make Ἀμήστρατος, Μυτίστρατον, names and spellings which have puzzled us enough already (see p. 143), into the folk or the *commune* of Ashtoreth? ("עמעשתר oder עמעשתרת, מתעשתרת anstalt עמתעשתרת," Movers, ii. 2. 342). I am far from thinking that the name has really anything to do with στρατός; the presumption is that the Greeks, as in so many other cases, Ἱερυσάλυμα for instance, gave a Sikan or Sikel name a turn which should seem to have a meaning in their own tongue. And it is a wound in a

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

tender point when we are told of our head and front, our crowning headland, our Sikel Capitolium (Movers, ii. 2. 338), "Kephalödium lag auf einem Vorgebirge, wie sein (wohl aus dem Phönizischen *Rus* übersetzter) Name andeutet." We are told, truly enough, that in local names ראש answers to *κεφαλή*, *capo*, anything of the kind. *Πῶς γὰρ οὔ*; so it does to this day, wherever a Semitic tongue is spoken. But why need Greek or Sikel have translated from the Phœnician? Are not the chances a thousand to one that both the colonizing nations translated from the Sikel name?

We may fairly look for Phœnician names on any part of the Sicilian coast. Of the suggested derivations some are very likely, some are almost certain. But it does not do to assume that every name must have a Semitic origin, and that any Semitic word that is the least like the name must be its Semitic origin. We must remember that derivations in several other languages are at least as likely. We must allow for accidents of all kinds; for changes, for corruptions, for mistranslations and misconceptions, perhaps for mere caprice and perversity. Within the bounds of what passes for English, one hemisphere has seen the birth of Saltaire and Camberley—made ingeniously out of *Cambr*idge Town—and another has seen the yet more wonderful Mechanicsburg and Varicty-ville. Nearer to the times with which we are dealing, very odd results came of looking for the meaning of *Μαλοείς*, *Ἐπίδαμνος*, and *Ἔγεστα* in the wrong language. Can we guarantee Sikans and Sikels, Phœnicians and Greeks, against the like accidents of human weakness?

NOTE XIV. p. 313.

The First Greek Settlements in Sicily.

I have in the text mainly followed the sketch of Greek colonization in Sicily at the beginning of the sixth book of Thucydides. It is clear from the extracts from Ephoros and other writers given in Strabo and elsewhere that other versions were afloat. Of these versions some are inconsistent with the account in Thucydides, while others fall in happily to fill it up. Most of these I have

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

examined when dealing with the particular cities to which they refer. The sketch as given by Thucydides, whether founded on Antiochos or not, it is needless to praise. No human writing ever was clearer. But our guide seems carefully to keep himself from touching on the Greek settlements in Italy, though he often has to mention them in the course of his history. Yet the Sicilian and the Italian settlements stood in a near relation to one another; both may pass as branches of one great plan of Hellenic expansion in the West. In this way our secondary sources often enable us to see the relations of things more clearly than we could from the Sicilian summary taken alone. Yet one could have wished for a few more words from Thucydides himself to confirm or to refute these other stories. I trust that I have not been too bold in working in such notices from the secondary sources as did not seem to contradict the main narrative. The joint settlement of Korkyra and Syracuse has surely everything in its favour short of the direct statement of the great master.

It is certainly to be regretted that we have not that part of the work of Diodôros in which he must have recorded the Greek settlements in Sicily. In his own island he is always at his best; and he would doubtless have preserved to us many valuable notices from his authorities besides those to be found in Strabo and elsewhere.

Following Thucydides then, I accept the Greek settlements in Sicily as beginning in the third quarter of the eighth century before Christ, and as beginning with Naxos. But the order seems to me of far greater importance than the exact date. The main point is that Theoklês of Chalkis and his followers were the first Greeks really to settle in Sicily, and that they settled at Naxos. It does not follow that they were actually the first Greeks to visit the island. We must not forget that such a traffic as the Odyssey points to between Greeks and Sikels does not necessarily prove any direct intercourse between the two ends of the voyage. The Phœnician carrying-trade is enough to account for everything. On the other hand, there is no need to assert that Theoklês was absolutely the first Greek to set foot on Sicilian soil. If we put the foundation of Kymê earlier, even ever so little earlier, than the beginnings of Greek settlement in Sicily, the chances are that some accident of traffic or piracy would carry some Kymaian adventurers to the island which they or their fathers must have all but touched

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

on their first voyage. If any one chooses to believe that the first piratical occupation of Zanklê (see p. 392) came before the regular settlement of Naxos, though I see no reason for such a belief, the acceptance of it would not greatly disturb the order of things. But I cannot accept the doctrine to which Holm seems to incline (G. S. i. 113 et seqq) that there was an Aitolian settlement at Syracuse earlier than that of Archias of Corinth. The *à priori* argument seems to be that we hear so little of settlements from Western Greece, and that there must have been some. The positive evidence seems of the very weakest. It comes from a passage in the Scholiast on Apollônios of Rhodes, i. 419, which really comes to nothing more than, what nobody ever doubted, that more places than one bore the name of Ortygia. The Scholiast quotes (and oddly mismetres) some verses of the Alexandrine Nikandros in the third book of his Αἰτωλικά, in which he affirms the existence of an Aitôlian Ortygia of which the Delian and the Syracusan were alike colonies.

οἱ δ' ἐξ Ὀρτυγίης Τιτηνίδος ὁρμηθέντες, οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἔφεσον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πρότερον Δῆλον καλουμένην· ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν ὁμοτέρμονα Σικελίας νῆσον· ὅθεν Ὀρτυγίαι πᾶσαι βοῶνται. καὶ ἡ Δῆλος μὲν οὐχ, ὡς μεμύθευται, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀστερίας μεταμορφώσεως τῆς Λητοῦς ἀδελφῆς, ἀλλὰ καθὰ πᾶσαι αἱ Ὀρτυγίαι ἀποικίαι εἰσὶ τῆς κατ' Αἰτωλίαν Ὀρτυγίας.

I really cannot see anything in this, even though we find in the Townley Scholia to the Iliad ix. 557 (v. 333 Maass) a mention of Ὀρτυγία ἡ ἐν τῇ Χαλκίδι (the Aitolian Chalkis), which is doubtless the same. Nor do I see that the case is strengthened by the existence, witnessed by Thucydides himself, of a river Anapos near Stratos in Akarnania (ii. 82). (There seems also to be an Ἴναπός in the Delian Ortygia itself.) Even if the likeness of river-names proved more than the likeness between the Macedonian Axios and all the British Axes and Exes, between the Russian Don and all the British Dons, how does all this bear on an earlier settlement than that from Corinth? It would rather seem that some daring Aitolians, knowing so much better than the Syracusans themselves, claimed Syracuse as an Aitolian settlement. As a real Aitolian settlement had reached the Alpheios, there might be some temptation to claim Arethousa as well.

Holm refers also to the legend of the foundation of the Sikel town of Alantiam by Patrôn from Thyrion in Akarnania (see above, p. 540), which is a mere part of the Trojan story. He refers also

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

to the worship of Greek gods at Sikel places and the introduction of Greek gods into Sikel legends, as that of Apollôn into the legends of the Galeatic Hybla (see p. 162, and above, p. 515). Surely all this came of the intercourse between Greeks and Sikels as commonly understood.

Holm further refers (i. 381), as "ein Zeugniss für sehr alten Verkehr zwischen Sicilien und dem Osten" to the story of Polycharês the Messenian and Euaiphnos the Spartan told by Pausanias iv. 4. 5, and in a fragment of Diodôros de Virt. et Vit. Exc. Hoesch. p. 78. Euaiphnos has the cows of Polycharês to agist, and he sells them and the herdsmen to merchants. Pausanias says nothing about the course of their traffic, but Diodôros adds, *τοὺς δ' ἐμπόρους εἰς Σικελίαν πλέοντας κομίζεσθαι παρὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.* If this were in Thucydides himself, it could hardly prove a Greek colony in Sicily; but it most likely comes from the poem of Rhianos. In his mind, as we shall presently see, Messênê and Sicily had a good deal to do with one another, and the notion of selling people to Sicily is surely a remembrance of the threat of the suitors to Odysseus, which need not have been a sale into Sicily after all.

As for Panormos (see p. 250), Holm in his History (i. 84) followed the ordinary view; "Es ist eigenthümlich, dass die Stadt Panormos, *die nie von Griechen beherrscht wurde*, einen hellenischen Namen führt, den noch manche andere Hafenorte in Europa und Asien tragen." But in an Italian article in the *Archivio Storico Siciliano* (Nuova Serie, Anno iv. p. 421, Palermo, 1880), he maintains a new doctrine, namely that Panormos was founded by Greeks at some unfixed date. For this of course he cannot bring any direct evidence, just as it is impossible to bring any direct evidence the other way. The question is whether there is enough evidence of any other kind to upset the likelihood of the case and the natural inferences from the account of Thucydides. An outlying Greek settlement might have been planted at Panormos as easily as at Kymê; only there is the general belief of antiquity on behalf of Kymê; there is only the guess of a modern scholar on behalf of Panormos. Holm begins with an odd little difficulty that Panormos does not answer the description given by Thucydides—Thucydides whom he is setting aside on such far weightier matters—of the Phœnician settlements. It is neither an *ἄκρα* nor a *νησίδιον* (vi. 2). But he allows that it may pass; "la lingua di terra occu-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

pata da Panormos aveva di certo le qualità volute dai Fenicî." He sees plainly that the time of withdrawal, which he places about 700–640 before Christ (that is, after the founding of Himera; see p. 410), was not necessarily the time of the foundation of Panormos and her two fellows; "Resta dunque almeno possibile che, come lo erano certo Motye e Soloeis, così fosse anche Panormos di già abitata da Fenicî, quando questi nel corso del primo secolo di Roma, si concentrarano in questa parte della Sicilia." Following Movers, he rules that the Phœnician foundation may have come in times from the eleventh to the ninth century. But, however old it was, there was a Greek foundation older still.

For this belief the chief argument is the name. A Phœnician city would not have used a Greek name. And Panormos was the real formal name of the city, not merely a name given to the haven by Greeks who frequented it. ("Non si può dire che questo nome sia stato in uso soltanto presso i Greci che potevano frequentare il porto, no; era il nome ufficiale della città, il nome che le davano gli stessi abitanti; lo provano le moneta colla legenda ΠΑΝΟΡΜΟΣ.") Those who, after the words of Thucydides, assert the Phœnician origin of Panormos, have therefore been driven to hold that the city had two names, a Greek and a Phœnician. They have therefore sought for the Phœnician name of Panormos. He then discusses Machanat, Machoshbim, and Ziz, and decides with some hesitation that Ziz was the name, but that the city was also called Panormos, "non soltanto da forestieri, bensì dagli abitanti stessi."

He then gives a list of places called Πάνορμος, all, as he remarks, in Greek lands or lands under Greek influence, the latter—in Roman times—stretching as far as a Πάνορμος λιμήν in the Red Sea (Diod. iii. 38). If then a city in Sicily could be called Panormos by its own inhabitants, it could only be because the name had been given to it by Greek founders.

How then, Holm asks, is this to be reconciled with what he calls the "official account" in Thucydides ("quella storia ufficiale, per così dire, della colonizzazione greca in Sicilia")? That account speaks the truth, but not the whole truth. He then goes on to recapitulate his other supposed examples of earlier Greek settlement of which we have spoken above. The "official" story grew up in the interest of Eastern Greece. The doings of other and earlier Greeks were forgotten, like the discovery of America by the Northmen.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Even the legend of Telmissos and Galeôtês (see above, p. 515) is pressed into the service to show that the Greek Apollôn-worship was carried into Sicily before the eighth century. A Greek colony has been supposed by others, as Kiepert, to account for the name. It is easier to suppose an unrecorded settlement, Greeks "senza nome, senza storia," who were driven out when the Phœnicians withdrew to the three north-western points, if not before.

Holm further refers to Cluver as having maintained his view before him. But Cluver proves rather too much. His words (p. 275) are;

"Græca quum sint Πάνορμος et Σολόεις vocabula, a Græcis fuisse conditas eas urbeis suspicari pronum erat, hinc doctissimus Marianus Valgvarnera, in libro de primordio urbis Panormitanæ, deque primis Siciliæ atque Italiæ cultoribus, ubi Cyclopes, primos hujus insulæ cultores, Græci fuisse generis primosque Panormi conditores, compluribus demonstrare laborat conjecturis; hoc etiam Græci vocabuli ceu firmissimo usus est argumento. Verum nos Motyam à Cnidiis Græcis prædicta Olympiade L fuisse conditam, moxque eam Phœnices cum Carthaginiensibus, pulsis primis conditoribus atque incolis, occupasse. . . . Ex hoc igitur argumento quid vetat colligere, *Panormum* quoque ac *Solúntem* a Græcis, non a Phœnicibus, primum ortum nomenque accepisse."

Cluver's reference to Motya is to his own notion (p. 255) about the expedition of Pentathlos. He conceives Motya to have been founded as a Greek city, and to have been afterwards occupied by Phœnicians.

I really see nothing to answer in all this. It seems all to turn on the name, and on its use on coins of the city. But it is only found on coins where everything else is Greek. Under the influence of Greek art, the Phœnicians of Ziz—if it was Ziz—chose to have their coins struck with Greek legends. The name Πάνορμος came as part of the Greek legend. Many towns have quite distinct names in two languages, and they do not always translate one another. The same town is called Cardigan and Aberteifi. An Englishman speaking in Welsh would say "Aberteifi," and a Welshman speaking in English says "Cardigan." So a Phœnician, speaking Greek, said Πάνορμος. That is all. If a Phœnician coin should ever be found with the Greek name Πάνορμος transliterated into Semitic, as was afterwards done when

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

it became Saracen *Balarm*, that would pretty well prove Holm's theory, but nothing short of that. As the case stands; *ἀμφοῖν ὄντων φίλων, ὅσιον προτιμᾶν τὸν Θουκυδίδην.*

NOTE XV. p. 314.

The Foundation of Naxos.

The account in Thucydides (vi. 3) is perfectly clear and simple; *Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι Χαλκιδῆς ἐξ Εὐβοίας πλεύσαντες μετὰ Θουκλέους οἰκιστοῦ Νάξον ᾤκισαν.* Do we wish to know how a colony from Chalkis came to be called Naxos? Stephen of Byzantium, who under Νάξος has nothing special to tell us, has under Χαλκίς preserved a valuable fragment of Hellanikos; *Ἑλλάνικος ἱερείων Ἥρας δευτέρῳ. Θουκλῆς ἐκ Χαλκίδος μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ναξίων ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις ἔκτισε.* In Müller's Fragments (i. 51) the extract appears in another shape; *Θουκλῆς ἐκ Χαλκίδος μετὰ Χαλκιδέων τὴν Ναξίων ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλιν ἔκτισε.* No comment is given; but the changes destroy the whole force of the passage. It was hardly needed to say that Theoklês set forth from Chalkis with Chalkidians; to say that he set forth with Chalkidians and Naxians tells us something. It tells us why the new city was called Naxos, though it owned Chalkis as its metropolis. There was surely the same kind of agreement between the two classes of settlers which there is said to have been in the case of the Campanian Kymê (see p. 316). Again, *πόλεις* in the plural refers to the two cities founded by Theoklês, Naxos and Leontinoi, of which Hellanikos most likely went on to speak. One would greatly like to know on what ground such a change has been made. Cf. Brunet de Presle, 74.

The account of Ephoros, which makes Theoklês an Athenian, is given by Strabo, vi. 2. 2. After the passage quoted in p. 314 he goes on;

ἐπανελθόντα δὲ Ἀθηναίους μὲν μὴ πεῖσαι, Χαλκιδέας δὲ τοὺς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ συχνοὺς παραλαβόντα, καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων τινὰς ἔτι δὲ Δωριέων οἱ πλείους ἦσαν Μεγαρεῖς πλεῦσαι· τοὺς μὲν οὖν Χαλκιδέας κτίσαι Νάξον, τοὺς δὲ Δωριέας Μέγαρα, τὴν Ὕβλαν πρότερον καλουμένην.

This account is versified by Skymnos, 270;

> . . . εἶθ' Ἑλληνικὰς
> ἔσχεν [ἡ Σικελία] πόλεις, ὥς φασιν, ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν
> δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ μετὰ ταῦτα Θεοκλέους στόλον

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

παρὰ Χαλκιδέων λαβόντος· ἦν δ' οὗτος γένει
ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν· καὶ συνῆλθον, ὡς λόγος,
Ἴωνες εἶτα Δωριεῖς οἰκήτορες.

He then goes on to tell that version of the foundation of Megara and Syracuse which Strabo tells a little way further on (vi. 2. 2), and which we shall have to discuss presently.

The question is whether this is enough, in the face of the significant silence of Thucydides, to make us accept the story of the Athenian birth of Theoklês and of his earlier attempt to persuade the Athenians to colonize. To me it reads simply like a piece of Athenian vanity; and there seem to have been other stories afloat which sprang from the same source. Pausanias (vi. 13. 8) distinctly speaks of the Chalkidian settlement of Naxos; Νάξου οἰκισθείσης ποτὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ. In another place (v. 25. 6, cf. Holm, i. 385), reckoning up the inhabitants of Sicily, he says; Ἑλλήνων δὲ Δωριεῖς τε ἔχουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ Ἴωνες καὶ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ γένους ἑκατέρου μοῖρα οὐ πολλή. It seems inconceivable that this mention of an Ἀττικὸν γένος in Sicily can have anything to do with the Athenian birth of Theoklês. The Φωκικὸν γένος can only refer to the companions of Philoktêtês who are brought into the Elymian story (see above, p. 543); so it rather looks as if Athens had set up a claim to Sicilian settlement in mythical times.

The story of the joint Ionian and Dorian expedition which founded Naxos and Megara will be better treated a little later; no one asserts any Doric element in Naxos itself.

There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that the first settlement was made on the peninsula. Grote (iii. 478, not ii. 283, as Holm quotes him) thought, it is hard to see why, that Naxos was first founded on the heights of Tauros and then came down. Holm (i. 386) points this out, and adds, "Diese willkürliche Annahme hat dann Duncker, Gesch. des Alterthums, weiter dahin ausgebildet, dass Naxos anfangs auf dem Berge gelegen habe, wofür Nichts spricht." Most true; but when I search Duncker (to whom Holm gives no reference) I find him (v. 484) fully accepting the peninsular site, and referring to Holm, i. 381 ff. But in p. 381 Holm discusses, not the site but the date. See also Clinton, ii. 322. Cluver's emendation in the text of Strabo (vi. 2), πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ γενεᾷ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά, seems quite reasonable. Skymnos

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

makes only two generations; perhaps the larger number did not suit his verse.

I am not specially concerned as to the exact date. See Clinton, ii. 321; Busolt, i. 242. The reckoning of the Parian Chronicle puts the foundation of Syracuse in B.C. 757; it does not mention that of Naxos. If one can be right within twenty years in these times, it does very well.

NOTE XVI. p. 328.

THE FOUNDATION OF SYRACUSE.

I HAVE in the text followed the plain narrative of Thucydides, vi. 3, accepting also the story of Archias and Aktaiôn in Plutarch, Am. Nar. 2. In this Archias is described simply as a Herakleid and a powerful man in Corinth (*γένους μὲν ὢν τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει λαμπρότατος Κορινθίων*). (So in Thucydides, vi. 3; *Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ᾤκισε.*) In the Parian Chronicle, 47 (C. Müller, i. 546), he appears as *Ἀρχίας Εὐαγέτου, δέκατος ὢν ἀπὸ Τημένου.* Holm (i. 386) truly remarks that the Herakleids of Corinth traced their descent, not through Têmenos but through Alêtês. He further remarks that Archias is nowhere expressly said to be a Bacchiad, and on the other hand, that the generations in the Parian Chronicle may be meant as a mere note of time. I cannot conceive that *δέκατος ὢν ἀπὸ Τημένου* can mean anything but the tenth in natural descent from Têmenos; it is far more likely that the compiler of the Chronicle put Têmenos by mistake for Alêtês. The Bacchiad descent of Archias may surely be taken for granted when we find him one of the chief men in Corinth in the days of Bacchiad dominion. In Plutarch's story, Abrôn, at the Isthmian games, *κατεβόα τῶν Βακχιαδῶν.* One Bacchiad had wronged him; the others had refused to redress the wrong. By the Scholiast on Apollônios (iv. 1212) the personal Archias seems to be forgotten, and the crime is made that of the Bacchiads as a body (*οἱ Βακχιάδαι νυκτὸς ἐπελθόντες τῇ οἰκίᾳ τούτου, ἐβούλοντο ἀποσπᾶν τὸν παῖδα Ἀκταίωνα*). More amazingly still, as if we had already come to Kypselos, the Corinthians, in wrath at their doings, turn out the Bacchiads. But, if Archias is not mentioned, Chersikratês is, and is perhaps confounded with him; *Χερσικράτης,*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

εἰς τῶν Βακχιαδῶν, ἔκτισε Κέρκυραν, ἐκβαλὼν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Κολχούς. The text here records the settlement of Korkyra under Bacchiads; Colchians and Phaiakians were there; εἰσότε Βακχιάδαι, γενεὴν Ἐφύρηθεν ἐόντες ἄνερες ἐνάσσαντο μετὰ χρόνον. Almost directly after, in v. 1216, with the usual confusion of scholiasts, comes another account of the settlement of Chersikratês, copied from Timaios, in which—more likely by the scholiast than by Timaios—he seems to be mixed up with Archias;

Τίμαιός φησι μετὰ ἔτη ἑξακόσια τῶν Τρωϊκῶν Χερσικράτη, ἀπόγονον τῶν Βακχιαδῶν, εἴτε ἐκπεσόντα τῆς Κορίνθου, εἴτε καὶ ἑκόντα ἀπελθεῖν διὰ ἀτιμίαν καὶ κατῳκηκέναι τὴν νῆσον.

Ovid too, whose keen eye had clearly compared the two havens of Corinth and the two havens of Syracuse, connects the foundation of Syracuse with the Bacchiads. Met. v. 1216;

> "Et qua Bacchiadæ bimari gens orta Corintho
> Inter inæquales posuerunt mœnia portus."

We assume then Archias, and Chersikratês too, as belonging to the ruling family of Corinth. It proves nothing against it that he is not marked as a Bacchiad, but simply as a Corinthian, in the fragment of Diodôros (viii. 4) in which he tells the story of Aktaiôn much as Plutarch does, but goes no further than the boy's death. Plutarch himself goes on to record the two appeals made by Melissos. The first time;

τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν Κορινθίων παρακομίσας, ἐπεδείκνυε, δίκην ἀπαιτῶν παρὰ τῶν ταῦτα πραξάντων· οἱ δὲ πλέον οὐδὲν ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα ἠλέουν.

Then comes the second appeal at the Games, and the death of Melissos. Then comes the pestilence, the oracle, and the foundation of Syracuse;

μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' αὐχμὸς καὶ λοιμὸς κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν· καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς χρωμένων, ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε μῆνιν εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος οὐκ ἀνήσοντος ἕως ἂν τὸν Ἀκταίωνος θάνατον μετέλθοιεν· ταῦτα πυθόμενος Ἀρχίας (αὐτὸς γὰρ θεωρὸς ἦν) εἰς μὲν τὴν Κόρινθον ἑκὼν οὐκ ἐπανῆλθε, πλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακούσας ἔκτισε.

The foundation of Syracuse was for Plutarch's purposes quite a secondary point in the story; but a Greek colony could not be founded in quite such an offhand way as this. To Thucydides, on the other hand, at this point, the foundation of Korkyra was of no interest, just as when he had occasion to speak of Korkyra in the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

first book (i. 13. 34), he had no need to speak of Syracuse. Pausanias again (v. 7. 3) was not concerned about anything except the oracle which spoke of Alpheios and Arethousa (see p. 338), and he brings it in with a simple reference to the god ὃς Ἀρχίαν τὸν Κορίνθιον ἐς τὸν Συρακουσῶν ἀποστέλλων οἰκισμὸν καὶ τάδε εἶπε τὰ ἔπη. Our fuller account of the settlement comes from Strabo, vi. 2. 4, who seems to me to have mixed up three accounts. It is from him that we get, wherever he found it, the perfectly credible and instructive account of the real relations between Archias and Chersikratês;

Πλέοντα δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν καταλιπεῖν μετὰ μέρους τῆς στρατείας τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν γένους Χερσικράτη συνοικιοῦντα τὴν νῦν Κέρκυραν καλουμένην, πρότερον δὲ Σχερίαν. ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν ἐκβαλόντα Λιβυρνοὺς κατέχοντας οἰκίσαι τὴν νῆσον.

But this is mixed up with two other stories with which it seems to have nothing to do, and which must surely come from other sources. There is first that in which Archias and Myskellos go together to Delphoi, or perhaps meet at Delphoi, and receive the oracle about health and wealth; ἅμα δὲ Μύσκελλόν τε φασὶν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν χρηστηριαζόμενον, ἐρέσθαι τὸν θεὸν, κ.τ.λ. This story is told also by Stephen of Byzantium (under Συρακοῦσαι) exactly to the same effect as in Strabo, but with so much difference in the words that it seems less likely that he copied Strabo than that he copied the writer whom Strabo followed. That can hardly be Hekataios, whom Stephen begins by quoting; Συρακοῦσαι. πόλις Σικελίας μεγίστη, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. Souidas also (in Ἀρχίας) tells the story of the oracle, and gives the question put by the god in full;

χώρας καὶ πόλεως οἰκήτορα λαὸν ἔχοντες,
ἦλθετ' ἐρησόμενοι Φοῖβον, τίνα γαῖαν ἵκησας·
ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ φράζεσθ', ἀγαθῶν πότερον κεν ἕλοισθε,
πλοῦτον ἔχειν κτεάνων ἢ τερπνοτάτην ὑγίειαν.

Now it is plain that the story of Chersikratês fits in perfectly well with the account in Thucydides; Thucydides, as he was very likely to do, simply leaves out a fact which did not concern him. But the story of Myskellos, as we have it here, is by no means so easy to fit in with the story of Chersikratês. If the two had anything to do with one another, we should surely have heard something about Chersikratês at Delphoi also. At this stage, bearing in mind that there is another story of Myskellos, to which we

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

shall presently come back, let us next look at the third of the three stories which Strabo has here worked together. It is first to be noticed that he brings in the whole story with a note of time; *Συρακούσας Ἀρχίας μὲν ἔκτισεν ἐκ Κορίνθου πλεύσας περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους οἷς ᾠκίσθησαν ἥ τε Νάξος καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα.* So Stephen also dates; Syracuse is *κτίσμα μὲν Ἀρχίου, Κορίνθου ἄποικος, τοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ Νάξῳ ὁμόχρονος*, where we may fairly supply *Μεγάροις* after *ἐν Σικελίᾳ*. Now, in a view of chronology which dealt with centuries and not with decades, one might, even while following the order of Thucydides, accept these notes of time; only we should have looked for some mention of Leontinoi and Katanê between Naxos and Megara. What is meant is something quite different. In the story, as told by Strabo, after Chersikratês is left in Korkyra, Archias goes on alone, though one might rather have looked for Myskellos to go with him, as far as their roads were the same;

τὸν δ' Ἀρχίαν καταισχύντα πρὸς τὸ Ζεφύριον τῶν Δωριέων εὑρόντα τινὰς δεῦρο ἀφιγμένους ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας παρὰ τῶν τὰ Μέγαρα κτισάντων, ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν κτίσαι τὰς Συρακούσας ἀπιόντας.

Megara then was founded before Syracuse, and had had time for some of its founders to leave it. This takes us back to the other story which Strabo (vi. 2, p. 26) tells on the authority of Ephoros (see above, p. 570). Naxos and Megara, according to this version, were founded together. Theoklês is said

Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ συχνοὺς παραλαβόντα καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων τινάς, ἔτι δὲ Δωριεῖς, οἱ πλείους ἦσαν Μεγαρεῖς, πλεῦσαι· τοὺς μὲν οὖν Χαλκιδέας κτίσαι Νάξον, τοὺς δὲ Δωριέας Μέγαρα, τὴν Ὕβλαν πρότερον καλουμένην.

Here, it is plain, we have a story which cannot possibly be reconciled with the account in Thucydides, a story which makes Megara founded after Syracuse, with Leontinoi and Katanê founded between them. But let us see whether we cannot find yet another story, of equal authority with that in Thucydides, which in no way contradicts Thucydides, and out of which the other stories may, with the help of a little invention, have sprung. Such an one seems to be supplied by an earlier passage in Strabo himself (vi. 1. 12), when speaking of Krotôn. He there quotes Antiochos for this account. The oracle had told the Achaians to colonize Krotôn. Myskellos is sent to look at the place. Sybaris is already founded; he prefers the site; he then goes and asks the god if he may take that site instead of Krotôn. Myskellos was slightly

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

hump-backed (ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὑπόκυφος ὢν ὁ Μύσκελλος), and the god was not ashamed to make mock of his misfortune;

> Μύσκελλε βραχύνωτε, παρὲκ σέθεν ἄλλο ματεύων,
> κλάσματα θηρεύεις· ὀρθὸν δ' ὅτι δῷ τις ἐπαινεῖν.

Myskellos then goes and founds Krotôn, getting help in the work from Archias, who happens to fall in with him on the voyage;

ἐπανελθόντα δὲ κτίσαι τὸν Κρότωνα, συμπράξαντος καὶ Ἀρχίου τοῦ τὰς Συρακούσας οἰκίσαντος, προσπλεύσαντος κατὰ τύχην.

Diodôros also, in a fragment of the ninth book (Exc. Vat. 9, 10), tells the story of the oracle to Myskellos, or rather of the two oracles, for the one which Strabo speaks of as given vaguely to Achaians appears in this version as given personally to Myskellos. Myskellos wishes for children. The Pythia says he shall have children, but he must first colonize Krotôn. As he does not know where Krotôn is, the Pythia describes the site in several verses, of importance for Italian topography, but which do not concern Sicily. He goes to see Krotôn, and prefers Sybaris, and gets the same oracle as in Strabo. The fragment then breaks off, but we may be pretty sure that Diodôros also was copying Antiochos, and that the first oracle also came from him.

Now I am not concerned to assert the historic truth of this story. It may be, as Busolt (i. 257) says, "offenbar eine Fabel, die der Syracusaner gern in seine Geschichte aufnahm." It certainly contradicts the received date of the foundation of Krotôn, as fixed by Dionysios (ii. 59) to Ol. xvii. 3, or B.C. 710 (see Clinton, i. 174). It may be a joint invention of Krotôniat and Syracusan vanity My only point is that it does not contradict Thucydides. He may very likely have read it in Antiochos, and have thought that it did not concern him. It is surely older than the other stories, and we can see how they grew out of it. Myskellos received an oracle. Archias received an oracle; Archias most likely had a companion with him, namely Chersikratês. It was very easy to turn this into an oracle given to Archias and Myskellos jointly, an oracle which looks very much like an adaptation to later facts, which the oracle in Diodôros, full of Homeric learning, need not be. Archias then meets some one on his voyage, namely Myskellos. Such a meeting is quite possible as far as Syracusan history is concerned, whether Krotôniat chronology allows it or not. Some one between Antiochos and Ephoros, writing in the interest of Megara, turned

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

this into a meeting with men from that city. It is indeed possible that the foundation of Syracuse and Korkyra in a single voyage may have suggested the tale of the like foundation of Naxos and Megara. When Megara had sunk to be an outpost of Syracuse, it would be a slight comfort to Megarian feeling to be told that Megara was older than Syracuse and that Megarians had a hand in founding Syracuse. Only we are not told how any Megarians came to be at the Zephyrian point, and why they chose to go on to found Syracuse rather than go back to Megara. It looks like some early sedition in Megara, the tradition of which had got out of its place.

In any case we must choose between Thucydides and Ephoros, if it is from Ephoros that the whole Megarian story comes. Archias, we hold, founded Syracuse the year after (*τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους*) Theoklês founded Naxos. Five years after that, Theoklês founded Leontinoi. About the same time (*κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον*), but later rather than earlier, come those wanderings of Lamis from Old Megara which end in the foundation of New Megara. We admit nothing that contradicts this. But we admit the joint action of Chersikratês and Archias; only we should like to know where Strabo found it. The joint action of Myskellos and Archias we leave to those whose work lies at Krotôn.

Another point, of interest in itself, though not directly concerning Sicily, is the way in which Abrôn, grandfather of Aktaiôn, had won for himself his settlement at Corinth. The story is told by Plutarch (Amat. Narr. 2), and in a confused way by the Scholiast on Apollônios, iv. 1212, who makes Melissos himself the benefactor instead of his father Abrôn. Pheidôn, King of Argos, has designs on the liberty of Corinth. He demands a thousand of the best Corinthian warriors, who are sent under a captain called Dexandros. (One is a little reminded of the story in Polyainos, v. 6, to which we shall come in time, of Hippokratês and his Sikel troops.) Pheidôn purposes to destroy them, and tells his design to some of his friends, among others to Abrôn. Abrôn is a friend of Dexandros, and warns him; *καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν Φλιάσιοι πρὸ τῆς ἐπιβέσεως εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἐσώθησαν*,—where some other word must be read for *Φλιάσιοι*. Abrôn then flees to Corinth to escape the wrath of Pheidôn. It is added that his son was called Melissos from his dwelling-place; *ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου θέμενος τοὔνομα αὐτῷ*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

So he belongs to the same class as Hyblôn of Hybla, Gelôn of Gela, and Agyris of Agyrium.

It will be remembered that the height of Pheidôn's power is placed in B. C. 747 (see Grote, ii. 419). Other dates given are 895 and 660. Neither of these agrees with our story; but the intermediate one will do, if we place Pheidon's design on Corinth early in his reign, 783–744.

NOTE XVII. p. 350.

EPIPOLAI.

THE visitor to Syracuse is a little puzzled by the modern local use of the name Epipolai. It seems to have come to be almost the same as Euryalos, and to mean only the extreme west of the hill. This is clearly not the use of Thucydides, with whom Euryalos is a part of Epipolai. Stephen of Byzantium, with some confusion and oddness of expression, sets forth the distinction very clearly;

Ἐπιπολαί. χωρίον ἀπόκρημνον προσεχὲς Συρακούσαις. Θουκυδίδης ἕκτῃ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἐπιπόλαιος τῷ κοινῷ τύπῳ. Εὐρύηλος· οὕτως ἡ ἀκρόπολις τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν· πολίχνιον δὲ τοῦτο Συρακουσῶν ἀπόκρημνον. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Εὐρυήλιος.

Stephen seemingly thought that there was a town of Epipolai; and we may doubt whether anybody was ever really described as Ἐπιπόλαιος or Εὐρυήλιος. But as a figure of speech, the notion of Euryalos as the akropolis of Epipolai hits off the relations of things by no means badly.

Thucydides describes and defines Ἐπιπολαί the first time he uses the word, vi. 96;

Ἐπιπολαὶ . . . χωρίον ἀπόκρημνόν τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς κείμενον. . . . ἐξήρτηται γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο χωρίον, καὶ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιφανὲς πᾶν εἴσω· καὶ ὠνόμασται ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων διὰ τὸ ἐπιπολῆς τοῦ ἄλλου εἶναι.

He speaks also of the *προσβάσεις τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν.*

One of these *προσβάσεις*, that namely close to Euryalos, comes in when the Athenians climb up, in vi. 97; *ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἐχώρει εὐθὺς δρόμῳ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς καὶ φθάνει ἀναβὰς κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύηλον* (cf. vii. 2, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47). Directly after, Labdalon is *ἄκροις τοῖς κρημνοῖς τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν, ὁρῶν πρὸς τὰ Μέγαρα.* We come to another *πρόσβασις*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

further on (vi. 101); *ἐτείχιζον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κρημνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἕλους, ὃς τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα ὁρᾷ, καὶ ᾗπερ αὐτοῖς βραχύτατον ἐγίγνετο καταβᾶσι διὰ τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἕλους ἐς τὸν λιμένα.* This is clearly the approach at Portella del Fusco. In c. 102 the Athenian *κύκλος*, which must have been a good way from Euryalos, is *ὁ κύκλος ὁ ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς.* In vii. 4 the Syracusans build *διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀρξάμενοι.* In c. 43 we find three Syracusan forts *ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν*, and the Boiotians guard *τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν*, namely the ascent by Euryalos.

Diodôros brings in the name at an earlier stage in Syracusan history, namely at the overthrow of the tyrants (vi. 72). The mercenaries *τῆς πόλεως κατελάβοντο τὴν Ἀχραδινὴν καὶ τὴν Νῆσον . . . οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως κατεῖχον, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς τετραμμένον αὐτῆς ἐπετείχισαν.* Of the Athenian ascent (xiii. 7) he simply says *καταλαβόμενοι τὰς Ἐπιπολάς.* In xiv. 18 Dionysios *εὐφυῶς ἑώρα κειμένας τὰς καλουμένας Ἐπιπολάς*; so he begins *τειχίσαι τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς ᾗ νῦν τὸ πρὸς τοῖς Ἐξαπύλοις ὑπάρχει τεῖχος.* This is the point not far from *Scala Greca*, where his wall begins. Both Thucydides and Diodôros knew the ground, though Thucydides had the better gift of describing it. We do not learn much when Plutarch (Dion. 29) says only *τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς ἑλών.* Livy (xxv. 34) is not very clear as to Epipolai as a whole; it is merely "Epipolæ, frequens custodiæ locus." About Euryalos he is a little more precise in the next chapter; it is thus;

"Tumulus in extrema parte urbis versus a mari, viæque imminens ferenti in agros mediterraneaque insulæ, percommode situs ad commeatus excipiendos."

This is a good practical view of things as they doubtless looked to Marcellus.

The result seems to be that the word *Ἐπιπολαί* in itself means whatever is above, that is, at the beginning, above Ortygia. It would therefore naturally be the name, or rather description, of the whole hill. But its application would be narrowed by each extension of the city. It may perhaps be defined as so much of the hill as at any time lay outside the city. In all our accounts therefore it shuts out Achradina, the eastern end of the hill. The matter cannot be better put than by Sir Edward Bunbury, Dict. Geog., art. Syracusæ, p. 1066;

"Epipolæ was the name originally given to the upper part of the table-land which, as already described, slopes gradually from its

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

highest point towards the sea. Its form is that of a tolerably regular triangle, having its vertex at Euryalus, and its base formed by the western wall of Achradina. The name is always used by Thucydides in this sense, as including the whole upper part of the plateau, and was doubtless so employed as long as the space was uninhabited ; but as the suburbs of Tycha and Teminitis gradually spread themselves over a considerable part of the heights the name of Epipolæ came to be applied in a more restricted sense to that portion only which was nearest to the vertex of the triangle."

Cavallari, Holm, and Lupus follow to the same effect (Topografia, 59; Lupus, 43). There can be no doubt that Euryalos, in its historical and military sense, means, not the extreme point of the hill, the modern Belvedere, but the site of the Dionysian castle just to the east of the isthmus which joins Belvedere to the main hill. But there is a sense in which it takes in the hill of Belvedere. As Holm says (Topografia, 206, 208; Lupus, 126, 127), Εὐρύαλος, Εὐρύηλος—the Latin writer, as usual, helps us to the true local form—is the "Broad Nail." The spike is the narrow ridge or isthmus; the head is the Belvedere hill. It is one of the strangest things in the whole of our story that there is no sign of that most important point being fortified or occupied. Nor do we hear of any occupation of the site of the Dionysian castle till the Athenian siege. That is to say, there is no sign of its being occupied in any relation to the Greek city of Syracuse. For it is hard to avoid speculations as to its condition in Sikel times. One used to indulge the belief that the underground works of the castle belonged to the days of the older inhabitants, and that the mysterious marks on some of the door-posts pointed to some alphabet at the nature of which one did not presume to guess. But it seems now to be ruled that nothing is earlier than Dionysios, and that the marks—found also on some stones in the walls of Ortygia—are mere reckonings of numbers (Topografia, 368 et seqq.; Lupus, 276 et seqq.). But it is impossible to doubt that the post once had Sikel occupiers; their graves are there to prove it (Topografia, 62; Lupus, 44). And one is tempted to believe that here was the Sikel stronghold, while the Phœnicians had their factory in Ortygia. Such a belief does not seem inconsistent with the words of Thucydides; Σικελοὺς ἐξελάσας πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νήσου. The island would be in Sikel occupation, under Sikel rule and with Sikel inhabitants,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

even though the main seat of Sikel power was on the hill, while the chief aspect of Ortygia was that of a seat of Phœnician traffic. But all this is guess-work, even if pleasing and likely guess-work. Our history begins with Archias; after him there are still some things at which we wonder and can only wonder.

NOTE XVIII. p. 378.

The Pious Brethren of Katanê.

All the accounts of this legend are rather late, and we have seen that the representations of it on the coins are not among the earliest. But this does not at all show that the legend is not an early one. Such stories are not likely to find their visible memorials till they are well *ὑπὸ χρόνου ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα*. The grave Strabo (vi. 2. 3) gives the tale in a few words; *καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἐκεῖ τεθρύληται τὸν Ἀμφίνομον καὶ τὸν Ἀναπίαν, οἳ τοὺς γονέας ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἀράμενοι διέσωσαν ἐπιφερομένου τοῦ κακοῦ*. Konôn (43), as quoted by Phôtios (139, Bekker; Westermann, *Μυθογράφοι*, 145), tells the story;

φεύγοντες ὡς εἶχον τάχους οἱ μὲν χρυσὸν οἱ δὲ ἄργυρον ἔφερον, οἱ δὲ ὅ τι ἄν τις βούλοιτο ἐπικούρημα τῆς φυγῆς. Ἀναπίας δὲ καὶ Ἀμφίνομος ἀντὶ πάντων τοὺς γονεῖς γηραιοὺς ὄντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους ἀναθέμενοι ἔφυγον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἡ φλὸξ ἐπικαταλαβοῦσα ἔφθειρεν, αὐτοὺς δὲ περιεσχίσθη τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ὥσπερ νῆσος ἐν τῇ φλογὶ πᾶς ὁ περὶ αὐτοὺς χῶρος ἐγένετο.

He adds that the *Σικελιῶται* called the place *εὐσεβὴς χώρα*, and set up statues (*λιθίνας εἰκόνας*) of the brothers.

Pausanias (x. 28. 4) tells the tale much as Konôn, though in quite different words. But the way in which he brings it in is remarkable. He is describing the building at Delphoi called the *Λέσχη* of the Knidians, with its pictures by Polygnôtos. Among these is Charôn with his boat, and *ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀχέροντος τῇ ὄχθῃ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ Χάρωνος τὴν ναῦν ἀνὴρ οὐ δίκαιος ἐς πατέρα ἀγχόμενός ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός*. Then he breaks forth; *περὶ πλείστου γὰρ δὴ ἐποιοῦντο οἱ πάλαι γόνεας*; he then tells the story, and winds up; *οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τιμὰς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ παρὰ Καταναίων ἔχουσιν*. We may wish that we had Pausanias' Sicilian travels, which this phrase seems to imply.

Apollônios of Tyana, according to his biographer (Philostr. v. 14),

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

came to Catina (*ἐπὶ Κατάνης, οὗ τὸ ὄρος ἡ Αἴτνη*), and preached a sermon on Typhôs, Enkelados, and Hêphaistos,—the words *ὡς Ἡφαίστῳ μέλει τοῦ χαλκεύειν ἐν Αἴτνῃ* remind one of Thucydides. In his discourse he disparages the local legends—sometimes an useful work—and gives his views on giants and other matters. We are only concerned with a sentence at the end, where the moral is doubtless good, though it could hardly have been pleasing to anybody in Catina;

χῶρος δ' Εὐσεβῶν, περὶ οὗς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρύη, λεγέσθω μὲν καὶ ταῦθά τις, ἡγώμεθα δὲ τοῖς ὅσια πράττουσι γῆν μὲν πᾶσαν ἀσφαλῆ χῶρον εἶναι, θάλατταν δ' εὔπορον οὐ πλέουσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νεῖν πειρωμένοις.

Among Latin writers, Valerius Maximus (v. 4, Ext. 4) couples our brethren with the Argeian Kleobis and Bitôn;

"Notiora sunt fratrum paria, Cleobis et Biton, Amphinomus et Anapius, illi quod ad sacra Junonis peragenda matrem vexerint; hi quod patrem et matrem humeris per medios ignes portarint; sed neutris pro spiritu parentum expirare propositum fuit."

Solinus (v. 15) preserves the fact that there was an opposition pair of brothers at Syracuse. Emantias and Kritôn take the place of Amphinomos and Anapios, though one might have thought that Anapios would be a Syracusan name. He adds;

"Catinensis tamen regio causam dedit facto in quam se cum Ætnæ incendia protulissent, juvenes duo sublatos parentes evexerunt inter flammas inlæsi ignibus. Horum memoriam ita posteritas munerata est ut sepulcri locus nominaretur campus piorum."

Of the Latin poets who speak of the story the two best known have been quoted in the text. Silius has a reference, xiv. 196. The younger Lucilius makes the Pious Brethren the wind-up of his poem on Ætna. He describes the eruption, and how the inhabitants of Katanê were trying to carry off, each man his gold or whatever he valued. Then (ver. 623);

> "Nullis parsura incendia pascunt,
> Vel solis parsura piis. Namque optima proles
> Amphinomus fraterque pari sub munere fortes,
> Quum jam vicinis streperent incendia tectis,
> Adspiciunt pigrumque patrem, matremque senecta,
> Eheu, defessos posuisse in limine membra."

They do not seek to save their wealth;

> "Illis divitiæ solæ materque paterque."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

They carry the old people off, and the miracle follows;

"Erubuere pios juvenes attingere flammæ,
Et quacunque ferunt illi vestigia, cedunt."

Their passage is described at some length; and the poem ends with the canonization of the Pious Brethren;

"Illos mirantur carmina vatum;
Illos seposuit claro sub nomine Ditis,
Nec sanctos juvenes attingunt sordida fata;
Sidereæ cessere domus et jura Piorum."

The story has a most legendary sound, and a most suspicious likeness to several other stories. Yet one would like to believe that it grew round some kernel of fact, like the strange preservation of the Benedictine monastery in a later eruption. To the kindred tale of the veil of Agatha we shall come in due time. It gives one a strange feeling, as of a certain turning-about of chronology, when we find that some of the most emphatic references to the pagan miracle belong to a time later than the Christian one. It is like the temple built by Prætextatus in the Roman forum later than the foundation of some Christian churches.

NOTE XIX. p. 382.

XIPHONIA.

WAS there a town of Xiphonia on the site of the present Augusta? It is passing strange if so tempting a site was not occupied; it is no less strange, if there was such a town, that we hear so little about it. When Strabo (vi. 2. 2) speaks of τὸ τῆς Ξιφονίας ἀκρωτήριον as coming after the mouth of the Symaithos, he can hardly mean the peninsula on which Augusta stands, but rather (see Bunbury in Hist. Geog., art. Xiphonia) the point of Santa Croce. The Ξιφώνειος λιμήν of Skylax (17) must be the haven between Augusta and Santa Croce. Diodôros alone (xxiii. p. 5) speaks of a Carthaginian fleet sailing to Ξιφωνία, as if it were the name of a town. And the words of Strabo which immediately follow the mention of the ἀκρωτήριον (φησὶ δὲ ταύτας Ἔφορος πρώτας κτισθῆναι πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἐν Σικελίᾳ) might, if any one chose, be taken in the same way. In Stephen of Byzantium, Xiphônia appears distinctly as the name of a town (Ξιφωνία, πόλις Σικελίας Θεό-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

πομπος Φιλιππικῶν τριακοστῷ ἐννάτῳ). This has commonly been set down among Stephen's many mistakes; but Schubring, who has gone largely into the matter, accepts it (Umwanderung des Megarischen Meerbusens in the Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde, vol. xvi. p. 463, Berlin, 1864). If the name does come from ξίφος, it certainly best applies to the peninsula of Augusta.

NOTE XX. p. 390.

The Foundation of Zanklê.

Our starting-point, here as elsewhere, is the clear statement of Thucydides, vi. 4;

Ζάγκλη δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως λῃστῶν ἀφικομένων ᾠκίσθη, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Εὐβοίας πλῆθος ἐλθὸν ξυγκατενείμαντο τὴν γῆν· καὶ οἰκισταὶ Περιήρης καὶ Κραταιμένης ἐγένοντο αὐτῆς, ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ Κύμης, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος.

The meaning of this I think is clearly that which I have given in the text. Brunet de Presle (82) oddly takes Periêrês to be the leader of the first piratical settlement.

The passage has been strangely misunderstood by Pausanias (iv. 23. 7), though it is possible that he has preserved a local fact which Thucydides has not mentioned. He first gives a tale which I shall have to speak of more fully in another volume, a tale which sets all chronology at defiance by placing Anaxilas of Rhêgion in the time of the Messenian wars. He then adds, having, one would think, either Thucydides or Antiochos before him;

Ζάγκλην δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέλαβον λῃσταί, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ τῇ γῇ τειχίσαντες ὅσον περὶ τὸν λιμένα ὁρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐχρῶντο· ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῶν Κραταιμένης Σάμιος καὶ Περιήρης ἐκ Χαλκίδος. Περιήρει δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Κραταιμένει καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαγαγέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξεν οἰκήτορας.

That they found the spot altogether empty is most unlikely (see Bunbury, in Dict. Geog., art. Messana); but the bit about the first wall sounds as if it came from Antiochos or some other good source. But he has altogether mistaken the position of Periêrês and Krataimenês. It is a strange confusion to call either a *Samian*; but it is easy to see how the mistake came about. It is the story of the Samians at Zanklê in Herodotus (vi. 23) carried backwards together with all that concerns Anaxilas.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Strabo (vi. 2. 3) might seem to have followed another account; *ἡ μὲν Μεσσήνη τῆς Πελωριάδος ἐν κόλπῳ κεῖται, καμπτομένης ἐπὶ πολὺ πρὸς ἕω καὶ μασχάλην τινα ποιούσης. . . . κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ Μεσσηνίων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, παρ' ὧν τοὔνομα μετήλλαξε, καλουμένη Ζάγκλη πρότερον διὰ τὴν σκολιότητα τῶν τόπων (ζάγκλιον γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ σκόλιον), Ναξίων οὖσα πρότερον κτίσμα τῶν πρὸς Κατάνην.*

This, it will be easily seen, is not in Strabo's best manner. It is vague and confused. But he clearly means that Zanklê was founded from Naxos of Sicily, and afterwards took the name of Messana from Messanian settlers—doubtless in the days of Anaxilas or later.

Skymnos also (283), in a passage already referred to (see p. 380), makes Zanklê a colony of Naxos;

μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἀπὸ Νάξου Λεοντῖνοι πόλις
ἡ τὴν θέσιν τ' ἔχουσα Ῥηγίου πέραν,
ἐπὶ τοῦ δὲ πορθμοῦ κειμένη τῆς Σικελίας
Ζάγκλη, Κατάνη, Καλλίπολις, ἔσχ' ἀποικίαν.

This seems to me to be accounted for by a very simple confusion. Zanklê was a Chalkidian city, founded straight from Chalkis in Euboia. But in Sicily the word Chalkidian commonly meant, as in the case of the cities with which Skymnos joins Zanklê, a foundation from Naxos, and it was so understood by the writers whom Strabo and the so-called Skymnos followed.

About the name I have perhaps said enough already (see p. 390). Strabo, though he does not mention the sickle, yet brings in the same notion when he says that it was called *διὰ τὴν σκολιότητα*. Stephen of Byzantium gives us a verse of Nikandros to the same effect. *Νίκανδρος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ Σικελίας,*

καί τις καὶ Ζάγκλης ἐδάη δρεπανηίδος ἄστυ,

τὸ γὰρ δρέπανον οἱ Σικελοὶ ζάγκλον καλοῦσι.

He also preserves a tale according to which Zanklê was not called vaguely after any *δρέπανον*, but after a special and memorable one; *οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ Κρόνον τὸ δρέπανον ἀποκρύψαι, ᾧ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπέκοψεν αἰδοῖα.* A mere etymology would not do without a story of some kind.

The date of the foundation of Zanklê is, as we have seen, not given by Thucydides. We can only say that, as Naxos was the first Greek settlement, the regular foundation under Periêrês and

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Krataimenês must be later than 735 B.C. I cannot admit with Busolt (i. 252) that Thucydides means by his order to fix a date for the foundation of Zanklê later than that of Gela, and I do not know why he mentions Gela; for by that argument Zanklê would be proved to be later than Akragas. Thucydides seems to me to mention, First, the cities for which he had dates, in order of date. Secondly, The cities for which he had no dates, Zanklê and Himera. Thirdly, The outposts planted by Syracuse, with their dates. Busolt himself allows that Zanklê must have been older than the date which he gets out of Thucydides. Some faint approach to a date may be got if we accept the statement of Strabo (vi. 1. 6) and Hêrakleidês (25; Müller, ii. 218) that Messenian exiles had a hand in the foundation of Rhêgion, and the further statement of Strabo that the Zanklaians had also a hand in the settlement of Rhêgion. This he says on the authority of Antiochos; *ὡς Ἀντίοχός φησι, Ζαγκλαῖοι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς Χαλκιδέας καὶ οἰκιστὴν Ἀντίμνηστον συνέστησαν ἐκείνων.* He goes on to tell how with the Chalkidians there came certain Messenians, not exiles after either of the Lacedæmonian conquests of Messânê, but men who had opposed the Lacedæmonian claim for redress before the beginning of the first war. They take refuge at Makistos in Triphylia, and there receive an oracle from Apollôn bidding them join the Chalkidian expedition. Hêrakleidês tells the same story more briefly; his story is evidently kindred with the fragment of Diodôros, Exc. Vat. 13. This implies a division of parties in Messênê, and the banishment of those who were most strongly opposed to Sparta. This is a state of things not easy to reconcile with the account of the Messenian wars in Pausanias, iv. 4. But, if a migration from Messênê to Italy took place on such an occasion as this, it must have happened at the beginning of the first Messenian war, not at the end. That is, according to the received chronology (Clinton, i. 250), about 743 B.C., not about 723. This, according to the chronology of Thucydidês, is too early for Zanklê or any other Sikeliot city to have had any hand in the matter. But I think that any one who reads Busolt's note on the date of the Messenian wars (i. 152) will come to the conclusion that their chronology is much too vague to prove anything. If Thucydides and Strabo both followed Antiochos, it follows that Antiochos could have given no exact date to the foundation of Zanklê, but that he must have placed the first Messenian war, at whose beginning Zanklê was already in being, somewhat

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

later than the usual date. And the most certain notices that we have, those of Tyrtaios, surely look that way. In the second war he tells the warriors of Sparta that their grandfathers took Messênê in the twentieth year of fighting (p. 4). If the second war began in 668 or thereabouts, this would surely bring the beginning of the first to a time later than 743. If we make Tyrtaios (see Busolt, i. 153) to "flourish" as late as 640, we must put it yet later. See also Duncker's note, v. 268. If we accept the date commonly given to the foundation of Taras, 708 or 707, the Messenian war must surely have ended a good deal later than 723. It may be enough if we place the foundation of Zanklê within the last quarter of the eighth century.

The date of the foundation of Mylai turns on the meaning put on the words "Chersonesus in Sicilia condita est" (*Χερρόνησος ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐκτίσθη*, G. Synkellus, i. 40), in Jerome's version of the Chronicle of Eusebius, Ol. 15 or 16. See Roncalli, i. 292; Clinton, B.C. 716; Bunbury, Dict. Geog. in Mylæ. There seems nothing against the date, and *Chersonesus* hardly seems to describe any other place in Sicily. Siefert has collected other passages which seem to help out the case. It is certainly very strange when the Scholiast on Apollônios (iv. 963) first makes *Θρινακίης λειμῶνα, βοῶν τρόφον ἠελίοιο*, a Thrinakia equal to all Sicily (see above, p. 465), and then adds, *Μύλας δὲ χερρόνησον τῆς Σικελίας, ἐν ᾗ αἱ τοῦ ἡλίου βόες ἐνέμοντο*. But this is good authority for accepting *Χερσόνησος τῆς Σικελίας* as a name for Mylai. And there is a passage of Varro (LL. v. 137), where the manifestly corrupt text may have something to do with Mylai, as well as with the *δάγκλον* itself. In the edition of Spengel (Berlin, 1885) the passage stands thus; "has Phanclas Chermonesioc dicunt." For "phanclas" various conjectures have been made, one of which is "zanclas," and for "Chermonesioe" various words have been read which might mean the people of Chersonêsos. But it is dangerous to build on such evidence as this.

Of the oxen of the sun at Mylai we have other notices. Appian, B. C. v. 116, in describing the battle of Mylai, tells how the younger Cæsar, *ἐκλιπὼν τὰ στενὰ περὶ Μυλῶν καὶ Ἀρτεμισίου πολίχνης βραχυτάτης, ἐν ᾗ φασὶ τὰς ἡλίου βόας γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὕπνον Ὀδυσσεῖ*. So Pliny, N. H. ii. 101; "Circa Messanam et Mylas fimo similia exspuuntur in litus purgamenta, unde fabula solis boves ibi stabulari." On this Artemisium, see Bunbury in Mylæ. In the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

confusion of later mythology, an Artemisia may have had something to do with the Sun.

Ptolemy Hêphaistiôn (Phôtios, p. 150, Bekker, and Westermann, Μυθογράφοι, 192) has a story about Odysseus being wrecked περὶ τὰς Θύλας τῆς Σικελίας, which looks like Μύλας, though there are plenty of other guesses to choose from; ἡ Ἀχιλλέως ἀσπὶς ἐξεβράσθη περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ Αἴαντος, καὶ ἀνατεθεῖσα τῷ τάφῳ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐκεραυνώθη. Where was the tomb?

NOTE XXI. p. 441.

The Expedition of Pentathlos.

The expedition of Pentathlos about B. C. 580 forestalls in so many things the better known expedition of Dôrieus about B. C. 510 that one regrets that our notices of it are so meagre. We have two accounts, but both quite incidental. Diodôros brings it in in the ninth chapter of his fifth book, when he is talking of the mythical Aiolos and his islands. There may have been a fuller account in one of the lost books. Pausanias, in his tenth book (11. 3), when describing the monuments at Delphoi, has occasion to mention some statues dedicated by the people of Lipara after a victory over the Tyrrhenians, and he goes on to say who the people of Lipara were. He professes to take his account from Antiochos, than whom we could hardly hope for a better authority; only it is clear that Pausanias must have read his Antiochos very carelessly. We cannot believe that Antiochos said that the settlers founded a city on the promontory of *Pachynos*, and were thence driven out by Elymians and Phœnicians (λέγει ὡς ἐπὶ Παχύνῳ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῇ ἐν Σικελίᾳ κτίσαντες πόλιν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐκπίπτουσιν ὑπὸ Ἐλύμων καὶ Φοινίκων πολέμῳ πιεσθέντες). This gross geographical blunder, which is the fellow to that about Motya (v. 25. 2, of which see above p. 271), makes us less inclined to accept the story of Pausanias, which otherwise we might, on the authority of Antiochos, have been inclined to prefer to that of Diodôros. But we may accept from him the mention of the Phœnicians, who do not appear in Diodôros. Phœnician action was part of the necessity of the case.

Diodôros (v. 9) gives us the date, κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα (B. C. 580). Eusebius places it, with much less likelihood, in the thirty-eighth Olympiad, about B. C. 628. Besides the Knidians,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

he mentions the Rhodians, who do not appear in Pausanias; and he adds, what one might hardly have looked for, that both commwealths were led to send forth a colony because of their dissatisfaction at the state of things at home, where the kings of Asia were pressing greviously on them (*Κνίδιοί τινες καὶ Ῥόδιοι δυσαρεστήσαντες τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βασιλέων, ἔγνωσαν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν*). Yet the Lydian kings could hardly have troubled the Rhodians on their island, or even the Knidians on their peninsula; and one would not like to believe that Diodôros was already dreaming of Antigonos and Dêmêtrios. Pentathlos and his company sailed to Lilybaion (*πλεύσαντες τῆς Σικελίας εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὸ Λιλύβαιον τόπους*). There is no mention of their founding a city, as in Pausanias. They find the people of Selinous and Segesta at war—there is no mention of Phœnicians—and they help the Greek side. The death of Pentathlos is distinctly asserted (*πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλον κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πένταθλος*), and the names of the leaders are given who were chosen in his place (*ἑλόμενοι δ' ἡγεμόνας τοὺς οἰκείους τοῦ Πεντάθλου, Γόργον καὶ Θέστορα καὶ Ἐπιθερσίδην, ἀπέπλευσαν διὰ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους*). It is they, and not Pentathlos himself, who found a colony on Lipara. On the other hand, Pausanias quotes Antiochos as saying that Pentathlos himself founded the colony (*οἱ δὲ Λιπαραῖοι οὗτοι Κνιδίων μὲν ἦσαν ἄποικοι, τῆς δὲ ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι φασὶν ἄνδρα Κνίδιον· ὄνομα δὲ εἶναί οἱ Πένταθλον Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ξενοφάνους Συρακούσιος ἐν τῇ Σικελιώτιδι συγγραφῇ φησί*). It is Diodôros who makes the wanderers be kindly received by the inhabitants of Lipara (*προσπλεύσαντων δ' αὐτῶν τῇ Λιπάρᾳ, καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἀπυδοχῆς τυχόντων, ἐπείσθησαν κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων κατοικῆσαι τὴν Λιπάραν, ὄντων τῶν ἀπ' Αἰόλου περιλελειμμένων ὡς πεντακοσίων*). Parthenios (Narr. Amat. 2) has an odd legend about this family. Pausanias represents them as acting more after the ordinary manner of Greek settlers (*τὰς νήσους δὲ ἔσχον ἐρήμους ἔτι ἢ ἀναστήσαντες τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας*).

Now if we were quite sure that Pausanias accurately represents the story in Antiochos, his account would have very great weight. But the blunder about Pachynos throws great doubt on his accuracy. One would think that he could not have had his Antiochos before him when he wrote, and we may be sure that Diodôros also had read Antiochos. In the account of Pausanias there is a certain slovenliness either in the reporter or in the original writer. He does not know how the Knidian settlers dealt

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

with the island. He simply guesses that they must have acted in the usual way. Diodôros, on the other hand, has a distinct statement, which may be only legend or tradition; but still even legend or tradition is better than a mere guess. And, though his story is brought in in a legendary way, and though he gives a legendary name to the inhabitants of the island, yet that legendary name no more disproves their historic being than talk about "fæx Romuli" and "turba Remi" disproves the existence of Romans. Then again, from Diodôros we have a distinct statement of the death of Pentathlos in the battle, and the names of his successors, which can hardly have been dreamed or invented. But the sons or kinsmen of Pentathlos, in founding their colony, may, instead of taking the honours of the founder to themselves, have given them to their father or kinsman in the character of a hero, as we hear in other cases of gods and heroes being reckoned as founders. This would reconcile the narrative of Diodôros with the statement of Pausanias that Pentathlos was revered as the founder of Lipara. But one cannot help thinking that Pausanias believed that a living Pentathlos led the settlement in person.

Thucydides also, in a passage quoted in p. 88 (iii. 88), has a short notice of Lipara. The Liparaians were colonists of Knidos (who occupied (*νέμονται Λιπαραῖοι αὐτὰς Κνιδίων ἄποικοι ὄντες*) the islands called after Aiolos (*τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους καλουμένας*). Their geographical position is carefully described as being *κατὰ τὴν Σικελῶν καὶ Μεσσηνίων γῆν*. The Liparaians lived in one island, of no great size, called Lipara (*Λιπαραῖοι . . . οἰκοῦσιν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων οὐ μεγάλῃ, καλεῖται δὲ Λιπάρα*), whence they tilled the other three, Didymê, Strongylê, and Hiera (*τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι γεωργοῦσιν*). He then goes on with the local belief about Hêphaistos.

These words of Thucydides explain Strabo's phrase (vi. 2. 10), *τὰς Λιπαραίων νήσους καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Λιπάραν*. His description should be compared with the account given by Diodôros (v. 9) of the various schemes of common and divided property which were to have been tried in Lipara. Being troubled by Tyrrhenian pirates, they form a navy; *κατεσκεύασαν τὸ ναυτικὸν, καὶ διελόμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν ἐγεώργουν τὰς νήσους κοινὰς ποιήσαντες, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λῃστὰς ἀντετάττοντο· καὶ τὰς οὐσίας δὲ κοινὰς ποιησάμενοι καὶ ζῶντες κατὰ συσσίτια διετέλεσαν ἐπί τινας χρόνους κοινωνικῶς βιοῦντες*. The communist plan seems not to have answered as regards the head island; for next

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

comes the state of things spoken of by Thucydides; *ὕστερον δὲ τὴν μὲν Λιπάραν, καθ' ἣν καὶ ἡ πόλις ἦν, διενείμαντο, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐγεώργουν κοινῇ.* Lastly came a system of something like twenty years' leases; *τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πάσας τὰς νήσους εἰς εἴκοσι ἔτη διελόμενοι, πάλιν κληρουχοῦσιν, ὅταν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος διέλθῃ.* Then came victory over the pirates.

The account in Thucydides should be compared with his treatment of Sicilian places in the sixth and seventh books. He writes here with a kind of pleased curiosity, as if he were setting down travellers' tales which he had heard lately. The manner is quite different from that of the narrative of the great siege. There he treads with a firm step on ground every inch of which he clearly knew as well as Antiochos and Philistos themselves.

The connexion of this expedition of Pentathlos with the later one of Dôrieus had struck Meltzer (Gesch. d. Karth. i. 158); "Wir dürfen vermuthen, dass die neue Griechenstadt hatte Heracleia heissen sollen." He goes on to speak of Dôrieus and Pyrrhos. The legend of Hêraklês and Eryx—though Eryx is not directly mentioned in the story of Pentathlos—must have been fully established by this time. That is, the story itself, whatever we may think of particular details, was not invented to serve the purposes of Dôrieus. In p. 484 Meltzer comes back to the story of Pentathlos, to show that Pausanias and Diodôros did not represent different authorities. He of course knows exactly what books both Pausanias and Diodôros had read. I cannot undertake to do so, except when, like Pausanias in this case, they are kind enough to tell us for themselves.

I must add the last thing in Sikel words from the Rheinische Museum für Philologie, xlv. 334. I do not venture to do more than to copy the "Conjectanea" of F. Buecheler;

"Præterierunt etiam litteratissimi viri qui Siculorum et Latinorum communia vocabula recensuerunt, Ahrens ceteriique, hoc testimonium quod Nonnus poeta in Dionysiacis perhibet IX. 22, deductum ut opinor ex grammaticorum ut Tryphonis vel Philoxeni de dialecto Syracusana commentariis: *Δίονυσον* vocatum esse quod

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

claudicarit Iuppiter eum gestans femori insutum, *νῦσος ὅτι γλώσσῃ Συρακοσσίδι χωλὸς ἀκούει*. Nam quomodo *ῥυσός* et *ῥυτῖδες* cognata sunt, similiter *νῦσος* et *nutus*, Latinique *nutandi* et *nutabundi* verbis eandem istam notionem vacillandi et claudicandi adnexuerunt quam ex *νυ-* Syracusani elicuerant seorsum a ceteris Græcis. Claudianus in podagrum LXXIX. Gesn. '*Claudicat hic versus, hæc*' *inquit* '*syllaba nutat*' *atque nihil prorsus stare putat podager.*"

There is a reference to the Palici in the third stanza of Spenser's "Teares of the Muses" which is not easy to understand;

> "Nor since that faire Calliope did lose
> Her loved Twinnes, the dearlings of her ioy,
> Her Palici, whom her unkindly foes,
> The Fatall Sisters, did for spight destroy,
> Whom all the Muses did bewaile long space;
> Was ever heard such wayling in this place."

There seems no mention elsewhere of Kalliopê as the mother of the Palici or of any destruction of them on the part of the fatal sisters.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

INDEX.

A.

Abacænum, position of, p. 145; its coins, *ib.*
Abrôn, his settlement at Melissa, 336, 577; his services to Corinth, 336.
Accent, place of, in modern Italian, 266.
Acesta, town, 215, 551.
Acestês, his story in Virgil, 214, 551.
Aci. *See* Akis.
Adernò. *See* Hadranum.
Admiral, origin of the name, 84.
Adrammelech. *See* Hadranus.
Ægates. *See* Aigousa.
Ælius Dionysius, on Sikans and Sikels, 485.
Æschylus, his notice of the breach, 459; his use of Sicilian words, 489; his mention of the Palici, 527.
Ætna, 56; its position and character, 71, 74; legends of, 78; its effects on Katanê, 374; its place in the legend of Dêmêtêr, 533, 535.
Africa, counted to Europe, 301; Phœnician settlements in, 239.
Agatha, Saint, compared with the Pious Brethren, 583.
Agathyrnos, legend of, 145, 484.
Agathyrnum, its position, 145.
Agira. *See* Agyrium.
Agyrium, its site, history and coinage, 155; birth-place of Diodôros, *ib.*; legend and worship of Hêraklês at, 182, 183.
Aidonê. *See* Trinakia.
Aidôneus, his carrying off of Persephonê, 540.
Aigestos, his legend, 212, 548, 550.
Aigousa, isles of, 62, 86; never Greek, 445.
Aineias, legend of, 205, 212; legend of, at Carthage, 284.
Aiolids in Lipara, 589.
Aiolos, legends of, in Lipara, 87, 91, 484; his sons, 145, 152, 484.
Aithiops, sells his lot of land, 344.
Aitôlia, alleged settlement from at Syracuse, 566.
Akesinês, river, 69, 79.
Akis, legend of, 189.
Ἄκρα, use of the word, 271.
Akragas, its territory, 63: its site Sikan, 118, 438; founded from Gela, 429-431; its position and history, 429, 430; its relation to Syracuse, 430; its site, 431-438; not a seafaring power, 432; its rivers, *ib.*; its haven, 433; its akropolis, 433, 437; extension of the city, 434-438; comparison with Syracuse, 435, 436; temples in the akropolis, 438; its coins, 439, 440; extent of its territory, 440; origin of the name, 562.
Akragas, river, 434.
Akragas, river-god, 440.
Akrai, its Sikel origin, 149.
ἄκραι, ἀκρωτήρια, applied to the corners of Sicily, 464.
Aktaiôn, son of Melissos, 336, 337.
Aktê, use of the word, 391.
Alabôn, river, 387.
Alba, Albania, use of the names, 107.
Albanians, settle in Sicily, 44.
Alexander of Epeiros, 27.
Alicudi. *See* Erikoussa.
Alphabet, whether of Phœnician invention, 232, 236.
Ἀλφειαία, epithet of Artemis, 356.
Alpheios, his legend, 353-356; compared with the legend of Henna, 354; scientific explanations, 355; his relation to Artemis, 356.
Amastra. *See* Mytistratus.
Ambrakia, its relations to Corinth, 341.
Amenanos, river, 80, 376.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

America, settlement in, compared with Sicily, 319, 320.
Ameselum, Sikel town, 156.
Amestratus. *See* Mytistratus.
Amico, corrects Fazello, 542.
Ammiraglio, river, origin of the name, 83.
Amphiaraos, settlement of his grandsons, 486.
Anapos, river, 80, 84, 347.
Anaxilas, first Italian ruler in Sicily, 24; brings hares into Sicily, 488.
Anchisês, legend of, 212, 213, 548.
Ancona, foundation of, 486.
Ankyra, Sikan town, 121.
Antiochos of Syracuse, his relation to Thucydides, 313, 456; his writings, 455; on the early inhabitants of Sicily, 482.
Antiphatês, son of Sikanos, 467.
Antiphêmos, founder of Gela, 399.
Aones, 460.
Aphrodision at Naxos, 227.
Aphroditê, her connexion with Eryx, 205; her temple, 207, 215, 277, 279; her badges, 279; her place in the legend of Dêmêtêr, 539.
Aphroditê-Aineias, altar of, 212.
Apollo Libystinus, his temple, 95.
Apollôn, his statue and worship at Gela, 405.
Apollon Archêgetês, his altar, 326.
Apollonia, Sikel site, 144.
Apollônios of Rhodes, his scholiast on Thrinakia, 463, 465.
Apollônios of Tyana, 470; his sermon at Catina, 379.
Appian, his pedigree of the Gauls, 190.
Aquaiarha, whether Achaians, 507.
Archias, founder of Syracuse, story of, 336; oracles given to, 337, 338; his relations to Myskellos, 339, 574-576; story of his death, 344; his foundation abides, 346; a Bacchiad, 573; his relations to Chersikratês, 574.
Arethousa, her fountain, 77, 354, 357; her legend, 353-356; a form of Artemis, 356.
Aricia, foundation of, 486.
Aristônous, founder of Akragas, 431.
Aristophanês, his play of Kôkalos, 500.
Aristotle, his account of the Carthaginian constitution, 229, 289; his notices of Sicilian history, 451; on *τοῦρμοι*, 509.
Arnold, T., his remarks on Sicily and Sardinia, 3.
Artemis, her worship at Syracuse, 353; her relation to Arethousa and to Alpheios, 356; her settlement at Syracuse, *ib.*; her place in the legend of Dêmêtêr, 539.
Asea, foundation of Helymus, 549.
ἀσχίδωρος, Sicilian word, 490.
Asdrubal, meaning of the name, 227.
Ashtoreth, worship of, at Eryx, 207, 227, 279, 305; her origin, 227; her worship in Cyprus and Kythêra, 235.
Asia, position of the Greeks in, 18.
Asses, kinds of, in Sicily, 94.
Assorus, its site and history, 154, 155.
Atabyrios, epithet of Zeus, its Phœnician origin, 562.
Atalla, wife of Aigestos, 517, 548.
Athênaios, his notices of Sicilian history, 451; of Sicilian words, 488, 489.
Athênê, her place in the legend of Dêmêtêr, 539.
Athens, Western schemes of, 22, 24; her relation to Sicilian history, 450; her historic materials compared with those of Syracuse, 451.
Augusta. *See* Xiphonia.
Augustine, Saint, preserves the names of the lesser gods, 179.
Ausonius, his verses on Catina, 379.
Auvergne, its extinct volcanoes, 73; its hills compared with those of Sicily, 98.

B.

Barbarian, use of the name, 306.
Barbarians, different classes of, 21, 22.
Bari, recovery of, 32.
Basques, their relations to Sikans, 110.
Belice. *See* Hypsas.
Belisarius, recovers Sicily, 30; his occupation of Carthage, 285.
Benndorf, O., On the Metopes of Selinous, 418.
Bentley, on weights and coins, 510.
Biancavilla, Albanian settlement, 72.
Boiôtia, question of Phœnician settlement in, 235.
Bottiaia, Cretan settlement of, 500.
Bouphonas, Sikan hero, 546.
Boutas, father of Eryx, 210, 545.
Bozrah, akropolis of Carthage, 285.
Bridges, few in Sicily, 218.
Bright, W., quoted, 526.
Brucoli. *See* Trotilon.
Buecheler, F., on Sikel names, 591.
Bunbury, Sir E. H., quoted, 328; on Epipolai, 579, 580.
Byrsa. *See* Bozrah.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

C.

Cacus, legend of, 210.
Cæcina, legend of, 210.
Cæsar, on the shape of Britain, 467.
Cala, port of Palermo, 260.
Calarà, Cape, 59.
Calat, Arabic element in Sicilian nomenclature, 97.
Calogero, Mount, northern, 69; southern, 70.
Caltabellotta, whether Kamikos, 503; description, 503, 504; origin of the name, 504.
Caltanisetta, probable site of Nisa, 122.
Canaan, national name of Phœnicians, 225; pedigree of the race, *ib.*
Cannita, Phœnician tombs from, 261, 263.
Cantara, river, 387.
Capitium, position of, 146; force of the name, 147.
Capizzi. *See* Capitium.
Capo Gallo, 255.
Capolato, Cape, 66, 67.
Carini, bay of, 60; represents Hykkara, 119.
Carlentini. *See* Leontinoi.
Carthage, her relation to Sicily, 15, 16, 228; her position and constitution, 19; her rivalry with Greece, 22, 295, 296, 298–300; origin of the name, 228, 286; her constitution, 229, 288–291; type of the ruling city, *ib.*; compared with Rome, *ib.*; with Venice, 230; her great men, *ib.*: centre of later Phœnician life, 237, 249; her relation to the older Phœnician settlements, 246; her historic position, 283; compared with Rome and Athens, *ib.*; foundation of, *ib.*, 287; site of, 284, 285; her history, 285; her position in Africa, *ib.*; her relation to Tyre, 287; her magistrates, 288, 292; no tyrants at, 289; comments on, by Greek and Roman writers, 289–291; national character of, 291; nature of her dominion, 291, 298; the sacred band, 293; the commons, *ib.*; date of its first settletlements, 295; her treaty with Rome, 297; date of her conquests in Sicily, *ib.*; her destructive position in Sicily, 303.
Carthalo, son of Malchus, 297.
Carts, painted, 94.
Casr, great street of Palermo, 260.
Casr Janni. *See* Henna.
Castellamare, bay of, 60.
Castrogiovanni, its title of *Insuperabile*, 98. *See* Henna.
Catalfano, Mount, 263.
Catania. *See* Katanê.
Catina, meaning of the name, 377.
Cato, on the Carthaginian constitution, 290.
Cavallari, F. S. and C., their work on Syracuse, 328.
Cave dwellings, where found, 475.
Cefalù. *See* Cephalœdium.
Centorbi. *See* Centuripa.
Centuripa, hill of, 73; rebuilt, 97; its site, name, and character, 156–158.
Cephalœdium, 59; origin and forms of the name, 139, 140; its position, 140; Sikel remains at, 141, 142; Phœnician settlements at or near, 142, 143; transformation of Daphnis at, 193; alleged Phœnician origin of the name, 564.
Chalkidians, their extension in Sicily, 367.
Chalkis, metropolis of Naxos, 315–516; settlers from, at Zanklê, 393.
Chalkis, Aitolian, 566.
Charles of Anjou, his Eastern dominion, 42.
Charles the Fifth, Emperor, founder of Carlentini, 370.
Charôndas, 377.
Charybdis, 77; legend of, 106.
Chersikratês, founder of Korkyra, 335, 345, 574, 575.
Chersonêsos, name of Mylai, 587. *See* Mylai.
Christendom, its strife with Islam in Sicily, 11, 31.
Chrysas, river, 81, 153, 155.
Cicero, his description of Henna, 177, 536; his notices of Sicily, 457; of Engyum, 499.
Citadella. *See* Engetium.
Claudian, his poem on Persephonê, 178, 538–540; his verses on Catina, 378; his notice of the breach, 461.
Clement of Rome, writings forged in his name, their account of the Palici, 526.
Cluver, on Pantakyas, 83; on Panormos and Motya, 569; on Naxos, 571.
Clypea, foundation of, 486.
Clytæmnestra, wife of Siculus, 486.
Cola Pesce, 77.
Colonies, levelling tendencies in, 344.
Colonies, Greek and Phœnician, their teaching, 13–15; Roman, 16; their independence, *ib.*; rules for their foundation, 393.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Colonization distinguished from migration, 9, 223, 309.
Colony, use of the word, 14.
Constans the Second, Emperor, his visit to Sicily, 7.
Constantine Porphyrogenitus, quoted, 482.
Corinth, compared with Eryx, 208; her relations to Syracuse, 334; to her colonies generally, 340.
Corn in Sicily, 91.
Cornwall, compared with *Sikelia*, 320.
Corsica, its relation to Sardinia and to Sicily, 2.
Crete, legendary settlements from, in Sicily, 115; siege of Kamikos, 116, 500; settlement in Messapia, 116, 500; Phœnician settlement in, 233.
Criniti. *See* Thymbris.
Curtius, E., on Sikans and Sikels, 492; on Elymians, 558.
Cyprus, cycles in its history, 35, 36; compared with Sicily, 232–234; its early Semitic occupation, 233.

D.

Daidalos, legend of his flight to Sicily and buildings, 113, 114, 495–497; arch of, at Eryx, 278.
δάγκλον, Sikel word, its cognates, 489, 493.
Danklê. *See* Zanklê.
Danklon, meaning of the name, 390, 391.
Daphnis, his legend, 192; his transformation, 193.
Daskôn, bay and promontory, 347.
Daughters, set to wash guests, 498.
Delia. *See* Halykos.
Δέλλοι, brothers of the Palici, 519.
Délos, its relation to Ortygia, 353, 357, 531.
Dêmêtêr, her original character, 77; legend of, 169, 530–541; Sikel origin of her worship, 169; transferred from Greece to Sicily, 175; her Eleusinian worship, *ib.*, 176; her worship at Gela, 406; her title of Erinnys, 532.
Dependencies, Phœnician and Greek, 299.
Didô, story of, 283, 287.
Di Giovanni, Professor, on the Topography of Panormos, 259.
Diodôros, his birth at Agyrium, 155; our chief guide for Sicilian history, 449, 450; his account of the breach, 459; of *Trinakria*, 464; on the Sikel migration, 484; of Kamikos, 496; of Kôkalos and Minôs, 495, 498; of Engyum, 499; of the town of Trinakia, 511; of the Palici, 519, 523; of Henna, 536; on the foundation of Syracuse, 576; his mention of Epipolai, 579; of the expedition of Pentathlos, 588; of Lipara, 590.
Dionysios, tyrant, his mother's dream, 515.
Dionysios of Halikarnassos, his notices of Sicily, 453; preserves the opening of Antiochos, 456; his account of the breach, 461; his account of Sikans and Sikels, 476, 480, 481.
Dionysios Periêgêtês, his notice of the breach, 460; on *Trinakia*, 464.
Dittaino. *See* Chrysas.
Documents, lack of, in early Sicilian history, 4–3.
Dogs of Hadranus, 187, 188.
Dôrieus, his expedition to Sicily, 209, 211, 297; its connexion with that of Pentathlos, 441, 443.
Douris, his version of the tale of Galateia, 191.
Drago. *See* Hypsas.
Drepana, peninsula of, 62; haven of Eryx, 199, 200, 207; wall of, 281.
Ducetius, 152.
Duncker, M., his History of Antiquity, 221.

E.

East and West, their strife in Sicily, 10, 11; a strife of creeds from the beginning, 11; sharpened by the opposition between Christianity and Islam, 31; settled in Sicily by the Normans, 34; share of England and of Sicily in, 45.
East-Goths, their dominion in Sicily, 30.
Eastern scholarship compared with Western, 505.
Ebbsfleet, compared with Naxos, 317, 321.
Ebusus, Carthaginian settlement in, 295.
Echetla, its name and history, 153.
Echetos of Epeiros, whether Sikel, 490, 491.
Edmund of Lancaster, 42.
Egesta, origin of the form, 202. *See* Segesta.
Egypt, alleged Sikel invasion of, 129, 505–508.
Eknomos, hill of, 63; outpost of Akragas, 440.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Elam, name connected with the Elymians, 197.
Eleusis, its worship of Dêmêtêr, 175, 176, 532.
Elimiotis in Macedonia, 197.
Elisha, taken for Sicily, 556.
Elymia in Arkadia, 197.
Elymians, their presence in Sicily, 101; their alleged Trojan origin, 195, 542–550; alleged Greek element, 197, 543; counted as barbarians, 197; origin of the name, 197, 198; alleged migration from Italy, 198, 481, 553; strictly colonists, *ib.*; language of their coins, 198, 557; their sites, 200, 201; no trace of their language, 202, 219; extent of their territory, 204; begin as a land-folk, 208; their relation to Phœnicians, 215, 275, 276; no certain account of their origin, 215–217, 552–553; their Sikel coinage, 510; Libyan voyage of the Trojan settlers, 543; growth of the story of Aineias, 544–550; inconsistent with the older legends of Hêraklês, 544–549; version of Lykophrôn, 547–549; number of their towns, 551, 552; signs of Eastern origin, 553–554; their alleged relation to Sikans, 555–556.
Elymos, son of Anchisês, 212; his appearance in Virgil, 214, 539.
Empedoklês, his works at Selinous, 422.
England, points of likeness and contrast with Sicily, 38–41, 45.
English settlements, compared with Greek, 317–320.
Engyum, fable of its foundation, 115–117; change of the dedication of its temple, 146, 499; offerings at, 146.
Enkelados, legend of, 58, 78.
Ennus, supposed founder of Henna, 542.
Entella, Sikan rather than Elymian, 122, 123, 201, 214, 552.
Entellus, story of, in Virgil, 214.
Entimos, founder of Gela, 399.
Epeiros, question of Sikels in, 126, 490; its relation to Greece, 307; its kings in the West, 26, 27.
Ephoros, on the inhabitants of Sicily, 474; on the foundation of Naxos, 570; on the foundation of Syracuse, 573–577.
Epicharmos, preserves Sikel words, 489, 509.
Epipolai, use of the name, 350, 578; Thucydides' description of, 578; Livy's description of, 579.
Eponymoi, invention of, 104.
Ergetium, Sikel town, 153.
Erikoussa, island, 89.
Eryca, Sikel town, 153; origin of the name, *ib.*
Erykas, river, 82.
Eryx, his parentage, 210, 545; his wrestling and treaty with Hêraklês, 210, 211, 545.
Eryx, mountain and town, its position, 53, 54, 57, 199, 200, 205; its temple, 205, 207, 276, 279; compared with Ætna, 206; mistake of Polybios about, *ib.*; compared with Henna, 207; with Segesta, 208; Phœnician influence at, 276; the akropolis, 277; the wall, 279, 280; legend of its foundation, 550.
Euaiphnos, story of, 567.
Euboia (Sikeliot town), its foundation and destruction, 380.
Eukleidês, founder of Himera, 411.
Eumêlos, cyclic poet, one of the first settlers at Syracuse, 344.
Euripides, his use of the name *Phrygian*, 197; on the legend of Dêmêtêr, 533.
Euryalos, its name and position, 580; a Sikel stronghold, *ib.*
Eustathios, his notice of the breach, 460; of Trinakria, 467, 469; on Sikans and Sikels, 485, 491; on Echetos, 491.
Evans, A. J., quoted, 218, 323; on the *Triquetra*, 470; on the Palici, 528–530.
Evarchos, founder of Katanê, 372.

F.

Faro, name of the strait, 129. *See* Pharos.
Fazello, T., quoted, 462; on Henna, 542.
Festus, his notice of Sikels, 485; on the name Segesta, 551.
Fish of Sicily, 93.
Fitalos, form of *Vitulus*, 210.
Fiumare, 79.
Forbiger, on Sikans and Sikels, 487.
Frederick, Emperor and King of Sicily, 43; change after his death, 47; his influence on language, 132; his price in the slave-market, 137; his castle at Catania, 375; his coinage, 405.
Frederick of Aragon, story of, 77.
French language, its spread, 37, 38.
Fruits of Sicily, native and foreign, 92, 93.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

G.

Gadês, its foundation and abiding life, 238, 239; compared with Syracuse, 332.
Gagliano. *See* Galaria.
Galaria, its position and coins, 147.
Galas, son of Polyphêmos and Galateia, 190.
Galateia, legend of, 189; its various forms, 190; ancestress of the Gauls, *ib.*
Γαλεᾶτις, Γαλεῶται, Γερεᾶτις, &c., meaning and cognates of the name, 515.
Galeôs, legend of, 516.
Galêotês, legend of, 569.
Gallo, Cape, 59.
Gangi. *See* Engyum.
Garibaldi, compared with Timoleôn, 25.
Gaulos, island, 87; Phœnician settlement in, 240, 243.
Gela, extent of its territory, 63, 401, 408; its fields, 81, 408; origin of the name, 125, 401, 488; founded from Rhodes and Crete, 399; its site, 402–407; the haven, 404; its relations to Lindioi, 404; its temples, 405, 406; its historic position, 406; its relations to Sikans and Sikels, 407; its lake, 408, 409; metropolis of Akragas, 431.
Gelas, river, 79, 80; changes in its course, 401; poetic descriptions, 79, 402; meaning of the name, 488.
Geleôn, Geleontes, legend of, 515.
Gelôn, his treaty with Carthage, 22, 305; his destruction of Euboia, 380.
Gemelli colles, 69.
George of Antioch, 83; his bridge, 258.
Gêryonês, his oxen, 182, 209; his worship at Agyrium, 183; his original place, 544, 545.
Giarretta, river, 83. *See* Symaithos.
Gibel Rosso, its name and history, 257.
Goats, various kinds of, in Sicily, 95.
Gothi, Gothones, Geatas, 473.
Graves, primitive, in Sicily, 217.
Greater Greece, force of the name, 20.
Greeks, their relation to Sicily, 8–13; their European championship in Sicily, 9, 11; their relation to barbarians, 17, 18, 295; their career in the West, 25, 231, 232; their rivalry with Carthage, 22; their influence on Sikels and Latins, 134; adopt the Sikel measures, 134, 136, 488; their relation to barbarians, 306, 308; their settlements in Asia, 309; beginning of their settlement in the West, 310; their settlements in Sicily, 310, 312, 564–569; no details of their foundation, 342, 343; their accidental beginning, 314; their early intercourse with Phœnicia, 234–237; their settlements compared with those of the English, 317–320; settlements in Italy, 396; in northern and southern Sicily, 397, 410; extent of their settlements in Sicily, 446; their relation to other races, 446, 447.
Grote, G., on the expedition of Dôrieus, 442; on the site of Naxos, 571.

H.

Hadranum, its position and temple, 148, 185, 186; seat of the worship of Hadranus, 184.
Hadranus, Sikel fire-god, 91, 184; alleged Phœnician origin of his name, *ib.*; his image, *ib.*, 186; his worship, 186–189; father of the Palici, 525.
Hadrumetum, 239.
Halæsa, Sikel foundation, 143.
Halikyai, Sikan town, 120, 552; its site, 121.
Halikyai, Sikel town, 121 (*note*).
Haluntium, Sikel town, 144; foundation of, 549.
Halykos, boundary river, 80; Halykos, western, 420.
Hamilkar, his camp on Herktê, 266, 269.
Hannibal, meaning of the name, 226.
Hauteville, house of, 34.
Hebrews, their relation to Phœnicians, 226.
Heisterbergk, B., on the origin of *Trinakria*, 471, 472; on Sikans and Sikels, 493–494; on Sikanos and Sikania, 501, 502; on Elymians, 555, 556.
Hekataios of Milêtos, his writings, 454; his account of Hêraklês and Gêryonês, 544.
Hekatê, 531.
Hellanikos, his notice of Sicily, 454; his account of the breach, 461; of the nations of Sicily, 481, 482, 483.
Helôron, its Sikel origin, 149; road to, 361.
Hêloros, poetic descriptions of, 79, 80.
Helymus. *See* Elymos.
Henna, 154; Sikel origin of its worship, 170; its site, name, and history, 171–174; early hellenized, 174; its

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

modern state, *ib.*, 175; its worship not mentioned in earlier writers, 176, 534, 535; its fame due to Latin writers, 176–179, 535–541; its later history, 179; its coins, 541; not a colony of Syracuse, 542; confounded with Ætna, 535, 542.
Hêphaistos, legends of, 78; in Lipara, 87, 88, 525; identified with Hadranus, 186; father of the Palici, *ib.*
Heraian Mountains, 70.
Herakleia, 430; its Phœnician coins, 496.
Hêraklês, legend of, 76, 544; his exploits in Sicily, 182, 461, 544–547; his worship at Agyrium, 182, 183; origin of the legend, *ib.*; his legend at Eryx, 196, 209, 545–547; his western journey and return, 209; his wrestling and treaty with Eryx, 210, 211; his relation to Melkart, 221; his part in the legend of Kyana, 365; his legend at Himera, 417; his oxen, 461; favours Syracuse, 546.
Herbêssos, Sikan town, 121.
Herbessus, Sikel town, 122; its site uncertain, 149.
Herbita, Sikel town, 147.
Herktê, 60; its relation to Panormos, 254; prehistoric remains on, 267.
Hermokratês, his speech at Gela, 2; his work at Selinous, 426.
Herodotus, our first continous authority, 455; his account of Kamikos and Minôs, 495, 498, 500.
Hesiod, his notions of Italy, 105; his scholiast on the legend of Dêmêtêr, 532.
Hill-towns of Sicily, 95–99; compared with those of Gaul, 98.
Hills, nomenclature of, 83.
Himera, its hot baths, 59, 76, 417; effects of its foundation on the Phœnician retreat, 243; its foundation and history, 410; a colony of Zanklê, 411; its dialect and laws, 412; its site, 412–416; extent of its territory, 416, 417; its relations to Sikans and Phœnicians, 413, 417, 418; its coins, 414.
Himeras, Northern and Southern, 80, 81, 414; boundary of Sikan and Sikel, 124; whether Sikanos, 502.
Hipparis, river, 80.
Hippo, 239.
Hippotês, legend of, 549.
Hippys of Rhêgion, his Sicilian history, 454.
Hirom, king of Tyre, 287.
Holm, Adolf, his work on Syracuse, 328; on Katanê, 367; on Sikans and Sikels, 487; on early Greek settlement in Sicily, 564–569.
Homer, notices of Sicily and Sikans, 105–107; his *Thrinakia*, 463.
Horace, his use of *Triquetrus*, 467.
Horses in Sicily, 94.
Hot baths, 76.
Human sacrifice, 367.
Hybla, use of the name, 70, 388; three towns so called, 159, 512–517.
Hybla, Sikel goddess, 159, 161; identified with various Greek goddesses, 161, 163.
Hybla, Galeatic, mud volcano at, 75, 161; site and description of, 160–162, 516; its people expounders of dreams, 161, 515; still Sikel in Philistos' time, 515.
Hybla, Greater, 159; its relations to Megara, 388, 513, 514.
Hybla, Hêraian, its site and description, 162–164, 517.
Hyblon, helps the Megarian settlers, 389; his name, *ib.*
Hykkara, Sikan town, 119, 199, 201.
Hypsas, river, at Selinous, 80, 421; at Akragas, 432; origin of the name, 562.
Hyria, foundation of, 500.
Hyrminos, river, 162.

I.

Iaita, Sikan town, 121.
Iapygia, legendary Cretan settlement in, 116.
Iapygia, Illyrian, 500.
Iasiôn, legend of, 531.
Iberians, their connexion with Sicily, 100; relation to the Sikans, 101, 102, 109.
Illyrios, son of Polyphêmos and Galateia, 190.
Imachara, Sikel town, 148; whether Troina, *ib.*; origin of the name, 494.
Indara, Sikan town, 120.
Inêssa, its position and history, 148, 149.
-îvos, Sikel ending, 490.
Inscriptions, place of, as evidence, 453.
Inykon, Sikan town, 118; city of Kôkalos, 495, 496.
Iokastos, son of Aiolos, 460, 484.
Iolaos, his worship at Agyrium, 183; colonizer of Sardinia, *ib.*
Ipsostratos, legend of, 549.
Islam, its strife with Christendom in Sicily, 11, 31.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Island, use of name at Syracuse, 350. *See* Ortygia.
Islands near Sicily, 84, 85.
Isola delle Correnti, 64.
Isola delle Femine, 85.
Ἰταλία, origin of the name, 462.
Italiots, force of the word, 17; their relation to the Italians, 18, 19.
Italy, its relations to Sicily and Greece, 12; Greek settlements in, 20; relation of its central nations to the Greeks, 20, 21; Imperial advance in the ninth century, 32; Saracen possessions in, *ib.*; how conceived by Hesiod, 105; early use of the name, 480.
Iviça. *See* Ebusus.

J.

Jato, site of Iaita, 121.
Judges and Kings, 288, 289.
Justin, his notice of the breach, 459.

K.

Kadmos, his name and legend, 235.
Kalê Aktê, Sikel foundation, 143.
Kallias of Syracuse, on the Palici, 518.
Kallimachos, first to mention Henna in relation to Dêmêtêr, 176, 535.
Kallipolis, its foundation and destruction, 379, 380.
Kalogeros, Saint, 419.
Kamarina, its territory, 63; its relations to Syracuse, 342; origin of the name, 561, 562.
Kamikos, its site, history, and legend, 112–114, 495–504; the Cretan siege, 500; whether Caltabellotta, 503, 504.
Kapys, father of Anchisês, 549.
Karkinos, on the legend of Dêmêtêr, 533.
Kasmenai, its Sikel origin, 150.
Katabothra, 78.
Katanê, its bay and fields, 67; its foundation, 372; its site, 373–376; effect of Ætna on, 374, 376; earthquakes at, 375; its relations to Sikels and Phœnicians, 376, 377; its historical position, 377; its name, 377, 561; its coins, 378.
κάτινον, Sikel word, 488.
Kaukana, its harbour, 63.
Keightley, T., quoted, 531.
Keltos, son of Polyphêmos and Galateia, 190.
Kerkôpes, legend and sculptures of, 405.
Kinch, K. F., on Elymian coins, 557–559.
Knidos, expedition from, to Sicily, 442; metropolis of Lipara, 444.
Kôkalos, king of Kamikos, 112–118, 405; other notices of him, 118; his name and nationality, 495; manner of his death, 498.
Korkyra, joint foundation with Syracuse, 335; its sites, 336, 345; names of, 336; its relations to Corinth, 340, 341; contrast with Syracuse, 340–342; its foundation by Chersikratês, 574, 575.
Koryphê, supplants Korkyra, 336, 345.
Kossoura, island, 86; Phœnician settlement in, 240.
Krataimenês, founder of Zankle, 393.
Kratas, hills, 70.
Krates, quoted, 481.
Krimisos, river, 80.
Krimisos, river-god, 212; father of Aigestês, 548.
Kronos, his reign in Sicily and Italy, 481.
Krotôn, foundation of, 77, 338, 339, 396, 576, 577.
κύβηττον, κύβιτον, Sikel word, 488.
Kyamosôros, river, 81, 157.
Kyana, fountain of, 360, 365; temple of, *ib.*; legend of, 364–367; his relation to Persephonê, 538, 540.
Kyanippos, legend of, 366.
Kyklopês, their change of character, 78.
Kyklôps, son of Sikanos, 467.
Kymê, its position, 125, 312; compared with Gadês, 238; its foundation, 311, 312; compared with Naxos, 316, 321; settlers from, at Zanklê, 392, 393.
Kythêra, worship of Ashtoreth in, 235.

L.

Laertês, his Sikel bondwoman, 126, 127.
Laistrygones, seats of, in Italy and Sicily, 106; Sicily called their land, 211.
Lakios, oracle given to him, 399.
Lamis, his attempt at settlement in Sicily, 382–386; his dealings with Sikels at Leontinoi, 383; dies at Thapsos, 387.
Lampedusa. *See* Lopedusa.
Laomedôn, legend of, 548.
λατάγη, Sicilian word, 490.
Latin, language of Sikels, 488.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Latin names of gods, 178.
Latin poets, their notices of Sicily, 452; their notices of the breach, 460, 461.
Λατῖνοι, uses of the name, 107.
Latins, their history compared with the Sikels, 131, 133.
Latium, presence of Sikans and Sikels in, 110, 485.
Lava, use of, for building, 323, 374, 376.
Legend, different forms of, 102–105.
Lenormant, quoted, 506.
Lentini. *See* Leontinoi.
Leontinoi, its fields, 67, 368, 371; Sikel site, 136; its foundation, 368; an inland town, *ib.*; its site, 369–371; Sikel remains at, 370; its name and coinage, 371, 372; Euboia settled from, 380; Megarian settlers at, 383; their driving out, 384.
λέπορις, Sikel word, 488.
Leukas, its relations to Corinth, 341.
Leukaspis, Sikan hero, 546.
Lewis, Saint, his church at Carthage, 285.
Libera. *See* Persephonê.
Licodia, whether the site of Inêssa, 148.
Ligurians, their relations to Iberians and Sikans, 476, 483
Lilybaion, its position, 53; western point of Sicily, 61, 271; origin of the name, *ib.*; its relation to Libya, 269; town of continued Motya, 274; attempt of Dôrieus on, 443.
Limestone gorges in Sicily and elsewhere, 71.
Lindioi, akropolis of Gela, 401, 404.
Linguæ, applied to the corners of Sicily, 469.
Lipara, isles of, 61, 80, 87, 89; legends of, 90, 91; settlement of, 296; Knidian settlement, 444–446; their history, 445; Aiolids in, 589; Thucydides' account of, 590.
Lissos, river, 82.
λίτρα, from Latin *libra*, 510.
Livy, his description of Henna, 536.
Lobeck, quoted, 531.
Lokroi, Sikel site, 136; survival of Sikel customs at, 193; its foundation, 396.
Lopedusa, island, 87.
Lucan, his mention of Henna, 538.
Lucian, his Dialogue of Galateia, 190.
Lucilius, the Younger, his poem of Ætna, 452; on the Pious Brethren, 582, 583.
Lupus, Bernhard, his work on Syracuse, 328.
Lydus, John, his account of the breach, 462; quotes Kratês, 481.
Lykophrôn, his account of the Elymian settlement, 547–549.
Lykos, river, 497. *See* Halykos.

M.

Maccaluba, mud volcano, 74.
Machanat, alleged Phœnician name of Panormos, 251.
Machoshbim, alleged Phœnician name of Panormos, 251.
Macrobius, his account of the Palici, 517–524.
Maddalena. *See* Plêmmyrion.
Magnisi. *See* Thapsos.
Maharbal, meaning of the name, 227.
Makara, name of Minôa, 430, 497.
Makara, Makris, alleged Phœnician origin of the names, 562.
Makris, name of Korkyra, 336.
Maktôrion, its site, 409.
Malchus, his conquests in Sicily, 297.
Malta. *See* Melita.
Mamins, Lucius, quoted, 481.
Manfred, his Eastern dominion, 42.
Maniakês, George, his recovery of Sicily, 31.
Marathos, origin of the name, 563.
Maritima, island, 86.
Maronian Hills, 69.
Marseilles, compared with Syracuse, 331.
Maspero, quoted, 506.
Mazara, Mazzara, Selinuntine outpost, 419.
Mazaros, boundary river of Greek and Phœnician, 80, 419.
Mazeus. *See* Malchus.
Μεγαλοπόλεις, force of the word, 352.
Megara, Old, its colonies, 381; adventures of its settlers in Sicily, 383–387.
Megara, Sicilian, bay of, 66; Sikel site, 136; its foundation, 387; its site and remains, 387, 388; called Hyblaian, 388; Sikel intermixture at, 389; metropolis of Selinous, 417; its relation to Hybla, 514, 515; alleged foundation before Syracuse, 575.
Melissa, Corinthian village, 336.
Melissos, his wrongs and death, 336, 337; his appeal, 573.
Melitê, its relation to Sicily, 87; Phœnician settlement in, 240, 243; its Arabic tongue, *ib.*
Melkart, his relation to Hêraklês, 221, 235; origin of the name, 235.
Mêlos, Phœnician settlement in, 234.
Meltzer, O., his history of Carthage, 221; on Elymians, 554, 555; on the expedition of Pentathlos, 591.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Menænum, Sikel town, 152.
Menas, river, 152.
Mercenaries, use of, by Carthage, 292.
Mêrionês, his legendary settlement in Sicily, 116.
Messana, later name of Zanklê, 390.
Messapians, 18.
Messênê, Peloponnesian, settlers from, at Rhêgion, 393, 586; date of its wars with Sparta, 587.
Metapontion, its foundation, 397.
Michalis, K. G., on the Palici, 518.
Migration, distinguished from colonization, 9, 222.
Milazzo. *See* Mylai.
Minôa, 430; origin of the name, 113, 497; legend of Cretan settlement at, 115.
Minôs, legend of his death, 113–115, 497; his tomb and its invention, 115, 117; origin of the story, 502.
Miskera, Sikan town, 120, 498, 501.
Mistretta. *See* Mytistratus.
Modica, its churches, 150. *See* Motyca.
Moloch, worship of, 227, 305.
Mommsen, T., on the name *Siculi*, 494.
Mondello, lesser haven of Panormos, 256.
Mongerbino, 264.
Mongibello, name of Ætna, 56, 83.
Monte Cuccio, 69.
Monte Grifone, its prehistoric remains, 257.
Monte Lauro, source of rivers, 80.
Morgantia, Morgantina, its name, history, and coinage, 153, 154, 492.
Morgês, king, 482, 491.
Morgetes, 482; their relation to Sikels, 491, 492.
Moschos, on the legend of Dêmêtêr, 535.
Mothers, temple of, at Engyum, 116, 117, 499.
Motya, isle of, 62; date of its foundation unknown, 247; its position, 269, 270; meaning of the name, 270; changes in the coast, 270–273; confusion as to the name, 271, 272; legend of, 271; the mole, 272; the haven, 273; the wall and gates, *ib.*, 274; the Phœnician town, 274; continued in Lilybaion, *ib.*
Motyca, its position and character, 150, 151.
Motyon, name compared with Motya, 559.
Movers, F. C., his history of Phœnicia, 221; on Elymians, 554; on nomenclature in Sicily, 561, 563.
Mud volcanoes, 74.
Müller, C., quoted, 457.
Müller, Max, quoted, 505.
μυλλός, Sikel word, 489.
Mylai, 59; its site, 395; occupied by Zanklê, *ib.*; its connexion with the Mylêtids, 411; date of its foundation, 587; oxen of the sun at, 587; story of Odysseus at, 588.
Mylas, river, 411.
Mylêtids, their banishment from Syracuse and settlement at Himera, 411.
Mylitta, her worship in Cyprus, 227.
Myskellos, founder of Krotôn, 338, 339.
Mytistratus, Sikel town, 143; whether the same as Amestratus, 144; alleged Phœnician origin of the name, 563.

N.

Names, nothing proved by their likeness, 130.
Naples, compared with Syracuse, 331.
Narkissos, 532.
Naxos, use of the name in Syracuse, 350.
Naxos, peninsula, 67; Sikel site, 136; settlement of, 315, 580; its name, 316; analogy with Ebbsfleet, 321; its site, 321–323, 325; its present state, 321; probable Phœnician factory at, 322; remains of, 323, 324; its destruction, 324; its temples, 326, 327; its coins, 327; founded on the peninsula, 571.
Naxos, island, its share in the foundation of the Sicilian Naxos, 316, 570.
Neaiton, its Sikel origin, 149.
Nebrodian mountains, origin of the name, 69.
Neptunian mountains, origin of the name, 58; their extent, 68.
Newman, W. L., on the Carthaginian constitution, 289.
Niebuhr, B. G., on Sikels in the Odyssey, 491.
Nisa, Sikan town, 122.
Nomenclature, local, rules of, 560.
Normans, their settlements in Italy, Sicily, and England, 33, 34, 37–41.
Noto, rebuilt, 97. *See* Neaiton.
νοῦμμος, 509, 510.
Nysa, its place in the legend of Dêmêtêr, 533.

O.

Odysseus, story of at Mylai, 588; cape and haven of, 63.
Olympieion, temple on Polichna at Syracuse, 361.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Omphakê, Sikan town, its site and legend, 119, 409.
ὀνεία, οὐγεία, 510.
Opicans, use of the name, 125; their advance on Sikels, 480, 482.
Orethus, Oreto, river, 80, 255, 257.
Oriôn, legend of, 58, 311, 390.
Orlando, Cape, 59, 145.
Orphic Hymns, on the legend of Dêmêtêr, 532.
Ortygia, island at Syracuse, 350-353; its name, 353, 359; its alleged Phœnician name, 561.
Ortygia in Aitolia, 566.
Ortygia in Dêlos, 566.
Osteôdês, island, 89.
Otto the Second, Emperor, 32.
Ouessa, Sikan town, 118.
Οὐίτουλος, Οὐιτελία, 462.
Οὐλίξης, form of the name, 499.
Ovid, his notice of the breach, 460; of the corners of Sicily, 469; of Daidalos and Minôs, 497, 498; of the Palici, 525; of Henna and Pergusa, 537, 538; of the foundation of Syracuse, 573.

P.

Pachynos, its name and position, 64.
Palermo. *See* Panormos.
Pales. *See* Palici.
Palici, 152; their lake and worship, 75, 164-166, 517-530; legend of their birth, 164, 165; modern legends, 167; shelter given to slaves, *ib.*; compared with the Dioskouroi, 168; origin of their name, 168, 527; physical phænomena of the lake, 519-528; their character as deities, 524, 525; whether a Sikan survival, 524, 529; their relation to Pales, 527.
Palm, dwarf, 421.
Pamphôs, poems of, 532.
Panormos, its three European conquests, 23, 249; its bay and territory, 59, 253; its mountains, 69, 255-257; date of its foundation unknown, 247; the Semitic head of Sicily, 248, 249; originally Phœnician, 250; its names, Greek and Phœnician, *ib.*, 251; its coins, *ib.*; changes in the coast, 252, 258-261; the Golden Shell, 252; its eastward outlook, 253; its original site, 258; the old and the new city, 259; the great street, 260; lack of ancient remains in, 261; extent of its territory, 262; its site compared with Solous, 263; its position under Carthage, 298; under Rome, 299; alleged early Greek settlement at, 567; argument from the name, 568; other places so called, 568.
Πάνορμος, use of the name, 250.
παπός, Messapian word, 489.
Pantakyas, river, 67, 82; its place in the legend of Dêmêtêr, 540, 541.
Pantalica, whether the site of Herbessus, 149.
Pantelleria. *See* Kossura.
Papyrus, in Sicily, 365.
Παραδοξογράφοι, their notices of Sicily, 451; of the Palici, 520, 521.
Paropus, Sikel site, 138, 139.
Parsley, plant so called at Selinous, 421.
Passero, Cape, 64.
πατάνα, πατάνιον, Sikel word, 489.
Paternò. *See* Galeatic Hybla.
Patrôn, legend of, 144, 549.
Patti, Bay of, 59; position of, 145.
Pausanias, his account of Hybla, 160, 161; his list of nations in Sicily, 197, 477; on Tenea, 344; his references to Sicilian history, 451; on Kôkalos, 495; on the Hyblas, 512; on Pamphôs, 532; on the Pious Brethren, 581; on the foundation of Zanklê, 584; his misconception of the story, *ib.*; on the expedition of Pentathlos, 588-590.
Pediokratês, Sikan hero, 534, 546.
Pelasgians, their relation to Philistines, 507.
Pellegrino. *See* Herkê.
Pelôris, 57; its character and legends, 58, 469; held by Zanklê, 394.
Pentathlos, his attempt on Eryx and death, 296, 441-444; its connexion with that of Dôrieus, 441, 591; his Hêrakleid descent, 442; counted as founder of Lipara, 444; Pausanias' account of his settlement, 588; Diodôros' account, 589.
Perdix, nephew of Daidalos, 500.
Pergusa, Lake of, 75, 180-182; its treatment by the later writers, 541, 542.
Periêres, founder of Zanklê, 393.
Persephonê, her original character, 77, 169, 531. *See* Dêmêtêr.
Perseus, sculpture of, at Selinous, 405.
Persia, rule of, in Phœnicia, 237.
Petra, Petralia, Sikel town, 146.
Phalakrion, Cape, 58.
Phalaris, his bull, 305.
Pharos, use of the name, 57; Egyptian, 129.
Pheidôn, his action against Corinth, 577: his date, 578.
Philip, Saint, 155. *See* Agyrium.
Philistines, 506, 507.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Philistos, on the Sikans, 474, 476; his relation to Thucydides, 475; on the Galeatic Hybla, 514, 515.
Philoxenos, his poem on Galateia, 191.
Phintiás, founded by Phintías, 429.
Phœnicia, its historical position, 231; its subjection to Persia, 237; kingship in its cities, 287; decline of, 294, 301.
Phœnicians, their strife with the Greeks in Sicily, 9, 11; teaching of their Sicilian settlements, 13–15; their oldest settlements, 15, 230, 240; not colonies of Carthage, 15, 16, 225; their carrying trade, 127, 130, 137; their relations to the Sikels, 133; their settlement near Cefalù, 142; their relations to the Elymians, 201, 208, 275, 276; no record of their Sicilian settlements, 221; nature of their settlements, 223; their origin, 223, 224; their name, 224, 225; their relation to the Hebrews, 225, 226; their language, 226; their personal nomenclature, *ib.*; their religion, 227; two stages of their history in Sicily, 228; their settlements in Sicily and Cyprus, 232, 233; their early dealings with the Greeks, 234, 237; their position in Greek legend, 235; whether inventors of the alphabet, 236; beginnings of their history, 237; their western settlements, 238; their settlements in the islands, 240; objects of Phœnician settlement, 242; their factories and colonies, *ib.*; comparison with European settlements, 243; Phœnician names in Sicily, 244, 559–564; they give way to the Greeks, 245; their three settlements in the north-west, 245–248, 274; their relation to Carthage, 246, 275; Phœnician power in the West, 248, 249, 294, 301; their territory not continuous, 281; not at first hostile to the Greeks, 282, 441, 442; Greek influence on, 302; small remains of in Sicily, 304; their religion, 304, 305; presence of, at Syracuse, 363.
Phoinodamas, story of his daughters, 211, 548.
Phokaeis, whether akropolis of Leontinoi, 371.
Phorbantis, island, 86.
Phrygians, in Sicily same as Trojans, 197, 477, 543.
Pinarius, legend of, 210.
Pindar, his witness to Sicilian history, 450, 458; his notice of Dêmêtêr and Persephonê, 534.
Pious Brethren, legend of, 378; its various forms, 581–583.
Plantation, use of the word, 14.
Plêmmyrion, peninsula, 65, 347.
Pliny, on Trinakria, 467; on Sicani, 477.
Plutarch, his Sicilian Lives, 451; his account of Engyon, 499; of Hêraklês and Segesta, 546; of Archias and Aktaiôn, 572, 573.
Pœnus, use of the name, 87, 224.
Polemôn, on the lake of the Palici, 519.
Polichna, outpost of Syracuse, 360–362.
Pollina. *See* Apollonia.
Polybios, his comparison of Sicily and Peloponnêsos, 51, 458; his account of Eryx, 57; his examination of the isles of Lipara, 89; his account of Lokroi, 193, 487; of Carthage, 229; of the Carthaginian constitution, 289, 291; of Leontinoi, 369; his place as an authority for Sicilian history, 449; his view of the shape of Sicily, 469.
Polycharês, story of, 567.
Polyphêmos, his relations to Akis and Galateia, 189–191; son of Sikanos, 467.
Pomponius, on the shape of Britain, 468.
Popes, their relations to the Normans in Italy, 33.
Porcari. *See* Pantakyas.
Porto Lombardo, 63. *See* Kaukana.
Porto Pallo, 64.
Poseidôn, divides Sicily and Italy, 460, 461; his relations to Dêmêtêr and Persephonê, 531, 532.
Ptolemy, Claudius, his mistake as to the shape of Sicily, 469.
Preller, quoted, 530.
Pyrrhos, his taking of Panormos, 23; his relation to Rome and Carthage, 27.
Pystilos, founder of Akragas, 431.

R.

Ragusa. *See* Hêraian Hybla.
Ragusa, river. *See* Hyrminos.
Rammacca. *See* Eryka.
Ras Melkart, 430, 497.
Resacramba. *See* Kaukana.
Rhêgion, origin of the name, 52; foundation of, 393; its connexion with Zanklê, 396.
Rhianos, his poem on the Messenian wars, 567.
Rhodes, Phœnician settlement in, 234;

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

metropolis of Gela, 399; settlers from, at Akragas, 431; expedition from, to Western Sicily, 442.
Rivers, nomenclature of, 83, 84.
Roads, Sikel, Greek and Roman, 218.
Rocca di Cusa, quarries at, 423.
Rome, her relation to Sicily, 8; Greek influence on, 21; her position in East and West 25, 26; her relation to the Epeirot kings, 26, 27; her first war with Carthage, 27, 28; her first province and first dependent kingdom, 29; her dominion in Sicily, 29, 30; treaty with Carthage, 297; Sikel occupation of its site, 485.
Ῥωμαῖος, use of the name, 107.
Rutenu, 508.

S.

Sabellians, their relations to the Greeks, 21.
Sacrani, 485.
Saint Blaise, river and valley at Akragas, 434.
Saint Elias, 267.
Salemi, site of Halikyai, 121.
Samnites, Greek influence on, 21.
San Fratello. *See* Apollonia.
San Guzmano. *See* Alabôn.
San Marco, Cape, 63. *See* Haluntium.
San Vito, most northern point of Sicily, 60.
Sanchoniathôn, his alleged Phœnician history, 221.
Saracens, their conquest and dominion in Sicily, 30, 33; their short time of complete possession, 32; their position in Italy, *ib.*; analogy of, with the Phœnicians, 236; effects of their conquest of Syracuse, 332, 333.
Sardinia, compared with Sicily, 2, 241; colonized by Iolaos, 183.
Sardinians, their alleged invasion of Egypt, 130.
Σατορνία, 481.
Sayce, A. H., quoted, 227, 323.
Scalambri, Cape, 63.
Schafarik, quoted, 473.
Schiller, poem of *Der Taucher*, 77.
Schisò. *See* Naxos.
Schubring, Julius, his account of Motya, 272; of Syracuse, 328; of Leontinoi and Megara, 367; of Akragas, 429, 430; of Caltabellotta, 503, 504; of the Hyblas, 513, 514.
Sciacca. *See* Thermai of Selinous.
Segesta, 60; effects of its supposed Trojan origin, 197; its haven, 199; its site, 200, 201; its relations to Phœnicians and Greeks, 201, 202; its relations to Selinous, 202; forms of the name, 202, 551; Greek influence at, 202, 209, 276; its existing remains, 203, 204; its relations to Eryx, 215; its relations and wars with Selinous, 419, 420, 443.
Segesta, daughter of Phoinodamas, her legend, 549.
ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΒΙΒ, meaning of the form, 557.
Seine, river, 475.
Sela, Phœnician name of Solous, 262, 266.
Selinous, effects of its foundation on the Phœnician retreat, 243; its foundation from Megara, 418; extent of its territory, 419; its relations to Segesta, 419, 443; its site and remains, 420–429; its name, 420, 421, 563; its plants, 421; its coins, 421, 422; its havens, 422; its relations with Africa, 423; its temples, 423–428; its walls, 424, 426; its sculptures, 424, 425; new discoveries at, 427; helped by Pentathlos against Segesta, 444.
Selinous, river god, 422.
Semitic nations, resistance of, 293.
Sequana, river, 109.
Sergention. *See* Ergetium.
Servius, on Trinakria, 465; on Iberia, 473; on the Palici, 527.
Sferracavallo, one mouth of the Golden Shell, 255.
Shakalash, Shakarusha, 506, 507.
Shardanes, whether Sardinians, 506, 507.
Sheep of Sicily, 95.
Shophetim, chief magistrates of Carthage and other Phœnician cities, 288, 292.
Sicani, relation of the name to *Siculi*, 472, 473; its use by Virgil, 477, 478; its quantity, 479.
Sicily, its central position, 1; its quasi-continental character, *ib*, 49; compared with Sardinia and Corsica, 2, 241; the meeting-place of hostile powers and nations, 3, 41; its relation to Spain and Italy, 4, 100; compared with Cyprus and Spain, *ib.*, 35, 36, 232-234; no Sicilian nation at any time, 4, 5; wars for Sicily, 5; its greatness not native, *ib.*; its colonial character, 6, 7, 9; analogy with America, 6, 7; its successive settlers, 7; never the chief seat of a nation, *ib.*; its successive masters, *ib.*; its place in European history, 8; its place between Europe and Africa, *ib.*; its early inhabitants, 8, 9, 50, 99, 477;

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the true Sicily Greek, 10; its share in the strife of East and West, 10, 11; its deliverers and conquerors, 12, 13, 23–25, 43; its Greek settlements compared with those in Italy, 16, 17; their relation to barbarian neighbours, 17; tendencies to Sicilian unity, 23; Sicilian rule out of Sicily, 24, 41, 42; Italian rule in, *ib.*; Roman dominion in, 29; under the Western Emperors, *ib.*; under Vandals, 30; under East-Goths, *ib.*; recovered by Belisarius, *ib.*; part of the Eastern Empire, *ib.*; Saracen dominion in, 30–33; its relation to Southern Italy under the Eastern Empire, 32; under the Normans, 33. 44; creation of the kingdom, 34; become definitely European and Christian, *ib.*; its connexion with England, 37, 38, 42; contrast with England, 38–41; its later conquests, 39; the Italian element prevails in, 40; its history looks back, 43. 45; Albanian settlers in, 44; divisions of its history, 45, 46; county and kingdom of, 47; character of its later history, 47, 48, 132; change in its language, 47; continuity of its history, 48; its præ-historic geography, *ib.*; its history begins as an island, 51; its alleged severance from Italy, 51, 52, 462, 468; mistakes as to its shape, 52, 53, 458–462; its four sides, 53, 462; practically triangular, 54, 55; character of the coast, 55–57; compared with Greece, 55; its mountains, 56; its western side, 61, 271; its south-western side, 62; its midland region, 67, 68, 71; its limestone ravines, 71; its relation to the nether gods, 74, 168; its lakes and fountains, 75–77; its rivers, 78–84; its corn, 91; its fruits, 92; foreign plants, 92, 93; lack of forest trees, 93; lack of animal life, 93; fish, 93; horses, 94; carts, 94; sheep and goats, 95; swine, 95; prevalence of town life, 96; the hill-towns, 96–99; ancient religion of, 98; its importance due to Phœnicians and Greeks, *ib.*; its various names, 100; early Greek knowledge of, 106, 107, 132, 168, 310; three primitive races of, 216; their records, 217–219; distinguished from the colonists, 219, 220; Phœnician element in its nomenclature, 244, 559–564; changes in the west coast, 272; its barbarian corner, 276, 281; Carthaginian and Roman province in, 300; effects of Carthaginian presence in, 303, 304; destiny of its primitive nations, 308; Hellenized through Rome, *ib.*; beginning of Greek settlement in, 310–313, 314, 564–569; compared with Britain, 316–320; with America, 319, 320; settlements on its northern and southern coasts, 397, 410; their character, 398; extent of Greek settlement in, 446; hellenized by assimilation, 446; authorities for its early history, 449–458; compared with those from Old Greece, 452; largely secondhand, 453; its poetry fragmentary, 452; notices of, by Latin poets, 460; measurements of, 470; its shape compared with Britain, 467; its supposed three promontories, 469.

Sicoris, river. *See* Sikanôs.

Siculi, relation of the name to *Sicani*, 472, 473; its quantity, 479; later use of the name, 485, 488; its use in Italy, 485, 486; origin of the name, 493, 494.

Siculi, in Transsilvania, 130.

Siculiana, alleged site of Kamikos, 112, 496.

Sidon, its rivalry with Tyre, 234.

Siefert, O., on Zanklê, 367.

Sikania, name of Sicily, 100; Homeric use of, 106; at Akragas, 493, 494, 501–502.

Σικανοί, form of the name, 472, 473; its relation to Σικελοί, 473.

Sikanos, king, 104; his sons, 467.

Sikanos, river, 109, 475, 501, 502.

Sikans, *autochthones*, 50, 102, 103, 479, 487; their relation to Sikels, 100, 107, 473–479; to Iberians, 101, 109, 474–479; præ-Aryan, 101; their presence in Italy, 110, 477, 478; in Sicily, 110, 111; their love of hill-tops, 111; their history, *ib.*; their decline, 123, 124; give way to the Sikels, 135; their skulls, 268; their relation to Etruscans, 476; their language unknown, 488.

Sikelia, origin of the name, 100; its relation to Sikania, 107; fitness of the name, 194.

Σικελία, hill near Athens, 487.

Sikeliots, force of the word, 17; their position compared with that of the Italiots, 19.

Σικελίων at Tibur, 481.

Σικελοί, later use of the word, 488.

Sikelos, king, 104, 465, 481, 483, 486.

Sikels, 17; undeveloped Latins, 19, 20; 124, 125; assimilated by the Greeks,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

20; their relation to Sikans, 100, 107, 473–479, 487; Homeric notices of, 106, 126; their presence in Italy, 124, 485–487, 491; their language, 125, 400, 488–490; their flight before the Opicans, 125; question of their presence in Epeiros, 126, 490; their early dealings with Greece, 126–128; date of their migration, 128, 480, 482; their alleged invasion of Egypt, 129, 130, 505–509; their history compared with the Latins, 131, 133; their remains, 132; their relations to Phœnicians and Greeks, 133, 134; their advance against the Sikans, 135, 484; their sites, 136, 137; their weights and measures adopted by the Greeks, *ib.*, 488, 508–510; their inland and northern posts, 138; their later foundations, 143; exchange of gods with the Greeks, 144, 159, 169, 170; their sites on the east coast, 149; their inland towns hellenized without conquest, 151; names of their gods, 178; survivals of their religion, 179; traces of, out of Sicily, 193; survival of their relics of customs at Lokri, 193, 487; their fusion with the Greeks, 194; their traces at Syracuse, 362; their tombs at Leontinoi, 370; intermixture of at Katanê, 376, 377; their presence at Zanklê, 390, 392; Gela conquered from, 407.

Silius Italicus, his notice of the breach, 460; on the corners of Sicily, 469; on Sikans and Sikels, 478, 483; his mention of Henna, 538.

Sirens, their relation to the legend of Dêmêtêr, 533.

Skulls, types of, at Palermo, 268.

Skylax, his mention of Sicily, 1.

Skylla, legend of, 106.

Skymnos, on Trinakria, 465; on the inhabitants of Sicily, 475.

Slaves, favoured by Sikel gods, 167, 183.

Smyth, Admiral, quoted, 52, 53, 63, 77, 89, 91, 496.

Solanto, 266.

Solinus, on Sikels, 486; on Henna, 537.

Solous, 59; date of its foundation unknown, 247; its position, 255, 263; origin of the name, 262; remains of the town, 264, 266; its outlook, 265; a Phœnician border-post, 267, 268, 269; origin of the name, 563.

Soluntum, Roman form of Solous, 262, 266.

Sophoklês, his play of *Καμίκιοι*, 500.

Sorello, Cape, south-western point of Sicily, 63.

Spain, cycles of its history compared with Sicily, 36, 37; Phœnician settlements in, 239.

Spenser, E., on the Palici, 592.

Sperlenga. *See* Herbita.

Springs and fountains, 76.

Stephen of Byzantium, on Trinakria, 465; on Kamikos, 495; on Sikans and Sikania, 500, 501, 502; on the Palici, 520.

Stêsichoros, 378; his Geryoneid, 209.

Strabo, quoted, 78, 451; his notices of Sicily, 306, 457; his use of the word *Τραπεζία*, 463; his notice of the breach, 459, 460; of the Morgêtes, 492; of Kamikos, 495; of Hybla, 513; of the Palici, 520; on the foundation of Syracuse, 574; of Zanklê, 584; on Lipara, 590.

Strait of Messina, its geography and currents, 58.

Stromboli. *See* Strongylê.

Strongylê, island, 88.

Styella, its site, 517.

Stylla, wife of Aigestos, 517, 548.

Styx, mother of Persephonê, 531.

Susa, name of Hadrumetum, 239.

Swine in Sicily, 95.

Sybaris, foundation of, 396.

Symaithos, river, 81.

Syracuse, its people called mainlanders, 2; its relations and wars with Carthage, 22, 23, 364; effect of geography on its history, 65, 66; its hills, 70, 347, 348–350; Sikel site, 136, 362; her position and history, 328–334; greatest of Sikeliot and European cities, 328, 329; compared with Athens, 329–331; with other cities, 331, 332; her Greek and European championship, 332; her conquest by the Saracens and its effects, 332, 333; her relations to Corinth, 334, 340, 341; story of her foundation, 335–345; compared with Krotôn, 338; with Korkyra, 340, 341; its relations to Kamarina, 342; its site, 345–352; its havens, 346, 351; no akropolis at, 352; use of the name, 353, 357–359; sisterhood with Dêlos, 354, 357; early coins of, 358; whether a double city, 359; Sikel remains at, 362, 363; question of Phœnician occupation at, 363; its relations to Akragas, 430; compared with Akragas, 435, 436; lack of incidental sources for its history, 451; favoured by Hêraklês, 546; alleged settlement before

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Archias, 566; Thucydides' account of its foundation, 572; other versions, 572–577.
Szeklers. *See* Siculi.

T.

Tamaricium, origin of the name, 561.
Tamasos, not the Temessa of Homer, 127.
Taormina. *See* Tauromenion.
Taras, Tarentum, its foundation, 396.
Tartêssos, Phœnician voyages to, 239.
Tauromenion, bay and hills of, 67.
Tauros, hill by Tauromenion, 67; southern hill of, 324.
Têlephos, slayer of Archias, 344.
Telmissos, legend of, 516, 569.
Temesa, iron trade of, 126, 127.
Tempsa. *See* Temesa.
Tenea, settlers from, at Syracuse, 343; origin of, 344.
Terias, river, 82.
Termini. *See* Thermai.
Terra Pilata, mud volcano, 75.
Terranova. *See* Gela.
Teutos, Sikan king, 118.
Thaleia, mother of the Palici, 165, 526.
Thapsos, peninsula, 66, 386; Megarian settlement at, 385, 386; origin of the name, 563.
Tharshish, ships of, 239.
Thasos, Phœnician settlement in, 234.
Theoklês, his voyage and settlement at Naxos, 314–316; whether Chalkidian or Athenian, 315, 570, 571; founder of Leontinoi, 368; his dealings with Sikels and Megarians, 383, 384.
Theokritos, on the legend of Dêmêtêr, 535.
Thêra, Phœnician settlement in, 234.
Thermai of Himera, 59, 76, 417.
Thermai of Selinous, 63, 76, 419.
Thermêsa, island, 88.
Thesprotians, their language, 307.
Thrinakiê, use of the name, 53; its relation to Sicily, 105, 106; Homeric picture of, 105, 106, 463; localized at Mylai, *ib.*
θρίναξ, derivation of Thrinakia from, 464, 471.
Thucydides, his view of mythical history, 100, 102; his view of Sikans and Sikels, 102, 474; his use of the article, 149; his account of the settlement of Sicily, 306; our one contemporary authority, 449; his relation to Antiochos, 456, 457, 475; his use of the word *Trinakria*, 463, 464; his relations to Philistos, 475; influenced by *epônymoi*, 480; his mention of Hybla, 513; of the Elymians, 543, 552; of the Greek settlements, 564, 570, 586; of the foundation of Syracuse, 572; of Epipolai, 578; of the foundation of Zanklê, 584; of Lipara, 590.
Thymbris, Mount, 70, 388.
Tibur, traces of Sikels at, 481, 486.
Tiella. *See* Styella.
Timaios, on Trinakria, 465; on the Sikans, 479.
Timoleôn, compared with Garibaldi, 25; his dealings with Dêmêtêr and Persephonê, 535.
Tiracinum. *See* Trinakia.
Tissa, Sikel town, 156.
Tradition, different forms of, 102–105.
Trapani. *See* Drepana.
Triakria, 466.
τριγλωχις, epithet of Sicily, 466.
τρίδειρος, epithet of Sicily, 466.
Trinakia, town, its position and history, 158, 463, 511, 512; its relation to the name *Trinakria*, *ib.*
Trinakos, *epônymos* of Trinakia, 465.
Trinakria, origin of the name, 53, 100, 463, 464–467, 470; its relation to the *Θρινακίη* of Homer, 463; to the town of Trinakia, *ib.*; notice of in Diodôros, 465; use of in Latin writers, 467; application of by Apollônios of Tyana, 470; modern theories about, 471; use of in Kallimachos, 466.
Triokala, Sikan town, 121; its site, 502.
Triquetra, Latin equivalent for Trinakria, 467; symbol, 470.
Triskelis, symbol of Sicily, its origin, 470, 471.
Trojan origin of the Elymians, 195; suspicious character of all such stories, *ib.*; practical effects of the tradition, 197, 203; oldest form of the tale, 211; later versions, 211, 212; version of Virgil, 213–215.
Trôtilon, first Megarian settlement at, 382.
Tunis, its antiquity, 286.
Tyndaris, foundation of Dionysius, 145.
Typhôs, legend of, 78, 470.
Tyrakia. *See* Trinakia.
Tyrakînai. *See* Trinakia.
Tyre, its rivalry with Sidon, 234.
Tyrrhenian Sea, 60.
Tyrtaios, date of, 587.
Tzetzês, John, on Trinakria and Triakria, 466; on Sikans and Sikels, 500; on the Elymian legend, 548.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

U.

Ὕβλαιος, 517.
Ulixes, whether Sikel name of Odysseus, 146.
Ustica, island, 89.
Utica, 239; origin of the name, 228.

V.

Vandals, their dominion in Sicily, 30.
Varro, his witness to Sikel words, 485, 488, 509.
Venus, identified with Hybla, 161.
Vessa. *See* Ouessa.
Vesuvius, compared with Ætna, 74.
Victor Amadeus, his change of kingdoms, 241.
Vinizzi. *See* Echetla.
Virgil, his account of the Kyklôpes, 78; his epithets, 79; his use of names, 110; his account of Aineias and Eryx, 213, 214; his notice of the breach, 460; his use of *Sicani*, 477, 478; his notice of the Palici, 517–522.
Volscians, 125.
Vulcanello, island, 89.
Vulcani, Cicero's list of, 528.
Vulcano, island, 89.

W.

War for Sicily, 5; its character, 27, 28.
West and East, their strife in Sicily, 10, 11. *See* East and West.
Wiltzi, Wiltaburg, Wiltshire, 473.
Wölfflin, E., on Antiochos of Syracuse, 357.

X.

Xiphonia, peninsula, 66, 385, 583; why not occupied by Greeks, 388, 389; town of, 583.
Xouthia, Sikel town, 152.
Xouthos, legend of, 484.

Z.

Zaffarana, Cape, 264.
ζάγκλον. *See* δάγκλον.
Zanklê, afterwards Messana, Sikel site, 136; its first foundation, 390, 392, 584; its site, 390–392; its name, 390, 391, 585; Phœnicians and Sikels at, 392; second foundation of, 393, 584; its date, 393, 394; extent of its territory, 394; its settlement at Mylai, 395; metropolis of Himera, 411; founded from Chalkis, 585; called colony of Naxos, *ib.*; its date, 586.
Zanklos, eponymos of Zanklê, 390.
Zêrynthia, Zêrynthias, surname of Artemis and Apollôn, 548.
Zeus, his relation to Dêmêtêr and Persephonê, 530, 531.
Zeus Atabyrios, 438.
Ziz, alleged Phœnician name of Panormos, 251.

END OF VOL. I.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ

This book is due on the last **DATE** stamped below.

JUL 30 '85 A.

FEB 17 1985 REC'D

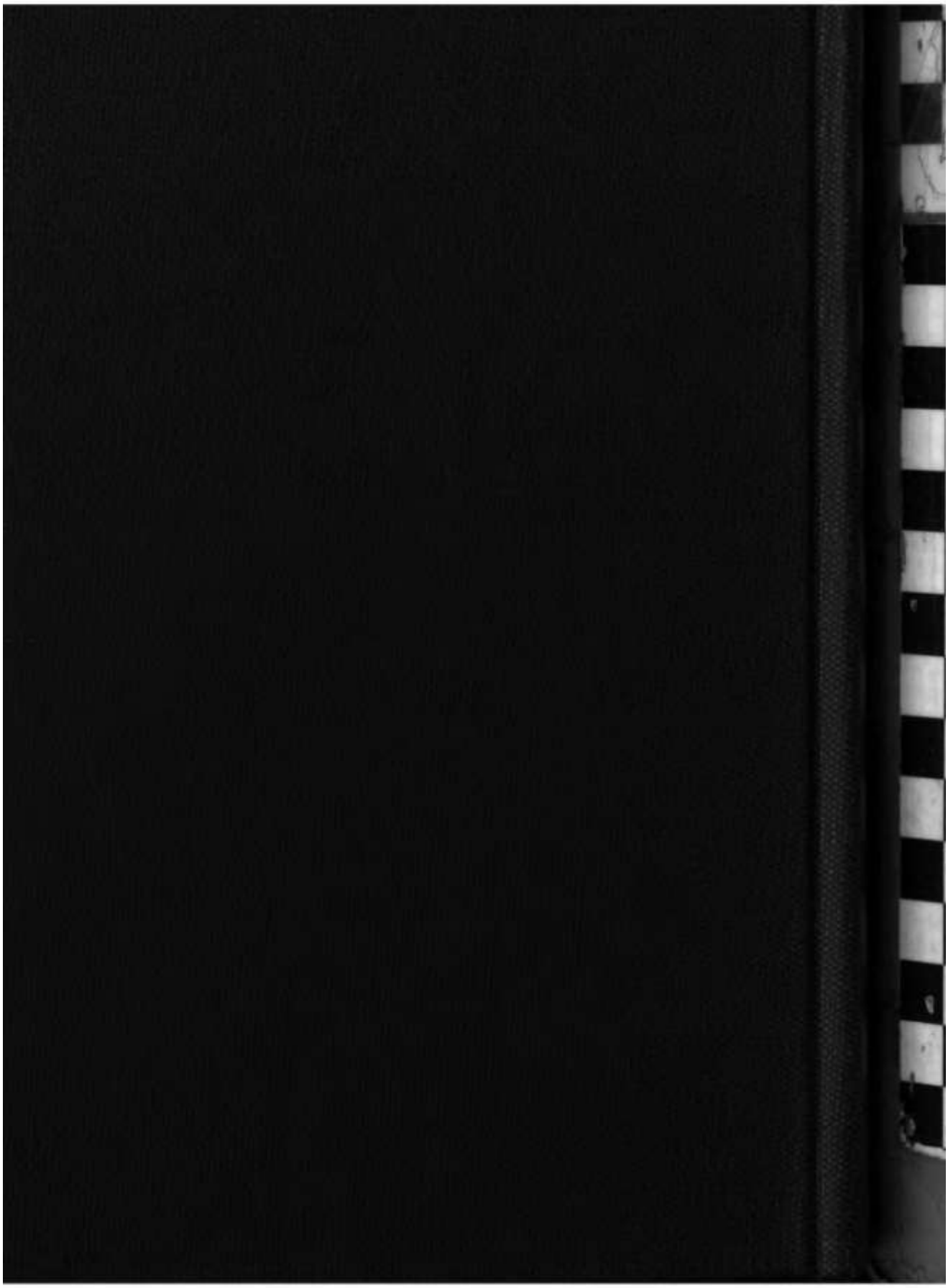
50m-1,'69(J5643s8)2373—3A,1

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

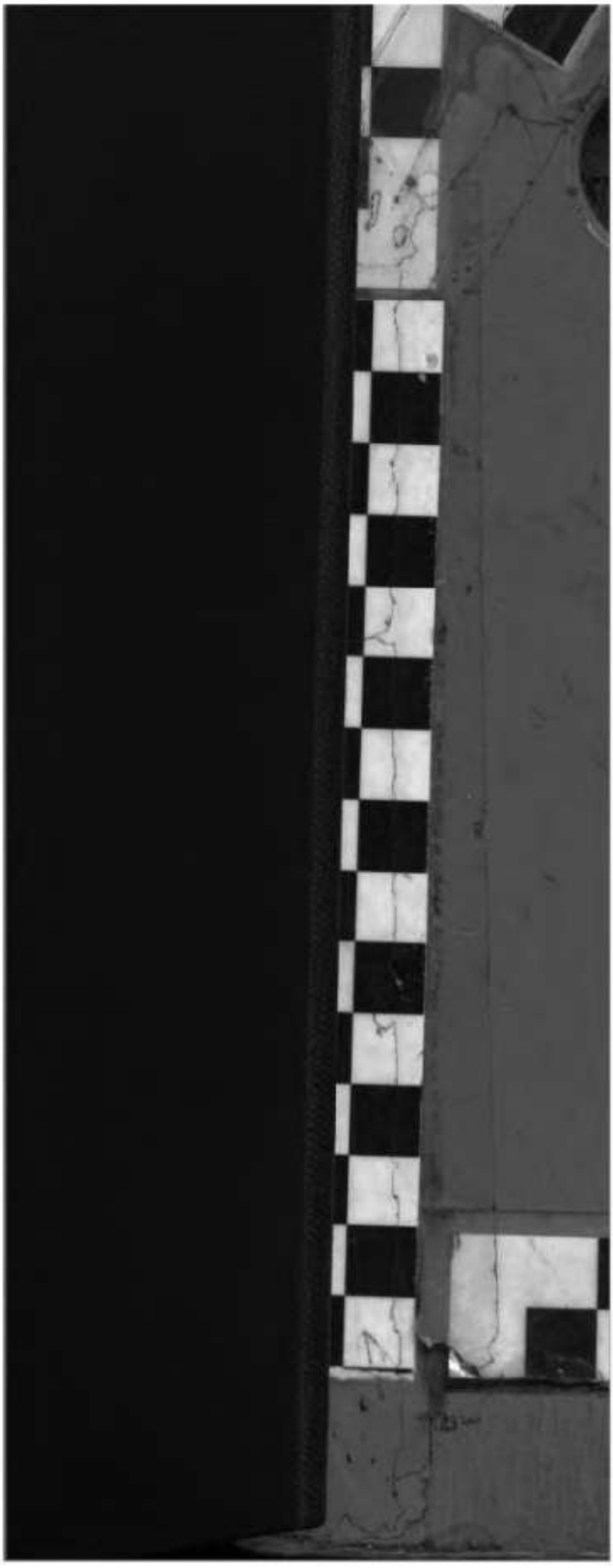
UC-SANTA CRUZ
3 2106 00543 3997

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA



Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA



Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA